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A Table of the CONTENTS, and an Alphabetical INDEX.

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VOL. VII.

LONDON:

Printed for *T. OSBORNE*, in *Gray's-Inn.* MDCCXLVI.

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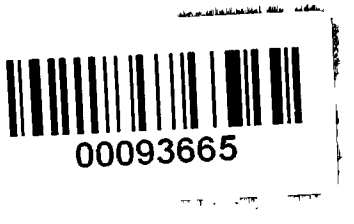

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THE CONTENTS TO THE *HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.*

THE Hiſtory of *England*. The Firſt Book. Declaring the State of the Iſle of *Britain* under the *Roman* Empire. *London*, printed by *Valentine Simmes*, for *John Barnes*, dwelling in *Fleetſtreet*, at the Sign of the Great *Turk*, 1602. *Quarto*, containing one-hundred ſixteen Pages Page 1

Treaſon pretended againſt the King of *Scots*, by certaine Lordes and Gentlemen, whoſe Names hereafter follow. With a Declaration of the Kinges Majeſties Intention to his laſt Acts of Parliament: Which openeth fully in Effect all the ſaide Conſpiracy. Out of *Skottiſh* into *Engliſh*. Imprinted at *London*, for *Thomas Nelſon*, and are to be ſolde at the Weſt Ende of *Paules*. 1585. *Black Letter Octavo*, containing twenty-four Pages 49

The Lord-Treaſurer *Burleigh*'s Advice to Queen *Eliſabeth*, in Matters of Religion and State. *MS.* 56

Certain Orders meet to be obſerved upon any Foreign Invaſion, for thoſe Shires that lie upon the Sea Coaſts. With a Direction to the Juſtices of the Peace. *London*, Printed by *R. C.* for *Michael Sparke*, Senior, and are to be ſold at the Sign of the *Blue Bible*, in *Green-Arbour*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages 61

The old, old, very old Man: Or, The Age and long Life of *Thomas Parr*, the Son of *John Parr*, of *Winnington*, in the Pariſh of *Alberbury*, in the County of *Salop* (or *Shropſhire*) who was born in the Reign of King *Edward the Fourth*, in the Year 1483. He lived one-hundred and fifty two Years, nine Months, and odd Days, and departed this Life, at *Weſtminſter*, the Fifteenth of *November*, 1635, and is now buried in the Abbey at *Weſtminſter*. His Manner of Life and Converſation in ſo long a Pilgrimage; his Marriages, and his Bringing up to *London*, about the End of *September* laſt, 1635. Whereunto is added a Poſtſcript, ſhewing the many remarkable Accidents that happened in the Life of this old Man. Written by *John Taylor*. *London*. Printed for *Henry Goſſon*, at his Shop on *London Bridge*, near to the Gate, 1635. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages 66

An Argument of Law, concerning the Bill of Attainder of High Treaſon of *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*: At a Conference in a Committee of both Houſes of Parliament. By Mr. *St. John*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor-General. Publiſhed by Order of the Commons Houſe. *London*, printed *Anno Domini*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing eighty Pages 76

A Narrative of unheard of Popiſh Cruelties towards Proteſtants beyond Seas: Or a new Account of the bloody *Spaniſh* Inquiſition. Publiſhed as a Caveat to Proteſtants. By Mr. *Dugdale*. *London*, Printed for *John Hancock*, at the three Bibles in *Pope's-Head* Alley over-againſt the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*, 1680. *Folio*, containing thirty-two Pages 99

The Catholick Cauſe; or, The horrid Practice of Murdering Kings, juſtified, and commended by the Pope, in a Speech to his Cardinals, upon the barbarous Aſſaſſination of *Henry the third* of *France*, who was ſtabbed by *Jaques Clement*, a *Dominican* Friar. The true Copy of which Speech, both in *Latin*, and alſo faithfully rendered into *Engliſh*, you have in the following Pages. *London*: Printed for *Walter Kettilby*, at the *Biſhop's-Head*, in St. *Paul's Church-yard*, 1678. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages 115

The Speech of the Prince of *Orange* to ſome principal Gentlemen of *Somerſetſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, on their Coming to join his Highneſs at *Exeter*, the Fifteenth of *November*, 1688. *Exeter*, printed by *J. B.* 1688. *Folio*, containing one Page 123

A true Copy of the Inſtrument of Aſſociation, that the *Proteſtants* of *England* entered into, in the twenty ſeventh Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*, againſt a Popiſh Conſpiracy; with an Act, made upon the ſame, for the Security of the Queen's moſt Royal Perſon. Printed for *John Everingham*, and ſold by *E. Whitlocke*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1695. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 124

The *Engliſh Romayne* Life: Diſcovering the Lives of the *Engliſhmen* at *Rome*; the Orders of the *Engliſh* Seminarie; the Diſſention between the *Engliſhmen* and the *Welchmen*; the Baniſhing of the *Engliſhmen* out of *Rome*; the Popes Sending for them againe; a Reporte of many of the paltrie Reliques in *Rome*; theyr Vautes vnder the Ground; their holy Pilgrimages; and a Number other Matters, woorthie to be read and regarded of euery one. There vnto is added, the cruell Tirannie, vſed on an *Engliſhman* at *Rome*; his Chriſtian Suffering, and notable Martirdome, for the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in *Anno* 1581. Written by *A. M.* ſometime the Popes Scholler in the Seminarie among them.

Honos alit Artes.

Seene and allowed: Imprinted at *London* by *Iohn Charlwoode*, for *Nicholas Ling*, dwelling in *Paules* Church-yarde, *Anno* 1590. In *Black Letter*. *Quarto*, containing ſeventy-two Pages 128

A true and perfect Account of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Landing in the North of *Scotland*: With the Particulars of that whole Tranſaction. *London*, Printed, and are to be ſold by *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1685. *Folio*, containing two Pages 158

A Copy of a Letter ſent by *E. B.* an eminent Quaker in *London*, to the Pope at *Rome*, tranſmitted thence by Cardinal *Bromio*, to a Perſon of Quality in *England*. With the Copy of the Faculties granted to *John Locet*, *Engliſhman* and Prieſt at *Rome*, 1678. for *England*, *Scotland*, and all the King's Dominions, *Ireland* excepted. Printed in 1680. *Folio*, containing two Pages 159

The Method of Curing the Small-Pox, firſt written in the Year 1704, for the Uſe of the Noble and Honourable Family of *March*, by Dr. *Arch. Pitcairn*. *Folio*, containing one Page 162

Father *La Chaiſe*'s Project for the Extirpation of Hereticks. In a Letter from him to Father *P—rs*, 1688. *Quarto*, containing four Pages 165

A Speech of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Louden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, to a grand Committee of both Houſes of Parliament, upon the Twelfth of *September*, 1645. Publiſhed by Authority. Printed at *London*, by *E. P.* for *Hugh Perry*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in the *Strand*. 1645. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 165

Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Viſion: With the Ghoſts of *Weſton*, Miſtreſs *Turner*, the late Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Franklin*. By *R. N. Oxon.*

—In pœnam inſectatur & umbra.

Printed for *R. M.* and *T. I.* 1616. *Quarto*, containing fifty-eight Pages 167

Some ſmall and ſimple Reaſons delivered in a Hollow-Tree, in *Waltham* Foreſt, in a Lecture, on the Thirty-third of *March* laſt. By *Aminadab Blower*, a devout Bellows-mender of *Pimlico*. Shewing the Cauſes in general and particular, wherefore they do, might, would, ſhould, or ought, except againſt and quite refuſe the Liturgy or Book of Common-Prayer. Printed, *Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 181

The mighty Miracle; or, The Wonder of Wonders at *Windmill-Hill*. Being the Invitation of *John Lacy*, Eſq; and the reſt of the inſpired Prophets, to all Spectators, to come on *Tueſday* next, the 25th Day of this Inſtant *May*, where, to their exceeding Aſtoniſhment, they may (without any Prejudice to their Eye-ſight) behold Dr. *Emms* ariſe out of his firſt Grave, and dreſs himſelf in his uſual Habit to all their View, and with a loud Voice relate Matters of Moment, preaching a Miraculous Sermon, giving a ſtrange Account of paſt and future Events; the like never ſeen or heard in *England* before, exceeding any Wonder or Show that ever was ſeen on *Windmill-Hill* at any Holiday-time. Licenſed according to Order. *London:* Printed for *J. Robinſon* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1708. *Folio*, containing one Page 185

Eſquire *Lacy*'s Reaſons why Doctor *Emms* was not raiſed from the Dead, on the Twenty fifth of *May*, according to the *French* Prophets Prediction. *London*, printed for *J. L.* in *Barbican*, 1708. *Folio*, containing one Page 187

An exact Account of the Receipts, and Diſburſements expended by the Committee of Safety, upon the emergent Occaſions of the Nation. Delivered in by *M. R.* Secretary to the ſaid Committee, to prevent falſe Reports and prejudicate Cenſures. *London*, Printed for *Jeremiah Hanzen*, 1660. *Folio*, containing twelve Pages 188

A WIN-

A WINTER DREAM.

—*Quæ me ſuſpenſum* inſomnia *terrent?* Virg.
Sæpe futurarum præſagia ſomnia *rerum.*

Printed *Anno Domini* QuanDo ReX AngLoruM *VeCtI* viCItabat CaptIvus, 1649. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 193

News from *Hell*, *Rome*, and the Inns of Courts, wherein is ſet forth the Copy of a Letter written from the Devil to the Pope. The true Copy of the Petition delivered to the King at *York*. The Copy of certain Articles of Agreement between the Devil, the Pope, and divers others. The Deſcription of a Feaſt, ſent from the Devil to the Pope, together with a ſhort Advertiſement to the high Court of Parliament, with ſundry other Particulars. Publiſhed for the future Peace and Tranquillity of the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain*, by *J. M.* Printed in the Year of Grace and Reformation, 1641. *Quarto*, containing Twenty-two Pages 202

The Life of that incomparable Man, *Fauſtus Socinus Senenſis*, deſcribed by a *Polonian* Knight. Whereunto is added an excellent Diſcourſe, which the ſame Author would have had premiſed to the Works of *Socinus*; together with a Catalogue of thoſe Works. *London*: Printed for *Richard Moone*, at the *Seven Stars* in *Paul's Church-yard*, 1653. *Octavo*, containing forty two Pages 213

An impartial and brief Deſcription of the *Plaza*, or ſumptuous Market-place of *Madrid*, and the Bull-baiting there; together with the Hiſtory of the famous and much admired *Placidus*; as alſo a large Scheme, being the lively Repreſentation of the Order and Ornament of this Solemnity. By *James Salgado*, a *Spaniard*. *London*, printed by *Francis Clark*, for the Author, *Anno Domini* 1683. *Quarto*, containing forty-ſix Pages 226

A Caſe of Conſcience, Whether it be lawful to admit *Jews* into a Chriſtian Commonwealth? Reſolved by Mr. *John Dury*: Written to *Samuel Hartlib*, Eſq; *London*, Printed for *Richard Wodenothe*, in *Leadenhall-ſtreet*, next to the *Golden Heart*, 1656. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 240

An Hiſtorical Narration of the Manner and Form of that memorable Parliament which wrought Wonders. Begun at *Weſtminſter*, 1386, in the Tenth Year of the Reign of King *Richard the Second*. Related and publiſhed by *Thomas Faunant*, Clark. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages. 244

A Letter written to Dr. *Burnet*, giving an Account of Cardinal *Pool*'s Secret Powers; from which it appears, that it was never intended to confirm the Alienation that was made of the Abbey-Lands. To which are added two Breves that Cardinal *Pool* brought over, and ſome other of his Letters, that were never before printed. *London*, printed for *Richard Baldwin*, in the *Old Bailey* Corner, on *Ludgate-Hill*. 1685. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages 258

The *Papiſts* bloody Oath of Secrecy, and Litany of Interceſſion, for the Carrying on of this preſent Plot. With the Manner of taking the Oath upon the entering into any grand Conſpiracy againſt the *Proteſtants*. As it was taken in the Chapel belonging to *Bormlow-Hall*, the Reſidence of Sir *Thomas Goſcoigne*, from *William Ruſhton*, a Popiſh Prieſt, by me *Robert Bolron*. Together, with ſome further Informations relating to the Plot, and Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*.

Jovis 16*mo Die Decembris*, 1680.

Ordered, That Mr. Robert Bolron *have Liberty from this Houſe to print and publiſh the ſaid Oath of Secrecy and Litany.*

William Goldsbrough,
Cler. Dom. Com.

London, Printed for *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1680. *Folio*, containing Twenty-four Pages 271

The Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and *Jure Divino*, diſproved, and Obedience to the preſent Government proved, from Scripture, Law, and Reaſon. Written for the Satisfaction of all who are diſſatisfied at the preſent Government. By a Lay-Man of the Church of *England*. *London*, printed for *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers Hall*, 1689. *Folio*, containing two Pages 279

A Relation of the true Funerals of the great Lord Marquis of *Montroſe*, his Majeſty's Lord High Commiſſioner, and Captain-General of his Forces in *Scotland*; with that of the renowned Knight, Sir *William Hay* of *Delgity*. Printed in the Year 1661. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages 283

A Letter to a Friend, concerning a *French* Invaſion, to reſtore the late King *James* to his Throne: And what may be expected from him, ſhould he be ſucceſsful in it. *London*: Printed, and are to be Sold by *Randal Taylor*, near *Amen-Corner*, 1692. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages 293

A true Relation of the bloody Execution, lately performed by the Commandment of the Emperor's Majeſty, upon the Perſons of ſome chief Stateſmen, and

and others, in *Prague*, the chief City of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, the 11th of *June*, 1621. With the Manner and Proceedings therein obſerved. Faithfully tranſlated out of the *Dutch* Copy. Printed the 21ſt of *July*, 1621. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages 303

The Brewers Plea: Or, a Vindication of Strong Beer and Ale. Wherein is declared the wonderful Bounty and Patience of God, the wicked and monſtrous Unthankfulneſs of Man, the unregarded Injuries done to theſe Creatures, groaning, as it were, to be delivered from the Abuſes proceeding from diſdainful Aſperſions of ignorant, and from the Intemperance of ſinful Man.

1 Cor. xii. 19, 20, 21.

If they were all one Member, Where would the Body be?
But now are they many Members, yet but one Body.
The Eye cannot ſay unto the Hand, I have no Need of thee, nor, again, the Head to the Feet, I have no Need of thee.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas.
Juven. Sat.

London, Printed for *I. C.* 1647. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 311

Bibliotheca Militum: Or, the Soldiers publick Library. Lately erected for the Benefit of all that love the good old Cauſe, at *Wallingford-Houſe*; and already furniſhed with divers excellent Treatiſes, herein mentioned. *London*, printed in the Year 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 316

A true and plain Report of the furious Outrages of *France*, and the horrible and ſhameful Slaughter of *Chaſtillion* the Admiral, and divers other noble and excellent Men, and of the wicked and ſtrange Murder of godly Perſons, committed in many Cities of *France*, without any Reſpect of Sort, Kind, Age, or Degree. By *Erneſt Varamund*, of *Frieſeland*. Printed at *Stirling* in *Scotland*, 1573. *Duodecimo*, containing One-hundred and forty-three Pages 317

Cromwell's Complaint of Injuſtice: Or his Diſpute with Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, for Precedency in *Hell*. *Folio*, containing two Pages. 355

Scotland Characteriſed: In a Letter written to a young Gentleman, to diſſuade him from an intended Journey thither.

Scotica ſi diris devotum, terra tuliſſet
Cainum; non alias Exul peragraverat Oras.
Ipſa ſuis contenta malis: Non indiga Peſtis
Externæ: Infenſi ſatieſſe Numinis Iras.
Cleaveland Tranſlated.

By the Author of, *The Trip to* North-Wales. 1701. *Folio*, containing four Pages 357

A Warning for *England*, eſpecially for *London*; in the famous Hiſtory of the frantick Anabaptiſts, their wild Preachings and Practices in *Germany*. Printed in the Year 1642. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages 361

The *Scottiſh* Politick Presbyter, ſlain by an *Engliſh* Independent: Or, The Independents Victory over the Presbyterian Party. The Rigour of the *Scotch* Government, their Conniving and Bribing; the Lewdneſs and Debauchery of Elders in ſecret. A Tragi-Comedy.

Diruo & ædifico, muto quadrata rotundis.

Printed in the Year 1647. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages 369

Semper iidem: Or, a Parallel betwixt the Ancient and Modern Fanaticks.

1 Tim iv. 1.

In the latter Times, ſome ſhall depart from the Faith, giving Heed to ſeducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils.

London, printed for *Richard Lownds*, at the *White Lion*, in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, over-againſt the little North Door, 1661. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages 376

The five Years of King *James*, or, the Condition of the State of *England*, and the Relation it had to other Provinces. Written by Sir *Foulk Grevill*, late Lord *Brook*. *London*, printed for *W. R.* in the Year 1643. *Quarto*, containing eighty-four Pages 385

The Vindication of that Hero of Political Learning, *Nicholas Machiavel*, the ſecond *Tacitus*. MS. 424

The Coat of Arms of Sir *John Preſbyter*. Printed in the Year 1658. *Folio*, containing one Page 426

The Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Letter to the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Eccleſiaſtical Court. Containing one *Folio* Page 427

Vox Populi: Or the People's humble Diſcovery of their own Loyalty, and his Majeſty's ungrounded Jealouſy. *London*, printed *Anno* 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages *ib.*

An Epiſtle to *Charles the Second*, King of *England*, and to every individual Member of his Council. Preſented to them in pure Love and Good-will, that they might conſider of the Things herein contained, before the King was crowned or had taken his

his Oath; forasmuch as a Neceſſity from the Lord was laid upon the Penman of the ſaid Epiſtle, in Order thereto, who is known to divers People, by the Name of *Chriſtopher Cheeſman*. From the Town of *Reading* in *Berkſhire*, the 15th of the ſecond Month, 1661 430

The Rebels Catechiſm: Compoſed in an eaſy and familiar Way, to let them ſee the Heinouſneſs of their Offence, the Weakneſs of their ſtrongeſt Subterfuges, and to recall them to their Duties both to God and Man.

Rom. xiii. 2.

Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they, that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.

Printed, 1643. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 434

Articles and Ordinances of War, for the preſent Expedition of the Army in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. By the Committe of Eſtates, and his Excellency, the Lord General of the Army. *Edinburgh*, printed by *Evan Tyler*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, 1643. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages 448

Magnalia Naturæ: Or, the Philoſophers Stone, lately expoſed to publick Sight and Sale. Being a true and exact Account of the Manner how *Wenceſlaus Seiler*, the late famous Projection-Maker, at the Emperor's Court at *Vienna*, came by and made away with a very great Quantity of Powder of Projection, by projecting with it before the Emperor, and a great many Witneſſes, ſelling it, &c. for ſome Years paſt. Publiſhed at the Requeſt, and for the Satisfaction of ſeveral Curious, eſpecially of Mr. *Boyle*, &c. By *John Joachim Becher*, one of the Council of the Emperor, and a Commiſſioner for the *Examen* of this Affair.

Quid igitur ingrati ſumus? Cur invidemus etſi veritas divinitatis (quæ per ea quæ fat intelligi poteſt, Rom. i. 20.) *noſtri temporis ætate maturuit*. Minut. Felix.

London, printed by *Thomas Dawks*, his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Printer, living in *Black-Friars*. Sold alſo by *La Curtiſs*, in *Goat-Court* on *Ludgate-Hill*. 1680. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages 462

Oratio Carolina, The Triumph of King *Charles*: Or, the triumphant Manner and Order of receiving his Majeſty into his City of *London*, on *Thurſday* the Twenty fifth Day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1641, upon his ſafe and happy Return from *Scotland*. With Mr. Recorder's Speech to his Majeſty; and his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer. *London*, printed by *A. N.* 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages 467

A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of *Limerick*, with the Articles at large both Civil and Military. Publiſhed by Authority. *London*, printed for *R. Taylor*, near *Stationers*-Hall, 1692. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages 479

The Inconveniencies of a long Continuance of the ſame Parliament. Printed in 1680. *Folio*, containing four Pages 495

Abſalom's Conſpiracy: Or, The Tragedy of Treaſon. *London*, printed in the Year 1680. *Folio*, containing two Pages 499

The Cauſes and Manner of Depoſing a *Popiſh* King in *Sweden*, truly deſcribed. *London*, printed for *R. Baldwin* in the *Old Bailey*, 1688. *Folio*, containing two Pages 500

A Diſcloſing of the great Bull, and certain Calues, that he hath gotten, and ſpecially the Monſter Bull, that roared at my Lord Byſhops Gate. Imprinted at *London*, by *John Daye*, dwelling ouer *Aldersgate*. *Black Letter*, *Octavo*, containing twenty Pages 503

The Prophecy of Biſhop *Uſher*. To which is added, Two Letters, one from Sir *William Boſwell* (Ambaſſador at the *Hague*) to the moſt Reverend *William Laud*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the other from the Reverend *John Bramhall*, Biſhop of *Derry* in *Ireland*, to the moſt Reverend *James Uſher*, late Archbiſhop of *Armagh*. *London*, printed in the Year 1687. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 507

The King's Cabinet opened: Or certain Pacquets of ſecret Letters and Papers. Written with the King's own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at *Nasby* Field, *June* 14, 1645, by victorious Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; wherein are many Myſteries of State, tending to the Juſtification of that Cauſe, for which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* joined Battle that memorable Day, clearly laid open; together with ſome Annotations thereupon. Publiſhed by ſpecial Order of the Parliament. *London*, printed for *Robert Boſtock*, dwelling in St. *Paul*'s Churchyard, at the Sign of the *King's-head*, 1645. *Quarto*, containing ſeventy-two Pages 511

An Account of the late *Scotch* Invaſion; as it was opened by my Lord *Haverſham* in the Houſe of Lords, on *Friday*, the Twenty-fifth of *February*, 1708-9. With ſome Obſervations that were made in the Houſe of Commons, and true Copies of Authentick

Authentick Papers. In a Letter from a Gentleman in *South-Britain* to his Friend in *North-Britain*.

ISAIAH xix. v. 13.

The Princes of Zoan *are become Fools, the Princes of* Noph *are deceived; they have also reduced* Egypt, *even they that were the Stay of the Tribes thereof.*

Printed in the Year 1709. *Quarto*, containing forty-six Pages 541

An Account of the late terrible Earthquake in *Sicily*, with most of its Particulars. Done from the *Italian* Copy printed at *Rome*. *London:* Printed for *Richard Baldwin* near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. 1693. *Quarto*, containing thirty six Pages 556

A Letter from Sir *Henry Sidney*, to his Son, Sir *Philip Sidney*, consisting of Rules, in his Conduct in Life. *MS.* 565

A true Copy of the Petition of Gentlewomen, and Tradesmen's Wives, in and about the City of *London*, delivered to the honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, assembled in Parliament, on *February* the Fourth, 1641; together with their several Reasons, why their Sex ought thus to petition, as well as the Men; and the Manner how both their Petitions and Reasons were delivered: Likewise the Answer, which the honourable Assembly sent to them, by Mr. *Pym*, as they stood at the House-Door. *London*, printed for *J. Wright*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 567

The Quakers Remonstrance to the Parliament, *&c.* touching the Popish Plot, and Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Murder. Much of which being not unseasonable at this Juncture, it is now reprinted: As also to shew, that the Quakers were formerly as zealous against Popery, as any others; notwithstanding they have so much appeared to the Contrary of late. Licensed, the Fifteenth of *June*, 1689. *London*, printed 1689, and sold at several Bookfellers. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 570

A Voice from the Dead: Or, the Speech of an old noble Peer: Being the excellent Oration of the learned and famous *Boetius*, to the Emperor *Theodoricus*. *London*, printed, and sold by *Richard Janeway*, 1681. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 576

A Narrative of the late Proceedings at *White-hall*, concerning the *Jews:* Who had desired by Rabbi *Manasses*, an Agent for them, that they might return into *England*, and worship the God of their Fathers here in the Synagogues, *&c.* Published for Satisfaction to many in several Parts of *England*, that are desirous and inquisitive to hear the Truth thereof. *London*, printed for *L. Chapman*, at the *Crown* in *Pope's-head* Alley, 1656. *Quarto*, containing sixteen Pages 578

The *BRITISH* BELLMAN.

Printed in the Year
Of the Saints Fear.

Anno Domini, 1648. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages 585

The Character of a Fanatick. By a Person of Quality. *London*, printed in the Year 1675. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 596

The Last Will of *George Fox*, the Quakers great Apostle, as it was all written by his own Hand, and is now lying in the *Prerogative-Office*, by *Doctors-Commons*, *London*; attested by three eminent Quakers, whose Names are undermentioned: With a Copy of the Administration in *Latin*, taken out of the said Office, signed by *Thomas Wellham*, Deputy-Register, containing two Columns; that on the Left-Hand, being the Original, in his false *English* and Spelling; the other, on the Right-hand, put into true *English*, the Original being unintelligible. Published to convince the World, That he who made this Will, and could not write one Line of true *English* (and yet pretended high Skill in the Learned Languages, witness his *Battledoor*, and *Primer to the two Universities*; who said, in his *Battledoor*, *All Languages were no more to me than Dust, who was, before Languages were)* is not the Author of any one Page in all those Books, which the Quakers have impudently published under his Name. Printed on a Broad-Side 599

THE

The Hiſtory of *England*. The Firſt Book. Declaring the State of the Iſle of *Britain* under the *Roman* Empire. *London*, printed by *Valentine Simmes*, for *John Barnes*, dwelling in *Fleetſtreet*, at the Sign of the Great *Turk*, 1602. *Quarto*, containing one-hundred ſixteen Pages.

The PREFACE.

I Have oftentimes wiſhed, that (amongſt ſo many large Volumes, and Abridgements of our Engliſh *Chronicles, as are now extant) we might have one continued Hiſtory collected out of approved Writers, and digeſted in ſuch a Manner, as the Reader might neither be tired with the Length of fabulous and extravagant Diſcourſes, nor left unſatisfied in any material Points, or Circumſtances, worth his Knowledge. And, although Truth in her Nakedneſs and Simplicity ought, for her own Sake, to be deſired and preferred above all other Things, yet, we ſee, that the Nature of Man, affecting, for the moſt Part, rather Pleaſure than Profit, doth more willingly embrace ſuch Things as delight the Senſe, than ſuch as confirm the Judgment; though, to ſatisfy both the one and the other, is accounted, in Matters of this Kind, the Mark at which the beſt Writers have aimed, as being the very Type of Perfection itſelf: In which Reſpect, I am perſuaded, that ſuch a Work would be the better accepted, if the Writer thereof ſhould obſerve that Method which hath been uſed in former Times, by the beſt Hiſtoriographers amongſt the* Greeks *and* Romans, *who, to ſhew their own Wits, and to refreſh their Readers, deviſed ſet Speeches and Orations, to interlace, with their true Hiſtories, as Things both allowable and commendable, ſo far forth as they were grounded upon probable Conjectures, fitting the Speakers, and void of Abſurdity. Which Courſe hath been held alſo in our own Stories, by ſome of our Countrymen, in Writing upon particular Subjects, which they have choſen as moſt agreeable to their own Humours, and miniſtering beſt Matter of Diſcourſe. Amongſt all which, of this Kind, that excellent Story of* Richard the Third, *written by Sir* Thomas Moore, *if my Judgment fail me not, may worthily challenge the firſt Place.*

To write much in Commendation of Hiſtories were, I ſuppoſe, but to ſpend Time, as the Sophiſter *did in praiſing of* Hercules, *whom no Man, in his right Wits, ever diſpraiſed: And the Proems of Hiſtorical Books are already filled with Diſcourſes of the profitable Uſe that may be made of them, conſidering, that Examples, as the moſt familiar and pleaſing Kind of Learning, are found, by common Experience, to be much more available to the Reforming of Manners, than bare Rules and Precepts. If then the Knowledge of Hiſtories in general be ſo commodious and commendable a Thing, as learned Men, in all Ages, have eſteemed it, I make no Doubt, but it will be eaſily confeſſed, that there is no Hiſtory ſo fit for* Engliſhmen, *as the very Hiſtory of* England; *in which, if the Affection I bear to my native Country deceive me not, there are many Things, beſides the neceſſary Uſe thereof, very well worthy to be remembered and obſerved: Howſoever, our Chronicles have been a long Time condemned for barbarous, as wanting that Purity of Language,*

 wherewith

wherewith the Histories of many other Nations are adorned: And, indeed, I could wish, that they were so set forth, as our Gentlemen of England *might take no less Pleasure in reading the same, than they do now in reading the* English *Translations of the* Roman, French, *and* Italian *Histories, which, though they may be delightful, and, in some Kinds, profitable, yet, is not the Knowledge of them altogether so pertinent, and proper to us, as of the other, except we would desire to seem Citizens of another Country, and Strangers in our own.*

And although to some, perhaps, it may seem a Labour unnecessary, to begin with such ancient Things as were done here by the Romans, *especially, considering the Difference of Time itself, which, in every Age, bringeth forth divers Effects, and the Dispositions of Men, that, for the most Part, take less Pleasure therein, than in the Relation of the Occurrents of their own, or later Times; yet I think it fit, for Order's Sake, there to begin, whence we have the first certain Direction to proceed: And I doubt not, but some good Use also may be made, even of those ancient Things, howsoever they may be accounted impertinent to us, either by Imitation, or by Way of Comparison.*

As for the Story of Brute, *from his first Arrival here, until the Coming of the* Romans, *divers Writers hold it suspected, reputing it, for good Causes, rather a poetical Fiction, than a true History, as, namely,* Joannes de Whethamsted, *Abbot of* St. Albans, *a Man of great Judgment, who lived about the Year of Christ* 1449; *and* Gulielmus Nubrigensis, *with others, as well modern as ancient, who have, in like Manner, delivered their Censures thereof. Besides,* Venerable Bede *makes no Mention of it at all, but begins his History with the* Romans *Entrance into the Island. Howbeit, seeing it hath been for so long Time generally received, I will not presume, knowing the Power of Prescription in Matters of less Continuance, absolutely to contradict it; though, for my own Opinion, I suppose it to be a Matter of more Antiquity, than Verity. I write not this to detract from those, that have heretofore written thereof, in their Books of our* English *Chronicles, continued to these Times, as, namely,* Stowe, Hollinshead, Grafton, *and others, that have employed themselves, and their Travel, in searching out Antiquities, and memorable Things touching the Affairs of this Realm. That which they have done already deserveth Thanks and good Acceptance, in that, of a good Meaning, they have done their Endeavours. But, as in the Building of an House, divers Workmen are to be used for divers Purposes, namely, some to provide Timber and rough-hew it, others to carve and polish it; so I think it meet, that some Man of Knowledge and Judgment, requisite for the Accomplishing of such a Work, should advisedly peruse our* English *Chronicles, the Substance and Matter, though laid up in divers publick and private Storehouses, being already provided, and thereof to frame an History, in such a Manner, as the Reader might reap both Pleasure and Profit thereby. Howbeit, I see small Likelihood that any Thing will be done herein, while such, as are best able to perform it, are content to look on, straining Courtesy who should begin; some refusing the Labour, in Respect either of the Labour itself, or of the small Recompence that followeth it; considering, withal, the Carelessness and Thanklessness of this Age, wherein the best Works, contrived with many Years Travel, are, for the most Part, either scarcely vouchsafed the Reading, or else read with a full Stomach and a Kind of Loathing.*

Others there are, that prefer Silence as the safest Way, in that it is free from Censure and Danger, which a Man may easily incur by Writing; whereas, for doing Nothing, no Man is either blamed, or constrained to render an Account. For there are many that think they cannot shew their Wits so well in any Thing, as in finding Faults with other Men's Doings, themselves, in the mean Time, doing Nothing. And, though sometimes there may be just

Causes

Causes of Reproof, yet, many Times, we see that Exceptions are taken, either upon Dislike of the Writer, or Envy of the Thing itself deserving Commendation; or, as it falleth out many Times, upon Ignorance, the professed Enemy of Art and Industry, which causeth some to condemn what they understand not: For the learned and industrious Sort of Men, as they are best able to judge what is done well or ill, so they are most sparing in reproving other Men's Labours, or making bad Constructions of good Meanings. To the Censure of these Men, as of indifferent Judges, I do freely submit myself, not doubting, but such as have travelled heretofore in Matters of this Kind, being also experienced in others, will confess it a Work of no less Trouble, to alter and repair an old decayed House with the same Timber, than to erect a new one at the Builder's Pleasure.

Again, There are some that will not stick to call in Question the Truth of all Histories, affirming them to be vain and fabulous; both, for that they are, for the most Part, grounded upon Conjectures, and other Men's Reports, which are more likely to be false than true, and also, for that the Writers themselves, as well as the Reporters, might be partially affected: Whereto I answer, That many Things are left to the Writer's Discretion, and that it is impossible for any Man, though never so great a Lover of Truth, to relate truly all particular Matters of Circumstance, but that he may fail in many Things, and yet carefully observe the principal Points; which we are so far forth to allow, as we find them not unlikely nor improbable: Otherwise, in detracting from the Credit of ancient Histories, either upon uncertain Surmises, or by rejecting probable Conjectures, we should deprive the World of a very great Portion of human Learning.

For my own Part, although I might be discouraged in Respect both of these Inconveniences, which haply wiser Men foresee and avoid, and also in regard of myself (being, amongst many others, the most insufficient to perform the Task, as a Man wanting both Judgment and Health of Body, to go thorough with so weighty and laborious a Work) yet have I undertaken to make a Proof, as you see, in setting down the State of this Isle, under the Romans *Government, according to the Report of* Cæsar, Tacitus, Dio, Cassius, *and other approved Writers of our own, out of whom I have collected so much, as I thought necessary to be remembered touching this Subject, and digested the same into the Form of an History; and namely, out of the* English *Translation of* Tacitus, *upon the Life of* Julius Agricola, *I have taken, and appropriated to the Context of this Treatise, not only the Substance, but the Orations themselves of* Galgacus *and* Agricola, *with other Things there mentioned, as a choice Piece of Marble already polished by an exquisite Workman, and fit for a much fairer Building than I was likely to rear upon this old and imperfect Foundation. The Phrase thereof only in some few Places I have, I hope, without Offence, altered, fashioning it to our own Tongue, as taking myself not necessarily tied to so precise an Observation in the Exposition of Words, as is required in a Translator. And I thought it better to set these Things down in this Manner, and to acknowledge whence I had them, than, by marring them, to make them seem my own: For I have ever esteemed it a Sign of an illiberal Nature, either to detract, in any Sort, from another Man's Labour, or to affect the Praise of another Man's Merit. Touching the Affairs of the Empire, although I have interposed them, here and there, throughout this Book, yet have I touched them sparingly, taking only so much, and no more, than might well serve to explain the Matter in Hand.*

It may be, some Fault will be found, that, in the Stile, I have not kept one and the same Course from the Beginning to the End, but that I have staid too long on some Points, and passed over others too briefly; that many Things are handled confusedly and abruptly, without due Observation of Circumstances required in a well composed History. Indeed, I must confess, that, herein, the Success hath not answered my Expectation in the Beginning. How-

beit, if I may be my own Judge, I ought to be excuſed by ſuch as ſhall conſider, firſt, the Subject itſelf, which is, for the moſt Part, more proper for Annals, than for a continued Hiſtory: Next, the Variety of Authors, like ſo many divers Soils, out of which theſe Fruits are collected; then, the imperfect Relations of former Times, wherein the Affairs of this Iſle, for many Years together, were either paſſed over in Silence by Writers, or elſe but darkly and imperfectly reported; and, laſtly, the often Change of Emperors and Governors here, during the Space of above four-hundred Years. By Reaſon of which Inconveniences, I was forced, in divers Places of this Book, eſpecially towards the latter End, to ſet down a bare Collection of the Actions themſelves, without Circumſtances; wherein, if the Method ſeem differing from the former, let the Cauſe thereof be imputed, partly to my Love of Truth, in delivering Things, as I received them from others, and partly to my Deſire to contain the Work within ſome reaſonable Proportion; which, otherwiſe, in dilating the Acts of every particular Governor, would have grown to a far greater Volume, and myſelf, thereby, ſhould have run into that Error, which I diſlike, and wiſh to be reformed.

Others, perhaps, will alledge, That I have done ſome Wrong to Antiquity in diſguiſing it with modern Terms and Phraſes, affirming thoſe of ancient Time to be more proper for our Story, as being more free from the Mixture of other Languages, than the Dialect now current among us. But herein, as I diſlike Affection of foreign and new coined Words, when we have good and ſufficient Store of our own, ſo, conſidering that our Language, of itſelf, is none of the fruitfulleſt, I ſee no Reaſon, that it ſhould be debarred from Communicating with the Latin *and* French *Words, which are now in a Manner become Denizens among us, to the Inriching and Poliſhing of our* Engliſh *Tongue: And, altho' I eſteem Antiquity (as the Preſerver of Things worthy to be remembered, for the Benefit of Poſterity) yet I muſt confeſs, that I am not ſo ſtiffly bent to maintain it, as ſome Kind of Men, that had rather dwell in old ſmoky Houſes, for that their Anceſtors built them, than to alter the Faſhion of them, for Conveniency and Decency. Touching the ancient Names of the Inhabitants of this Iſle, I have ſet them down, as congruent to thoſe Times, whereof I write, according to the ancient* Roman *Hiſtoriographers. In other Matters of Antiquity, I have, for the moſt Part, followed Maſter* Camden, *whoſe Learning and Judgment therein I do eſpecially reverence. What Pains he hath already taken, and with what good Succeſs, in the Chorographical Part, the preſent Time (to his deſerved Praiſe, both at Home and Abroad) can openly teſtify, and ſucceeding Ages, to the Honour of our Nation, ſhall for ever hereafter remember: For, by his Means, this flouriſhing Iſland, which heretofore was ſcarce known to her own Inhabitants, is now both known and had in Eſtimation among Strangers, who take Pleaſure to read and underſtand what he hath written thereof. And, were the Hiſtorical Part as exactly ſet forth in* Engliſh, *as his Deſcription in* Latin, *I ſuppoſe, that few Nations might then match us for an Hiſtory; whereas now, in that one Point, we come ſhort of all others, that are not merely barbarous: For, like unnatural Children, altogether careleſs of thoſe Duties we owe to that Place where we firſt received our Being, we ſpend our Time either in catching Flies with* Domitian, *or elſe in decking foreign Stories with our beſt* Engliſh *Furniture; ſuffering our own, in the mean Time, to ſit in Rags, to the Blemiſh of our Country, which (having been heretofore famous for Arms, and honoured with the Preſence and Reſidence of many worthy Emperors, Kings, and Captains; and at this Day renowned for Arms and Arts, under the happy Government of a Virgin-Queen admired in all Parts of the World) can yet hardly find any Man, in ſo long a Time of Civility and Peace, to take Pity on her, and to attire her like herſelf.*

If

If this my Attempt may give Occaſion to the Gentleman before-named, or ſome others, that are beſt able to effect it, either to reform that which I have already written as an Introduction to our Engliſh *Hiſtory, or elſe to begin a-new, and proceed with the Continuation of it to theſe Times, I ſhall then have my Deſire, and think my Pains taken in this Work, howſoever it may be cenſured, not beſtowed in vain.*

The Lieutenants and Deputies in Britain, *under the* Roman *Emperors.*

Roman *Emperors.*	*Lieutenants in* Britain.
Julius Cæſar.	*After* Julius Cæſar's *Arrival here, till the Time of* Claudius, *the* Romans *had no* Lieutenants in *Britain.*
Octavianus Cæſar Auguſtus.	
Tiberius.	
Caius Caligula.	
Claudius Britannicus.	Aulus Plautius *(under whom* Veſpaſian *ſerved, with* Titus *his Son.)*
	Oſtorius Scapula.
	A. Didius Gallus Avitus.
Nero.	Veranius.
	Sutionius Paulinus.
	Petronius Turpilianus.
	Trebellius Maximus.
Galba.	Trebellius Maximus.
Otho.	Trebellius Maximus.
Vitellius.	Vectius Bolanus.
Veſpaſianus.	Petilius Cerealis.
	Julius Frontinus.
	Julius Agricola.
Titus.	Julius Agricola.
Domitianus.	Julius Agricola.
	Saluſtius Lucullus.
Nerva.	
Trajanus.	
Adrianus Britannicus.	Julius Severus.
	Priſcus Licinius.
Antoninus Pius.	Lollius Urbicus Britannicus.
Antoninus Philoſophus.	Calphurnius Agricola.
Commodus.	Ulpius Marcellus.
	Helvius Pertinax. *
	Clodius Albinus.
	Junius Severus.
Helvius Pertinax.	Clodius Albinus.
Didius Julianus.	Clodius Albinus. *
Septimius Severus Britannicus.	Heraclianus.
	Virius Lupus.
Ant. Baſſianus Caracalla.	*From the Time of* Caracalla, *to* Conſtantine the Great, *viz. for the Space of one-hundred Years, or thereabouts, the Names of* Lieutenants *are not extant; neither is there any Mention at all made, in Hiſtories, of the Affairs in* Britain, *until the Time of* Gallienus, *who held the Empire about fifty Years after* Caracalla.
Popilius Macrinus.	
Varus Heliogabalus.	
Alexander Severus.	
Maximinus.	
Gordianus I, II, III.	
Philippus Arabs.	
Decius.	

Valerianus.

Valerianus.
Gallienus
Flavius Claudius.
Valerius Aurelianus.
Tacitus.
Valerius Probus.
Carus Narbonenſis.
Diocleſianus.
Maximianus Herculius Cæſar.
Galerius Maximianus Cæſar.
Fl. Conſtantinus Chlorus Cæſ.
Conſtantius Magnus.
Conſtantinus.
Conſtans.

Conſtantius.

Julianus Apoſtata.
Jovinianus.
Valentinianus Primus.
Gratianus.
Valentinianus Secundus.
Honorius.

Theodoſius Junior.

Pacatianus Dep.

{ Martinus.
{ Alipius.

{ Chryſanthus.
{ Victorinus.

I have, both in this Table, and in the Book following, uſed the Word Lieutenant *inſtead of* Legatus, *or* Proprætor, *as he is commonly called in the* Roman *Stories.*

In the Time of Conſtantine the Great, *the chief Officer was called* Vicarius, *as being* Deputy *under the* Præfectus Prætorius *of* Gallia; *and, in the Declining of the Empire, divers Officers, both for Civil and Military Cauſes, were inſtituted by divers Names, and employed in this Iſle; though, becauſe their Authority cannot be preciſely ſet down by any Records of approved Hiſtories, I forbear to place them here among* Lieutenants *and* Deputies.

I have drawn Lines only againſt the Names of divers Emperors, inſtead of Blanks, to ſupply the Defect of Lieutenants *and* Deputies, *whoſe Names are not known.*

IT is recorded by the moſt true and ancient of all Hiſtories, that the Iſles of the *Gentiles*, after the univerſal Flood, were firſt divided and inhabited by the Poſterity of *Japhet*; from whoſe eldeſt Son, called *Gomer*, the *Cimbrians* (as Writers report) derived their Name and Deſcent, imparting the ſame to the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and conſequently to the Inhabitants of this Iſle, as being originally deſcended from the *Gauls*, that came over hither at the firſt, either upon a natural Deſire (which Men commonly have to diſcover Places unknown) or to avoid the Aſſaults of other Nations incroaching upon them; or perhaps to diſburden their native Soil, by ſeeking new Habitations Abroad. And this Opinion of the *Britons* firſt coming out of *Gallia* ſeemeth the more probable, in regard both of the Situation of this Iſland, in Nearneſs to that Continent, and alſo of the Uniformity in Language, Religion, and Policy between the moſt ancient *Gauls* and *Britons*.

Touching the Name of *Britain*, with the Governors and State thereof before the *Romans* Arrival, as they are Things not to have been neglected, if any certain Knowledge of them had been left us, by approved Teſtimonies of former Ages: So I think it not now requiſite therein, either to recite the different Conjectures of other Men, or, of myſelf, conſtantly to affirm any Thing, as well for that thoſe Matters have been already handled at large, by our modern Writers, as alſo for that, I ſuppoſe, in aiming at ſuch antique Originals (there being but one Truth amidſt many Errors) a Man may much more eaſily ſhoot wide, than hit the Mark. I purpoſe therefore (omitting Ety-

Etymologies of Words, and Variety of Opinions concerning the firſt Inhabitants and their Doings) to take the Names and Affairs of this Iſle, in ſuch Sort, as they were firſt known to the *Romans*, in the Time of *Julius Cæſar*, when the *Roman* State, which had tried all Kinds of Government, as, namely, that of Kings, then Conſuls, Decemvirs, and Tribunes, began to be uſurped by a few, and ſoon after ſubmitted itſelf to one. For, about the fifty-fourth Year before the Birth of our Saviour Chriſt, *Cæſar*, being then Governor of *Gallia* for the Senate and People of *Rome*, and having brought ſome Part of that Country under Obedience, intended a Voyage with an Army into *Britain*, partly upon Pretence of Revenge (for that the *Britons* had divers Times aided the *Gauls* in their Wars againſt the *Romans*) and partly to ſatisfy himſelf, with the Sight of the Iſland, and the Knowledge of the Inhabitants and their Cuſtoms; whereto he might, perhaps, be the more readily induced, by Reaſon of his own natural Inclination to undertake great and difficult Attempts, and, with the Increaſe of his own Glory, to enlarge the Limits of the *Roman* Empire, unto which, at that Time, the Sovereignty of the whole World was by divine Providence allotted. And to this End he thought good to be firſt informed of the Nature of the People, and of ſuch Havens in the Iſle, as were moſt commodious to receive any Shipping that ſhould come thither; which Things were in a Manner unknown to the *Gauls*, by Reaſon the Iſlanders ſuffered none to have Acceſs to them, but Merchants only, neither knew, even they, any other Places than the Sea-Coaſts, and thoſe Parts of the Iſle, that confronted the Continent of *Gallia*. Whereupon *Cæſar*, ſuppoſing it neceſſary to make ſome Diſcovery, before he ventured himſelf in the Action, ſent *Caius Voluſenus*, in a Long-boat, 'With Inſtructions, to enquire of the Quantity of the 'Iſland, of the Condition of the Inhabitants, 'of their Manner of making War, of their 'Government in Peace, and what Places were 'fitteſt for Landing.' After which Diſpatch made, himſelf, with all his Forces (which were newly returned from making War beyond the *Rhine*) marched into the Country of the *Morini*, from whence was the ſhorteſt Cut into *Britain*, for there he had appointed his Shipping to meet him.

In the mean Time, his Purpoſe being known to the *Britons*, by Report of the Merchants, that traded with them, divers States of the Iſle, either fearing the Greatneſs of the *Roman* Power, or affecting Innovation for ſome private Reſpects, ſent over Ambaſſadors, who promiſed, in their Names, to deliver Hoſtages, for Aſſurance of their Obedience to the People of *Rome*; but *Cæſar*, though he was fully reſolved to enter the Iſland, yet he courteouſly entertained their Offer, exhorting them to continue in that good Mind, as a Means to draw on the reſt, in following the Example of their Submiſſion. For the better Effecting whereof he appointed *Comius*, the chief Governor of the *Atrebates* (as a Man whoſe Wiſdom and Faith he had tried, and whom he knew to be reſpected of the *Britons*) to accompany the Ambaſſadors in their Return, giving him in Charge to go to as many Cities as would permit him Acceſs; and to perſuade the Rulers to ſubmit themſelves, as ſome of their Nation had already done; and further, to let them know, that himſelf, with all convenient Speed, would come thither. The Princes of the Iſle, being as yet unacquainted with any civil Kinds of Government, maintained Quarrels and Factions among themſelves, whereby, while one ſought to offend another, and to enlarge his own Part, by incroaching upon his Neighbours, not obſerving, that what they gained in particular one of another, they loſt all together in the general Reckoning, they made an open Paſſage, in the End, for the *Romans* to conquer the Whole; a Thing common to them with other Nations, who have found the like Effects to proceed from the like Cauſes. For the moſt Part of the *Britons*, in thoſe Days, delighted in War, neglecting Huſbandry, or perhaps not then knowing the Uſe of it. Their Manner of Living and Cuſtoms were much like to thoſe of the Inhabitants of *Gallia*. Their Diet was ſuch as Nature yielded of herſelf, without the Induſtry of Man; for, though they had great Store of Cattle, yet they lived, eſpecially in their Inland Countries, on Milk. It was held among them, as a Thing unlawful, to eat of a Hare, a Hen, or a Gooſe, and yet they nouriſhed them all for Recreation's Sake. Their Apparel was made of the Skins of Beaſts, though their Bodies were, for the moſt Part, naked and ſtained with

Woad, which gave them a bluiſh Colour, and, as they ſuppoſed, made their Aſpect terrible to their Enemies in Battle. Their Houſes were made of Stakes, Reeds, and Boughs of Trees, faſtened together in a round Circle. They had ten or twelve Wives a-piece common among them, though the Iſſue were always accounted his that firſt married the Mother, being a Maiden. They were, in Stature, taller than the *Gauls*; in Wit, more ſimple, as being leſs civil.

By this Time *Voluſenus*, who durſt not ſet Foot on Land to hazard himſelf among the barbarous Iſlanders, returned to *Cæſar*, namely, the fifth Day after his Setting forth, and made Relation of ſuch Things as he had ſeen and heard, by Report, in roving up and down the Coaſt, in View of the Iſland. *Cæſar*, having compoſed ſome Tumults in the hither Part of *Gallia*, that he might leave no Enemy behind his Back to annoy him in his Abſence, purſued the Enterpriſe of *Britain*, having, to that End, prepared a Navy, which conſiſted of about eighty Ships of Burden, a Number ſufficient, as he thought, for the Tranſportation of two Legions, beſides his Long-boats, wherein the Quæſtor, the Lieutenants, and other Officers of the Camp were to be embarked. There were alſo eighteen Ships of Burden, that lay Wind-bound, about eight Miles from the Port, appointed to waft over the Horſemen. *P. Sulpitius Rufus*, a Lieutenant of a Legion, was commanded to keep the Haven itſelf, with ſuch Power, as was thought ſufficient. Theſe Things being thus ordered, and a good Part of the Summer ſpent, *Cæſar* put now out to Sea, about the third Watch of the Night, having given Direction, that the Horſemen ſhould embark in the upper Haven, and follow him; wherein, while they were ſomewhat ſlack, *Cæſar*, with his Shipping, about the fourth Hour of the Day, arrived upon the Coaſt of *Britain*, where he beheld the Cliffs poſſeſſed with a Multitude of barbarous People, rudely armed, and ready to make Reſiſtance.

The Nature of the Place was ſuch, as, by Reaſon of the ſteep Hills incloſing the Sea on each Side in a narrow Strait, it gave great Advantage to the *Britons*, in caſting down their Darts upon their Enemies underneath them. *Cæſar*, finding this Place unfit for Landing his Forces, put off from the Shore, and caſt Anchor, expecting the reſt of his Fleet; and, in the mean Time, calling a Council of the Lieutenants, and Tribunes of the Soldiers, he declared unto them what he had underſtood by *Voluſenus*, and directed what he would have done, warning them, that, as the State of the War, and eſpecially the Sea-ſervice required, they would be ready to weigh Anchor, and to remove to and fro, upon Occaſions, at a Beck, and in an Inſtant.

This done, having Advantage both of Wind and Tide, he ſet forward with his Navy, about four Leagues from that Place, and then lay at Anchor, in View of the open and plain Shore. But the Iſlanders, upon the Intelligence of the *Romans* Purpoſe, had ſent thither, before *Cæſar*'s coming, a Company of Horſemen and Chariots called *Eſſeda* (which they then uſed in their Wars) and, following afterwards with the reſt of their Forces, impeded their Enemies from Landing, whoſe Ships, by Reaſon of their huge Bulks, drawing much Water, could not come near to the Shore; ſo that the *Roman* Soldiers were thereby forced in Places unknown, their Bodies being charged with their Armour, to leap into the Water, and encounter the *Britons*, who aſſailed them nimbly with their Darts, and drove their Horſes and Chariots, with main Force, upon them: The *Romans*, being therewith terrified, as Men unacquainted with that Kind of Fight, failed much of the wonted Courage which they had ſhewed in their former Land-ſervices; and *Cæſar*, perceiving it, cauſed the Long-boats, which ſeemed more ſtrange to the barbarous People, and were more ſerviceable, by Reaſon of their Swiftneſs in Motion, to put off, by little and little, from the greater Ships, and to row towards the Shore, from whence they might more eaſily charge the *Britons* with their Arrows, Slings, and other warlike Engines; which, being then unknown to the Iſlanders, as alſo the Faſhion of the Ships, and Motion of the Oars in the Long-boats, having ſtruck them with Fear and Amazement, cauſed them to make a Stand, and afterwards to draw back a little.

But the *Roman* Soldiers making no Haſte to purſue them, by Reaſon of the Water, which they ſuſpected in ſome Places to be deep and dangerous; the Standard-bearer of the Eagle for the tenth Legion, praying that his Attempt might prove ſucceſsful to the Legion, cried out with a loud Voice, in this Manner:

"Fellow Soldiers, leap out of your Boats,

"and

"and follow me, except you mean to betray "your Standard to the Enemy: For my own "Part, I mean to diſcharge the Duty I owe "to the Commonwealth, and to my Gene-"ral." This ſaid, he caſt himſelf into the Water, and carried the Standard boldly againſt the *Britons*. Whereupon the Soldiers, exhorting one another to follow the Enſign, what Fortune ſoever might befall, with common Conſent leaped out of their Long-boats, one ſeconding another, and ſo, wading through the Water, at length got to Shore, where began a ſharp and bloody Fight on both Sides. The *Romans* were much incumbered, by Reaſon that they could neither keep their Ranks, nor fight upon firm Ground, nor follow their own Standards; for every one, as he came on Land, ran confuſedly to that which was next him.

Some of the *Britons* (who knew the Flats, and ſhallow Places, eſpying the *Romans*, as they came ſingle out of their Ships) pricked forward their Horſes, and ſet upon them, overlaying them with Numbers, and finding them unwieldy and unready to make any great Reſiſtance, by reaſon of the Depth of the Water, and Weight of their Armour, while the greater Part of the barbarous People with their Darts aſſailed them fiercely upon the Shore; which *Cæſar* perceiving, commanded the Cock-boats and Scouts to be manned with Soldiers, whom he ſent in all Haſte to reſcue their Fellows. There was a Soldier of *Cæſar*'s Company, called *Caſſius Scæva*, who, with ſome others of the ſame Band, was carried, in a ſmall Boat, unto a Rock, which the ebbing Sea, in that Place, had made acceſſible: The *Britons*, eſpying them, made thitherward; the reſt of the *Romans* eſcaping, *Scæva* alone was left upon the Rock, to withſtand the Fury of the inraged Multitude, that aſſailed him with their Darts, which he received upon his Shield, and thruſt at them with his Spear, till it was broken, and his Helmet and Shield loſt; then, being tired with extreme Toil, and dangerouſly wounded, he betook himſelf to Flight, and, carrying two light Harneſſes on his Back, with much Difficulty recovered *Cæſar*'s Tent, where he craved Pardon, for making ſo bold an Attempt without Commandment of his General. *Cæſar* did both remit the Offence, and reward the Offender, by beſtowing upon him the Office of a Centurion. This was that *Scæva* who afterwards gave good Cauſe to have his Name remembered in the *Roman* Story, for the memorable Service he did to *Cæſar*, in the Time of the Civil Wars between him and *Pompey*, at the Battle near *Dyrrachium*. The *Romans*, having at length got Footing on dry Land, gave a freſh Charge upon the *Britons*, and, in the End, forced them to turn their Backs, and leave the Shore, though they could not purſue them far into the Land, for Want of Horſemen, *Cæſar*'s accuſtomed Fortune failing him in this one Accident. The *Britons*, after this Overthrow, aſſembling themſelves together, upon Conſultation had amongſt themſelves, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, promiſing to deliver in Pledges, or to do whatſoever elſe he would command them. With theſe Ambaſſadors came *Comius* of *Arras*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent before out of *Gallia* into *Britain*, where, having delivered the Meſſage he had then in Charge, he was apprehended, committed to Priſon, and now, after the Battle, releaſed. The chief States of the *Britons*, ſeeking to excuſe their Attempts, laid the Blame upon the Multitude, who, being the greater Number, and wilfully bent to take Arms, could neither by Perſuaſion, nor Authority, be reſtrained: And they pretended their own Ignorance, as being a free People, and not experienced in the Cuſtoms of other Nations. *Cæſar*, although he reproved them for making War in that Manner, conſidering that of their own Accord they had ſent Ambaſſadors to him, before his Arrival in *Britain*, to deſire Peace; yet was content to pardon them, upon Delivery of Pledges, whereof ſome he received preſently, and the reſt, being to come from remote Places, he appointed to be ſent in by a certain Day: So the *Britons* were diſmiſſed, to return into their Countries; and in the mean Time there came divers Princes from other Parts of the Iſland, to ſubmit themſelves and their Cities to *Cæſar*. The fourth Day after the *Romans* Landing, the Ships before-mentioned, appointed for Tranſportation of *Cæſar*'s Horſemen, having a favourable Gale of Wind, put out to Sea from the Upper Haven, and, approaching near the Iſland, in View of the *Roman* Camp, a ſudden Storm aroſe, and ſcattered them, driving ſome of them back again to the Port from whence they came, and ſome others upon the Lower Part of the Iſland Weſtward, where, after they had caſt Anchor (their Keels being almoſt overwhelmed with the Waves) they were carried by Violence of the

the Storm in the Night into the Main, and, with very great Peril, recovered a Harbour in the Continent. The ſame Night, the Moon was at the Full, at which Time commonly the Sea in thoſe Parts is much troubled, and overfloweth the Banks, by Reaſon of the high Tides (a Matter unknown to the *Romans*) inſomuch as the Long-boats, which tranſported the Army, then lying upon the Shore, were filled with the Flood, and the Ships of Burden, that lay at Anchor, were beaten with the Storm, and ſplit in Pieces, the greater Number of them periſhing in the Water, and the reſt being made altogether unſerviceable, their Anchors loſt, and Tacklings broken; wherewith the *Romans* were much perplexed, for that they neither had any other Ships to tranſport them back again, nor any Means to repair what the Tempeſt had ruined: And *Cæſar* had formerly reſolved to winter in *Gallia*, by Reaſon he was unfurniſhed of Victuals to maintain the Army during the Winter Seaſon: Which being known to the chief States of the *Britons* (who had met together about the Accompliſhment of ſuch Things, as *Cæſar* had commanded them) they ſuppoſed a fit Opportunity was offered them to revolt, while the *Romans* wanted Horſemen, Shipping, and all Manner of Proviſions; the Number of their Forces ſeeming alſo the leſs, in Reſpect of the ſmall Circuit of their Camp, *Cæſar* having tranſported his Legions without any Carriages, or ſuch like warlike Neceſſaries. Whereupon they concluded to keep them from Victuals, and to prolong the War, till Winter; aſſuring themſelves, that, if they could either vanquiſh the *Romans*, or bar them from returning thence, there would no foreign Nation after them adventure to ſet Foot again in *Britain*. Hereupon they entered into a ſecond Conſpiracy, conveying themſelves by Stealth out of the *Roman* Camp, and gathering Company to them privily from divers Parts, to make Head againſt their Enemies. *Cæſar*, albeit he was ignorant of the *Britons* Purpoſe, yet ſuppoſing that the State of his Army and the Loſs of his Ships were known to them, and conſidering that they had broken Day with him, in detaining their Pledges contrary to the Contract, he ſuſpected that, which afterwards proved true. And therefore, to provide Remedies againſt all Chances, he cauſed Corn to be brought daily out of the Fields into his Camp, and ſuch Ships, as could not be made fit for Service, were uſed to repair the reſt, and ſuch other Things, as were wanting thereto, he appointed to be brought out of the Continent; by which Means, and the Diligence of his Soldiers, with the Loſs of twelve Ships, the reſt of his Navy was made able to bear Sail, and brook the Seas again. While theſe Things were in doing, the ſeventh Legion, according to Cuſtom, was ſent forth a Foraging, till which Time, the *Britons* Revolt was not certainly known, for that ſome of them remained abroad in the Fields, and others came ordinarily into the *Roman* Camp. The Warders, in the Station before the Camp, gave Notice to *Cæſar*, that, the ſame Way which the Legion went, there appeared a greater Duſt, than was wont to be ſeen. *Cæſar*, miſtruſting ſome new Practice of the *Britons*, commanded the Cohorts, that kept Ward, to march thither, appointing two others to ſupply their Rooms, and the reſt of his Forces to arm themſelves with Speed and follow him. When he approached near the Place deſcried, he perceived his Soldiers to be overcharged with the *Britons*, who aſſailed them on all Sides with their Darts. For, the *Britons* having conveyed their Corn from all other Parts, this only excepted, and ſuſpecting that the *Romans* would come thither, they did lie in the Woods, all Night, to intercept them; and, finding them diſperſed, and unready, they ſuddenly ſet upon them, as they were reaping, killing a few of them, and diſordering the reſt with their Horſes and Chariots. The Manner of their fighting in Chariots was thus: *Firſt they uſed to ride* round about their Enemies Forces, caſting their Darts, where they ſaw Advantage, and oftentimes with the Fierceneſs of their Horſes, and Whirling of their Chariot Wheels, they broke their Enemies Ranks, and, being gotten in among the Troops of Horſemen, they would leap out of their Chariots, and fight on Foot. The Chariot-drivers, in the mean Time, withdrew themſelves by little and little out of the Battle, and placed themſelves in ſuch Sort, as their Maſters, being overmatched by their Enemies, might readily recover their Chariots, ſo that in their Fighting they performed the Offices, both of Horſemen in Swiftneſs of Motion, and alſo of Footmen in keeping their Ground; and, by daily Uſe and Exerciſe, they were grown ſo expert in managing their Horſes, as, driving them forcibly down a ſteep Hill, they were able to ſtay or turn them in the Mid-

Mid-way, yea, to run along the Beam to ſtand firm upon the Yoke, and to return thence ſpeedily into their Chariots again.

The *Romans* being much troubled with this new Kind of Fight, *Cæſar* came in good Time to the Reſcue. For, upon his Approach, the *Britons* gave over the Skirmiſh, yet keeping ſtill their Ground as Maſters of the Field, and the *Romans*, for Fear, retired themſelves to their General, who thought it no Point of Wiſdom to hazard his Forces in a Place unknown; but, having ſtaid there a While, conducted the Legions, back again to his Camp, and, in the mean Time, the *Britons*, that were in the Field, diſperſed themſelves, and ſhrunk away. After this, there were, for many Days together, continual Tempeſts, which kept the *Romans* in their Camp, and hindered the *Britons* from making any open Attempt, though they ſent Meſſengers ſecretly into divers Parts of the Iſland, publiſhing abroad, what a ſmall Number of their Enemies was left, what great Hope there was of a rich Booty, and what apparent Likelihood of recovering their Liberty, if they could drive the *Romans* from their Camp Hereupon in a ſhort Time they aſſembled a great Number of Horſe and Footmen, to put this their Purpoſe in Execution; *Cæſar*, underſtanding thereof, made Preparation for Defence, having gotten alſo about thirty Horſemen (which *Comius* of *Arras* brought over with him) whoſe Service he ſuppoſed very neceſſary, if the *Britons*, according to their wonted Manner, ſhould ſeek to ſave themſelves by Flight. The Legions were placed in Battle Array before his Camp. Then the *Britons* began the Fight, which had not long continued when they gave back, and fled, the *Romans* purſuing them as far as they durſt, killing many whom they overtook, and burning Houſes and Towns, as they returned to their Camp. The ſame Day, the *Britons* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, deſiring Peace, which, after a long Sute, was granted, upon Condition, that the Number of the Pledges, which was before impoſed, ſhould be now doubled, and ſpeedily ſent over into *Gallia*: For, the *Æ*quinoctial drawing near, *Cæſar* made Haſte thither, doubting his craſed Ships would not be well able to brook the Seas in Winter. Whereupon, taking Advantage of the next fair Wind, he embarked his Forces about Midnight, and, with the greateſt Part of his Fleet, arrived in the Continent. The *Roman* Senate, upon Relation of theſe his Services, decreed a Supplication for him, for the Space of twenty Days.

In the Spring of the Year following, *Cæſar*, having pacified ſome Tumults in *Gallia*, proſecuted the Enterpriſe of *Britain*; and to that End he had prepared a Fleet of new Ships, well appointed, and commodiouſly built for Landing his Forces (the Want whereof he had found before, to his great Loſs) and a ſufficient Army conſiſting of five Legions, and a proportional Number of Horſe, which he embarked at *Portus Iccius* about the Sun-ſetting, having a fair Southern Wind to ſet them forward; which failing them about Midnight, the Tide diverted their Courſe, ſo that in the Morning he diſcovered the Iſland on his left Hand, and then, following the Turning of the Tide, he commanded his Soldiers to uſe their Oars, that they might reach that Part of the Iſland, where they had found beſt Landing the Summer before; wherein they took ſuch Pains, that their Ships of Burden kept Way with their long Boats and lighter Veſſels. About Noon they landed on the Shore, where there appeared no Man to make Reſiſtance: The Cauſe whereof was (as *Cæſar* afterwards learned by ſuch Priſoners, as he took) for that the *Britons*, having aſſembled themſelves together in Arms at the Sea-Side, were ſo terrified with the Sight of the Ships, which of all Sorts were eſteemed above eight-hundred Sail, that they left the Shore, and ran to hide themſelves in the Upland Country. *Cæſar*, upon Intelligence by Fugitives, where the *Britiſh* Forces lay, leaving, at the Sea-Side, ten Cohorts and three-hundred Horſe to guard the Ships then lying at Anchor; whereof *Quintus Atrius* had the Charge, marched forward, with the reſt of his Army in the Night, about twelve Miles into the Land, where he eſpied a Multitude of *Britons* flocked together near a River, having gotten the upper Ground, from whence they begun to charge the *Romans* with their Horſe and Chariots; but, being repulſed by *Cæſar*'s Horſemen, they fled and hid themſelves in the Woods, in a Place, which, being notably ſtrengthened both by Nature, and Art, they had uſed as a Fortreſs in their Civil Wars among themſelves: For, by Reaſon there were many great Trees cut down, and laid overthwart the Paſſages round about, there could hardly any Entrance be found into the

Wood; howbeit the *Britons* themſelves would oftentimes ſally forth upon Advantage, and impede the *Romans*, where they attempted to enter. Hereupon *Cæſar* commanded the Soldiers of the Seventh Legion to make a *Teſtudo*, and to raiſe a Mount againſt the Place; by which Means, after Loſs of Men on both Sides, the *Romans*, in the End, got the Fort, and chaced the *Britons* out of the Wood; but *Cæſar* would not ſuffer his Soldiers to purſue them far, in Regard the Place was unknown, and, a great Part of the Day being then ſpent, he thought it fit to beſtow the reſt in fortifying his Camp. The next Day in the Morning, he ſent out Horſemen and Footmen three ſeveral Ways to purſue them that fled; but, before they had gotten Sight of the *Britons*, certain Horſemen ſent from *Quintus Atrius*, who had Charge of the Shipping, brought News that a great Tempeſt the Night before had diſtreſſed his Ships, and beaten them upon the Shore, their Anchors and Cables being not able to hold them, nor the Mariners to guide them, or to endure the Force of the Storm. Whereupon *Cæſar* cauſed the Legions and Horſemen to be ſent for back again, and marched with Speed towards the Sea-Side, where he found his Navy in an ill Plight; forty of his Ships being clean caſt away, and the reſt with great Difficulty ſeeming likely to be recovered. For Effecting whereof he took ſome Shipwrights out of the Legions, and ſent for others out of the Continent; writing to *Labienus* (who had the Charge of certain Legions there, and the Guard of *Portus Iccius*) that he ſhould prepare as many Ships as he could, to be ſent over unto him with Expedition. And, though it was a Work of great Toil, yet he thought it neceſſary to have all the Ships haled a Shore, and to be brought into the Camp, where his Land Forces lay, that one Place might be a Safeguard to them both. In the Accompliſhment hereof he ſpent ten Days, the Soldiers ſcarce intermitting their Labour in the Night-time, till all was finiſhed. And then having fortified his Camp, and left there the ſame Forces (which were before appointed to keep the Harbour) he returned to the Place, whence he diſlodged upon *Atrius*'s Advertiſement; where he found the Number of the *Britons* much increaſed by Confluence of People from ſundry Parts within the Iſland. The chief Commandment and Direction for the War was by publick Conſent of the States of the Iſland aſſigned to *Caſſibilin*, the Bounds of whoſe Territory were divided from the maritime Cities, by the River *Thames*, and were diſtant from the Sea about fourſcore Miles. There had been of a long Time continual War between him and ſome other Princes of the Countries near adjoining: But now both Parts (fearing to be over-run by a foreign Enemy) neglected private Reſpects, and joined their Forces together, appointing him to be their Leader, as a Man of whoſe Valour, and Sufficiency in military Affairs, they had got Experience. The *Roman* Army being come in View of their Enemies Camp, the *Britons* preſſed forward to begin the Fight with their Horſemen and Chariots, and *Cæſar* ſent out his Horſemen to encounter them; ſo that the Battle was maintained with great Reſolution on both Parts, and the Event thereof ſeemed doubtful, till, in the End, the *Britons* gave Ground, and fled through the Woods to the Hills, many of them being ſlain in the Chace, and ſome of the *Romans* alſo, who adventurouſly purſued them too far. Not long after, while the *Romans* (ſuſpecting no Danger) were occupied in fortifying their Camp, the *Britons* ſallied ſuddenly out of the Woods, and made an Aſſault upon the Warders, that kept Station before the Camp; to whoſe Aid *Cæſar* ſent out two Cohorts, the Chief of two Legions) which, making a Lane through the Midſt of the *Britiſh* Forces, joined themſelves with their diſtreſſed Fellows, and reſcued them from the Peril, though *Quintus Laberius Durus*, a Tribune of the Soldiers, was ſlain in that Enterpriſe. But, new Cohorts coming to ſupply the former, the *Britons* were repulſed, and fought to ſave themſelves by Flight. By the Manner of this Battle (which was fought in View of the *Roman* Camp) the *Romans* perceived the Advantage, which the *Britons* had of them, and how ill themſelves were appointed for ſuch a Kind of Fight, when, by Reaſon of the Weight of their Armour, they could neither purſue ſuch as fled, nor durſt leave their Enſigns, nor were able, without great Diſadvantage, to encounter the *Britiſh* Horſemen, which oftentimes gave Ground on Purpoſe, and, having withdrawn themſelves by little and little from the Legions, would leap out of their Chariots and fight on Foot; the Manner of their fighting with Horſes and Chariots being alike dangerous to thoſe that retired and thoſe that purſued. Beſides, they divided their Forces into Companies, when they fought, and had ſeveral Stations, with great

Diſtances

Diſtances between them, one Troop ſeconding another, and the ſound and freſh Men yielding Supplies to the wounded and weary. The Day following, the *Britons* were deſcried upon the Hills afar off, ſcattered here and there in great Numbers together, being not very forward to begin a new Fight, till, *Cæſar* having ſent out three *Legions*, and all his Horſemen under the Conduct of *C. Trebonius* the Lieutenant, to go a Foraging, they flocked ſuddenly together from all Parts, and ſet upon the Foragers, not ſparing to aſſail the Enſigns and Legions themſelves, who ſtrongly reſiſted them, and made them turn their Backs; when the *Roman* Horſemen alſo eagerly purſued them, never giving over the Chace (as being confident in the Aid of the Legions that followed them) until they had driven them headlong before them, killing all thoſe they overtook, and giving the reſt no Time, either to gather themſelves together, or to make a Stand, or once to forſake their Chariots. After this Overthrow, many of the barbarous People (who had come from divers Parts to aid their Countrymen) ſhrunk away; and *Cæſar* underſtanding, what Courſe the reſt of the *Britons* meant to hold in Proſecuting the War, led his Army to the Bounds of *Caſſibelin's* Country upon the River *Thames*, which was paſſable on Foot, in one Place only, and that with ſome Difficulty. When he came thither, he perceived that the *Britons* had great Forces in Readineſs on the further Side of the River, the Banks whereof were fortified with ſharp-pointed Stakes or Piles (about the Bigneſs of a Man's Thigh, and bound about with Lead) pitched near the Shore, to impede their Paſſage; and ſome others of the ſame Kind, the Remnants whereof are to be ſeen at this Day, were planted covertly under Water in the main River. Whereof *Cæſar* having Intelligence (by ſome Fugitives, and Priſoners that he had taken) commanded the Horſemen, firſt, to enter the River, and the Legions to follow, ſo that, the dangerous Places being diſcovered, the *Romans* waded through, their Heads only appearing above Water, and charged the *Britons* with ſuch Violence, that they forced them to forſake the Shore, and betake themſelves to Flight.

Caſſibelin, ſeeing no Likelihood to maintain the War any longer by Force, diſmiſſed the greater Part of his Power, and, keeping with him about four-thouſand Chariots only, retired into the Woods, and Places of moſt Safety, driving Men and Cattle before him out of the Fields, all that Way, by which he knew the *Romans* ſhould paſs with their Army, whoſe Horſemen (as they roved up and down to take Booties) he ſurpriſed with his Chariots, and diſtreſſed them in ſuch Sort, that they durſt not march forward, but, keeping themſelves in their Strength, gave over their former Purpoſe, and from thenceforth fought only to annoy the *Britons*, by ſpoiling and burning their Houſes and Towns.

In the mean Time, the *Trinobantes*, one of the chief States in thoſe Parts, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, promiſing to ſubmit themſelves, and to be at his Commandment. There was alſo one *Mandubratius*, who had fled over to *Cæſar*, when he was in *Gallia*, and was now become a Follower of his Fortune, while, preferring the Satisfaction of his own diſcontented Humour, before the Advancement of the common Cauſe, he ſerved as an Inſtrument to betray his native Country, abuſing the Credit he had with his Countrymen, by working their Submiſſion, to his own Diſhonour, and the Advantage of a foreign Enemy. His Father *Imanentius* (having been ſome Time chief Ruler of the City of the *Trinobantes*, and well eſteemed among them) was ſlain by *Caſſibelin*, the preſent Governor, againſt whom the Citizens deſired *Cæſar* to protect *Mandubratius*, and to commit unto him the Government of their City; which *Cæſar* granted upon Delivery of a certain Number of Pledges, and a ſufficient Proportion of Victuals for Proviſion of his Army. Hereupon the *Ceni magni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Caſſi*, petty States thereabouts, ſent Ambaſſadors, and yielded themſelves to *Cæſar*, who underſtood by them, that *Caſſibelin's* Town, being well ſtored with Men and Cattle, was not far from thence. This Town (as all others ſo called of the *Britons* in thoſe Days) was only a Circuit of Ground incloſed with Woods, and Marſhes, or elſe intrenched with a Rampire of Earth about it. *Cæſar*, coming with his Legion to this Place, (which he found very ſtrong, as being fortified, both naturally, and alſo by the Induſtry of Man) begun to aſſail it on both Sides. The *Britons*, having expected, a While, the Event of the Enterpriſe, and perceiving themſelves unable to withſtand the Aſſault, iſſued out at a back

back Way, where many of them being ſlain, and ſome taken, as they fled, the Town itſelf, and all the Proviſions within it, were left as a Spoil to the *Romans*.

While theſe Things were in doing among the *Trinobantes*, *Caſſibelin* diſpatched Meſſengers into the Country of *Cantium*, that lies upon the Sea. The Inhabitants of thoſe Parts were then more civil, and better furniſhed to make War than any others of the Iſland. The Country, at that Time, was governed by four Kings, as *Cæſar* himſelf calleth them; either, for that they had among them a Kind of abſolute Government in ſeveral, or elſe, for that, being the Regiſter of his own Acts, he ſuppoſed it would be more for his Glory to be reputed a Conqueror of Kings. Their Names were *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Caſſibelin* then required to raiſe all the Power they could make, and on the ſudden to aſſail the *Roman* Forces that guarded their Ships at the Sea-ſide. This was attempted accordingly, but with ill Succeſs; for that the *Romans*, having timely Advertiſement of their Purpoſe, prevented the Execution thereof, by ſetting upon them as they drew near the *Roman* Army; and ſo, after a great Slaughter made of the *Britons* (*Cingetorix*, a noble Captain, and one of their Princes, being taken Priſoner) the *Romans* retu ned in Safety to their Camp.

Caſſibelin, hearing of the unhappy Iſſue of this Enterpriſe, after ſo many Loſſes ſuſtained on his Part (his Country being waſted with War, and himſelf in a Manner forſaken by the Revolt of the Cities round about, which moſt of all diſcouraged him) ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* by *Comius* of *Arras*, offering to ſubmit himſelf upon reaſonable Conditions. *Cæſar*, determining to winter in *Gallia* (the State of his Affairs there requiring it and the Summer being almoſt ſpent, commanded that he ſhould deliver certain Pledges for Aſſurance of his Obedience; and that he ſhould offer no Wrong, nor give Cauſe of Offence to *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, whom he had taken into ſpecial Protection. And then, having impoſed a Tribute, to be paid yearly by the *Britons* to the People of *Rome*, he marched towards the Sea-ſide, where he embarked his Forces, and arrived with them ſafely in the Continent. Thus *Cæſar*, having rather ſhewed ſome Part of *Britain* to the *Romans*, than made a Conqueſt of the Whole, ſuppoſed he had done ſufficiently for his own Glory, in undertaking a Matter ſo rare and difficult in thoſe Times. At his Coming to *Rome*, he preſented there certain Captives, which he had taken in the *Britiſh* Wars, whoſe Strangeneſs of Shape and Behaviour filled the People's Eyes both with Wonder and Delight. He offered alſo, in the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*, a Surcoat embroidered with *Britiſh* Pearl, as a Trophy, and Spoil of the Ocean, leaving to Poſterity a perpetual Remembrance of his Enterpriſe in this Iſland, to the Honour, both of his own Name, and of the *Roman* Nation.

After the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, by Reaſon of the Civil Wars among the *Romans*, the Iſland of *Britain* was for that Time neglected, and *Auguſtus Cæſar* being ſettled in the Empire (which was then grown to ſuch Greatneſs, as it ſeemed even cumbered therewith) accounted it good Policy to contain the ſame within its known Bounds. Beſides, the Attempt was like to prove dangerous, and a Matter of very great Expence, to ſend an Army ſo far off, to make War with a barbarous Nation for Deſire of Glory only, no ſpecial Cauſe beſides moving thereto. Howbeit, as ſome Writers report, about twenty Years after *Julius Cæſar*'s firſt Entrance, *Auguſtus* intended a Voyage hither, in Perſon, alledging, for Pretence of the War, the Wrong offered to the *Roman* State, by ſuch Princes of the Iſland as had, for certain Years, with-held the Tribute which *Cæſar*, his Predeceſſor, had impoſed. Upon Intelligence whereof, the *Britons* ſent over Ambaſſadors, who, meeting the Emperor in *Gallia Celtica*, declared their Submiſſion, and deſired Pardon; and, the better to win Favour, they had carried over certain Gifts of good Value, to be preſented as Offerings in the *Roman* Capitol; having already learned the Art to flatter for Advantage, and to appeaſe Princes by Rewards. Hereupon a conditional Peace was granted them, and the Emperor, having pacified ſome Troubles in *Gallia*, returned to *Rome*. Then began the Iſlanders to pay Tribute and Cuſtom for all Kinds of Wares which they exchanged with the *Gauls*, as, namely, Ivory Boxes, Iron Chains, and other Trinkets of Amber and Glaſs, which were tranſported to and fro both out of *Gallia* and *Britain*.

The Year following, the *Britons* having failed in Performance of Conditions, he prepared for another Expedition; but, being ſet forward

forward on his Voyage, the Revolt of the *Cantabritans* and *Auſtrians* prevented him from proceeding any further therein. After which Time the *Britons* were left to themſelves, to enjoy their Liberty, and uſe their own Laws, without Interruption by foreign Invaders; for that the *Romans*, having found the Sweetneſs of Peace, after long Civil Wars, ſought rather to keep in Obedience ſuch Provinces as had been before-time brought under Subjection, than, by attempting new Conqueſts, to hazard the Loſs of that they had already gotten.

In thoſe Days, the Country of the *Trinobantes*, in *Britain*, was governed by *Cuno-belin*, who kept his Reſidence at *Camalodunum*. He begun firſt to reclaim the *Britons* from their rude Behaviour; and, to make his Eſtate more reſpected, he afterwards cauſed his own Image to be ſtamped on his Coin, after the Manner of the *Romans*, a Cuſtom never uſed among the *Britons* before his Days, and but then newly received by the *Romans* themſelves; for, before that Time, the *Britons* uſed Kings of Iron, and little Plates of Braſs, of a certain Weight, inſtead of Coin. During the Time of his Government, the Divine Myſtery of Human Redemption was accompliſhed by the Birth of our Saviour Chriſt, *Auguſtus Cæſar* then poſſeſſing the *Roman* Empire, which he afterwards left to *Tiberius* his adopted Son, a wary and politick Prince, who, following the Advice and Example of *Auguſtus*, did neither attempt any Thing in *Britain*, nor maintain any Gariſon there.

But *Caius Caligula*, his Succeſſor, had a Deſign to have invaded the Iſland, had not his raſh Entrance into the Action, and his ill Succeſs in the *German* War, overthrown the Enterpriſe; by Reaſon whereof he brought nothing to Effect, but only made a ridiculous Expedition, anſwerable to the Vanity of his Humour, bringing an Army into the hither Parts of *Belgia*; and there, having received into Protection *Admimus*, whom *Cuno-belin*, his Father, had baniſhed, and certain other *Britiſh* Fugitives, that came with him; he wrote vaunting Letters to the Senate, as though the whole Iſland had yielded itſelf, having given ſpecial Charge to the Meſſenger, that his Letters ſhould be carried in a Chariot to the *Forum*, and not delivered to the Conſuls, but in a full Senate, and in the Temple of *Mars*. Afterwards drawing his Forces down to the Sea-coaſts of *Belgia*, whence, with Wonder, he beheld the high Cliffs of the Iſland, poſſeſſed with barbarous People, he placed his Soldiers in Battle Array, upon the Shore, and, himſelf, entering into a Long-boat, was rowed a little Way upon the Sea. But, not daring to adventure further, he returned ſpeedily to Land, and then commanding a Charge to be ſounded, as though he would have begun a Fight, he appointed his Soldiers to gather Cockles and Muſcles, in their Helmets, terming them Spoils of the Ocean, and meet to be preſerved, as Offerings due to the Capitol. For this Exploit, he afterwards, at his Coming to *Rome*, required a Triumph, and divine Honours to be aſſigned him; but, finding the Senators, for the moſt Part, unwilling to give their Aſſent, he burſt out into Threats, and had ſlain ſome of them in the Place, if they had not ſpeedily avoided his Fury. After this, himſelf, in open Aſſembly, made a Declaration of his Journey, and what Adventures he had paſſed in the Conqueſt of the Ocean, as himſelf vainly termed it, whereat the common People, either for Fear or Flattery, gave a general Applauſe; which he, taking it as a Teſtimony of their Deſire, to have him placed among their Gods, rewarded in this Manner: He cauſed a great Quantity of Gold and Silver to be ſcattered on the Ground, and certain poiſoned Caltrops of Iron to be caſt among them, whereby many were killed, partly with thoſe invenomed Engines, and partly with the Preſs one of another, each Man being earneſt in gathering, and ſuppoſing another Man's Gain his own Loſs. So naturally was he inclined to all Kinds of Miſchief, that he ſpared not the Lives even of thoſe whom he thought to deſerve beſt at his Hands.

But *Claudius* the Emperor, with better Advice and Succeſs, undertook the Matter of *Britain*; and firſt by Perſuaſion of *Bericus*, a *Britiſh* Fugitive, and others, whom the *Romans* had received into their Protection, a Matter that much diſcontented the *Britons*, and ſtirred them up to revolt, he ſent *Aulus Plautius*, a *Roman* Senator, a Man well experienced in military Affairs, to take Charge of the Army then remaining in *Gallia*, and to tranſport it into the Iſland; whereat the Soldiers grudged, complaining that they ſhould now make War out of the World, and, by protracting Time with unneceſſary Delays,

they

they diſcovered openly their Unwillingneſs to enter into the Action, till *Narciſſus*, a Favourite of *Claudius*, being ſent to appeaſe them, went up into *Plautius*'s Tribunal-ſeat, and there, in an Oration, declared to the Soldiers the Cauſes of his Coming, and exhorted them not to ſhrink for Fear of uncertain Dangers; that the Enterpriſe itſelf, the more perilous it ſeemed, the more honourable it would be to atchieve it; that themſelves were the Men whom the Heavens had ordained to enlarge the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, and to make their own Names famous in the utmoſt Parts of the Earth. But the Soldiers, at firſt, being moved with Diſdain, cried out, in a ſeditious Manner, *Io Saturnalia*, as though they had been ready to ſolemniſe a Feaſt, at which the Cuſtom was, that Servants ſhould wear their Maſters Apparel, and repreſent their Perſons. Howbeit, *Narciſſus*, giving Way to their Fury for the Preſent, did afterwards prevail ſo far with them, as partly for Shame, and partly for Hope of Reward, they ſeemed content to follow *Plautius*, whitherſoever he would conduct them. Then were the Legionary and Auxiliary Soldiers divided into three Parts, ſo to be embarked, to the End, that, if they ſhould be impeded in one Place, they might land in another. In croſſing the Sea, their Ships were ſhaken, and beaten back with a contrary Wind; albeit their Courage failed not, but rather increaſed, by Reaſon of a fiery Leam, ſhooting from the Eaſt, towards the Weſt, the ſelf-ſame Way that they directed their Courſe, which they interpreted as a Token of good Succeſs. And, thereupon hoiſting Sail, they ſet forward again, and with ſome Difficulty, through the Contrariety of the Wind and Tide, arrived in the Iſland, without any Reſiſtance, by Reaſon that the *Britons* expected not their Coming; but then, finding themſelves ſurpriſed on a Sudden, they ran diſperſedly to hide themſelves in Woods and Marſhes, holding it their beſt Courſe, rather to prolong the War, and weary their Enemies by Delays, than to encounter them in the open Field. But *Plautius*, with much Labour and Hazard, found out, at length, their chief Place of Retreat, where he killed many of them, and took Priſoner *Cataratacus*, their Captain, one of the Sons of *Cuno-belin*, not long before deceaſed. For this Exploit, the *Roman* Senate did afterwards grant him a Triumph, which the Emperor *Claudius* honoured with his own Perſon, accompanying him as he went up into the Capitol.

The *Boduni*, then living under the Government of the *Cattienchlani*, betook themſelves to the Protection of *Plautius*, who, leaving Gariſons in thoſe Parts, marched towards a River, over which the *Britons* ſuppoſed that the *Romans* could not paſs without a Bridge, and therefore imagined themſelves ſafe, having pitched their Camp on the other Side of the Water. But *Plautius* ſent over certain *Germans*, who, being accuſtomed to ſwim over Rivers with ſwift Currents, even in their Armour, found an eaſy Paſſage to the further Bank, and there ſet upon the *Britons*, wounding the Horſes which drew their Chariots, and by that Means overthrowing their Riders, and diſordering their whole Power. Then was *Flavius Veſpaſian*, who had the Leading of the ſecond Legion, and *Sabinus* his Brother, appointed to paſs over, and to charge them on a Sudden, as they were diſperſed. Some of the *Britons* being ſlain, and ſome taken Priſoners, the Night made an End of the Skirmiſh. The next Morning, the reſt of the diſperſed Rout ſhewed themſelves upon the Shore, and gave Occaſion of a new Fight, which continued a long Time, with equal Advantage, till *C. Sydius Geta*, being in Danger to have been taken, recovered himſelf, and at laſt forced the *Britons* to retire; for which Service he had afterwards Triumphal Honours aſſigned him, although he were no Conſul. In this Conflict *Veſpaſian*, being beſet round about by the barbarous People, was in great Danger, either to have been ſlain or taken, if he had not been timely reſcued by *Titus*, his Son, who then exerciſed the Office of a Tribune of the Soldiers, and began, in his tender Years, to give ſome Proof of his Valour. After this Battle the *Britons* withdrew themſelves to the Mouth of the River *Thames*, near the Place where it falls into the Sea; and, being ſkilful in the Shallows and firm Grounds, paſſed over in Safety, whilſt the *Romans*, that purſued them, not knowing the dangerous Places, were oftentimes in great Hazard. Some of the *Germans*, that were moſt forward to adventure, by Reaſon of their Skill in Swimming, aſſoon as they had got to the further Shore, were compaſſed about, and killed by the barbarous People, and the reſt of the *Roman* Army, that followed, was much diſtreſſed

in the Paſſage, and ſharply aſſailed at their Coming on Land; where began a bloody Fight, in which *Togodumnus*, a *Britiſh* Prince, one of *Cunobelin*'s Sons was ſlain; whoſe Death did nothing abate the Courage of the *Britons*, but rather inflamed them with Deſire of Revenge; for the Effecting whereof, they gathered together new Forces from divers Parts of the Iſland. *Plautius*, fearing the Greatneſs of their Power, and being ſtraitened in a Place of Diſadvantage and Danger, proceeded no farther at that Time, but, fortifying only ſuch Towns as he had already taken, advertiſed *Claudius* of the doubtful State of his Affairs.

In the mean Time *Veſpaſian* was employed in other Places of the Iſland, where Fortune ſeemed to lay the Foundation of that Greatneſs unto which he afterwards attained; for in a ſhort Space he fought thirty Times with the *Britons*, overcoming two warlike Nations, and taming the fierce *Belgæ*, whoſe Anceſtors coming hither at the firſt out of *Gallia Belgica*, either to take Booties, or to make War, gave the Name of their own Country to ſuch Places as they had ſubdued; a Cuſtom commonly uſed among the *Gauls*, when they had ſeated themſelves in any Parts of this Iſland. With like fortunate Succeſs *Veſpaſian* proceeded in attempting and conquering the Iſle *Vectis*, that lieth on the South-ſide of *Britain*, when *Claudius* the Emperor, being now furniſhed with all Things neceſſary for the *Britiſh* Expedition, ſet forward with a mighty Army, conſiſting of Horſemen, Footmen, and Elephants. He marched firſt to *Oſtia*, from thence to *Maſſilia*; the reſt of the Voyage he made by Land to *Geſſoriacum* in *Gallia*, where he embarked. His Forces, being ſafely tranſported into the Iſland, were led towards the River *Thames*, where *Plautius* and *Veſpaſian*, with their Power, attended his Coming, and ſo the two Armies, being joined together, croſſed the River again. The *Britons*, that were aſſembled to encounter them, began the Fight, which was ſharply maintained on both Sides, till, in the End, a great Number of the Iſlanders being ſlain, the reſt fled into the Woods, through which the *Romans* purſued them, even to the Town of *Camalodunum*, which had been the royal Seat of *Cunobelin*, and was then one of the moſt defenſible Places in the Dominions of the *Trinobantes*. This Town they ſurpriſed, and afterwards fortified, planting there in a Colony of old Soldiers, to ſtrengthen thoſe Parts, and to keep the Inhabitants there in Obedience. Then were the *Britons* diſarmed, howbeit *Claudius* remitted the Confiſcation of their Goods; for which Favour the barbarous People erected a Temple and an Altar unto him, honouring him as a God. Now the States of the Country round about, being ſo weakened by the Loſs of their Neighbours, and their own civil Diſſenſions, that they were unable to reſiſt the *Roman* Power any longer, began to offer their Submiſſion, promiſing to obey, and live peaceably under the *Roman* Government; and ſo, by little and little, the hither Part of the Iſle was reduced into the Form of a Province. In Honour of this Victory, *Claudius* was divers Times ſaluted by the Name of *Imperator*, contrary to the *Roman* Cuſtom, which permitted it, but once, for an Expedition. The Senate of *Rome* alſo, upon Advertiſement of his Succeſs, decreed, that he ſhould be called *Britannicus*, and that his Son ſhould have the ſame Title, as a Sirname proper, and hereditary to the *Claudian* Family. *Meſſalina*, his Wife, had the firſt Place in Council aſſigned her, as *Livia*, the Wife of *Auguſtus*, ſome Time had, and was alſo licenſed to ride in a Chariot. At his Return to *Rome*, which was the ſixth Month after his Departure thence, having continued but ſix Days only in the Iſland, he entered the City in a Triumph, performed with more than uſual Ceremonies of State, whereat certain Preſidents of Provinces, and baniſhed Men, were permitted to be preſent. On the Top of his Palace was placed a Crown ſet with Stems, and Fore-parts of Ships, which the *Romans* called *Corona navalis*, as a Sign of the Conqueſt of the Ocean. Divers Captains that had ſerved under him in *Britain*, were honoured with triumphal Ornaments. Yearly Plays were appointed for him, and two Arches of Triumph, adorned with Trophies, were erected, the one at *Rome*, the other at *Geſſoriacum*, where he embarked for *Britain*, to remain to ſucceeding Ages, as perpetual Records of his Victory. So great a Matter was it then accounted, and a Work of ſuch Merit, to have ſubdued ſo ſmall a Part of the Iſland.

In theſe Terms ſtood the State of *Britain*, when the Proſecution of the War was committed to *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, who, at his Landing, found all in an Uproar, the *Britons*, that were yet unconquered, ranging the Confederates Country, and uſing the greater Violence,

for that they ſuppoſed the new Captain, as unacquainted with his Army, the Winter alſo being then begun, would not come forth to encounter them; but he knowing well, that, in ſuch Caſes, the firſt Succeſs breedeth either Fear or Confidence, drew together, with Speed, his readieſt Cohorts, and made towards them, ſlaying ſuch as reſiſted, and purſuing the Reſidue, whom he found ſtraggled Abroad, leſt they ſhould make Head again. And, that a faithleſs and cloaked Peace might not give, either the Captain or Soldiers, any Time of idle Repoſe, he diſarmed all thoſe whom he ſuſpected, and hemmed them in with Gariſons between *Antona* and *Sabrina*.

The firſt that began to ſtir were the *Icenians*, a ſtrong People, and unſhaken with Wars, as having, of their own Accord in former Times, fought the *Romans* Alliance and Amity. The Countries alſo adjoining near unto them, following their Example, prepared themſelves to fight, chooſing a Place, that was compaſſed about with a rude Trench, which had a narrow Entrance, to impede the Coming in of Horſemen. That Fence, the *Roman* Captain, although he wanted the Strength of the Legions, went about to force, with the Aid of the Confederates alone, and, having placed his Cohorts in Ranks, he ſet his Troops of Horſemen alſo in like Readineſs. Then, giving the Sign of Battle, he aſſailed the Rampire, and broke it, diſordering the *Britons*, who, being ſtruck with a Kind of Remorſe for their rebellious Attempts, and ſeeing the Paſſages ſtopped up on all Sides, ſhewed very great Courage and Valour in defending themſelves, as it falleth out oftentimes, where Extremity of Danger itſelf takes away all Fear of Danger. In this Fight, *M. Oſtorius*, the Lieutenant's Son, was crowned with an Oaken Garland, as an honourable Reward for Saving a *Roman* Citizen.

Now, by the Slaughter of the *Icenians*, the Reſidue of the *Britons* (who ſtood upon doubtful Terms, as wavering between War and Peace) were well quieted, and *Oſtorius* led his Army againſt the *Cangi*, whoſe Country he ſpoiled and waſted, while the Inhabitants durſt not come into the Field, but privily ſurpriſed ſuch as they found ſtraggling behind the *Roman* Army, which was now come near the Sea Coaſt, that looks towards *Ireland*, when certain Tumults, ſtirred amongſt the *Brigantes*, brought back the General, who thought it beſt not to enter into any new Action, before he had made all ſure in thoſe Parts; yet, upon his Coming thither, ſome few of the *Brigantes*, that firſt began to take Arms, being put to Death, the Reſidue were pardoned, and the Country quieted: For the General wiſely conſidering, that, in ſuch Caſes, Lenity ſometimes prevaileth, where Force and Rigour cannot, did ſeek to win Favour of the *Britons*, by courteous Uſage of ſuch, as either fled unto him for Protection, or elſe, by the Fortune of War, fell into his Hands, ſometimes pardoning them, ſometimes rewarding them, and ſometimes uſing them in Service againſt their own Nation, as he did *Cogidunus*, a *Britiſh* Prince, upon whom he had beſtowed certain Cities in Free Gift, according to an ancient Cuſtom amongſt the *Romans*, who uſed Kings themſelves for Inſtruments of Bondage. But the *Silures* could neither by Cruelty, nor fair Means, be held in; ſo that the General ſaw there was no Way to keep them under, but with a Gariſon of Legionary Soldiers; and, to that End, the Colony at *Camalodunum*, conſiſting of a ſtrong Company of old Soldiers, was brought into the ſubdued Country, to defend it againſt ſuch as ſhould rebel, and to make the Confederates more willing to live in Obedience.

Then the Army marched againſt the *Silures*, who, beſides their natural Boldneſs, relied much upon the Strength of *Caractacus*, their Leader, a Man that had waded through many Dangers, and had been fortunate in many Adventures, having gotten thereby ſuch Reputation, that he was preferred before all the *Britiſh* Captains. But as, in Policy and Knowledge of the Country, he had an Advantage of the *Romans*; ſo, perceiving himſelf to be unequally matched in Strength, he removed the War to the *Ordovices*, who, entering into the Action with him, as fearing alike the *Roman* Power, reſolved, jointly, to hazard the Chance of War. And, hereupon, they prepared for Battle, having choſen a Place very commodious for themſelves, and diſadvantageous for their Enemies. Then they went to the Top of an Hill, and, where they found any eaſy Paſſage up, they ſtopped the Way with Heaps of Stones, in Manner of a Rampire. Not far off, ran a River with an uncertain Ford, where, upon the Bank, a Company of the beſt Soldiers were placed, for a Defence in the fore Ward. The Leaders went about, exhorting and encouraging the common Soldiers, uſing ſuch Perſuaſions as might beſt fit their Humours, and the preſent Occaſion; and

and *Caractacus* himſelf, courſing up and down, proteſted, That that Day, and that Battle, ſhould be either the Beginning of Recovery of Liberty, or of perpetual Servitude. Then he called upon the Names of his Anceſtors, that had chaced *Cæſar* the Dictator out of the Iſland, and had delivered them from Hatchets, and Tributes, and protected their Wives and Children from Shame and Violence. While he uttered theſe, or the like Speeches, the People, round about him, made a Noiſe, and every Man ſwore, according to the Religion of his Country, that neither their Enemies Weapons, nor their own Wounds, ſhould make them to give over: That chearful Cry terrified and aſtoniſhed the *Roman* General, and the rather, when he conſidered how he was couped in, having the River beneath him, the Fort before him, the high Hills hanging over it, and all Things, on every Side, threatening Danger and Deſtruction to the Aſſailers. Howbeit, his Soldiers demanded the Battle, crying, that, *There was Nothing which Valour could not overcome.* The Prefects and Tribunes, uſing the like Speeches, added Courage to the reſt. Then *Oſtorius*, having viewed the Places of difficult Acceſs, led his Soldiers, being hot and eager for the Fight, unto the further Side of the River, and from thence to the Rampire, where, while they fought with their Darts, they had the worſt, but, having broken down the rude compacted Heap of Stones with a *Teſtudo*, and both Armies coming to handy Strokes upon equal Advantage, the *Britons* turned their Backs, and ran to the Hill-top, the *Romans* purſuing them both with their light and heavy armed Soldiers; the one aſſailing with Darts, and the other, as they marched thick together, breaking the Ranks, and beating down the barbarous People, who had neither Head-piece nor Armour to defend themſelves; ſo that, being hedged in between the Legionary Soldiers, and the Auxiliaries, the greateſt Part of them were ſlain in the Place.

At this Aſſault, *Caractacus*'s Wife and Daughter were taken Priſoners, and his Brethren yielded to the Enemies; but himſelf, driven to Extremity, eſcaped by Flight into the Country of the *Brigantes*, hoping to receive ſome Aid of *Cartiſmandua*, the Queen there. But, as it falleth out commonly with Men in Adverſity to be forſaken and left ſuccourleſs, ſo, inſtead of finding the Relief which he expected, he fell into the Danger which he little expected. For *Cartiſmandua*, either fearing her own Eſtate, or thinking to win Favour of the Conqueror (as Princes oftentimes make Uſe of one another's Misfortunes to ſerve their own Turns) detained him in Priſon a While, and afterwards delivered him to *Oſtorius*, who was exceeding glad that he had gotten him, and forthwith ſent him to *Rome* as a Prize of great Worth, and the happy Fruits of nine Years Service in the Wars. The Report of him was ſpread throughout the Iſlands and Provinces adjoining, and his Name was renowned in moſt Parts of *Italy*, each Man deſiring to ſee him, who had, ſo long Time, withſtood and contemned that Power, which held all the World in Awe and Obedience. The City of *Rome*, for many Days together, was filled only with Talk of him, and Expectation of his Coming, and the Emperor himſelf, as a Conqueror, by extolling his own Worthineſs, covertly added more Glory to the Conquered. The People aſſembled together, as it were, to ſee ſome notable and rare Spectacle. The Emperor's Guard in Arms were orderly placed in the Field before the Camp. After this Preparation made, the Priſoners and Trophies were preſented in this Manner: Firſt, the Vaſſals of *Caractacus*, going foremoſt, bowed their Bodies to the People as they paſſed, and ſeemed, by their rueful Countenances, to diſcover their Fear: The Capariſons, Chains, and other Spoils, taken in the War, were carried after them. Then *Caractacus*'s Brethren, his Wife, and Daughters followed; and, laſt of all, came *Caractacus* himſelf. His Body was naked, for the moſt Part, and painted with the Figures of divers Beaſts: He wore a Chain of Iron about his Neck, and another about his Middle: The Hair of his Head hanging down in long Locks, curled by Nature, covered his Back and Shoulders, and the Hair of his upper Lip, being parted on both Sides, lay upon his Breaſt: The reſt of his Body was ſhaven all over. Neither was his Behaviour leſs noted, than the Strangeneſs of his Habit; for he neither hung down his Head, nor craved Mercy, as the reſt did, but went on boldly, with a ſettled and ſtern Countenance, till he came before the Emperor's Tribunal-Seat, and, there ſtanding ſtill a While, he after ſpoke theſe, or the like Words:

'If either my Virtues in Proſperity had been 'anſwerable to the Greatneſs of my State, or 'the Succeſs of my late Attempts to the Reſo-

'lution of my Mind, I might have come to this 'City, to have been entertained rather as a 'Friend, than as a Captive to be gazed upon; 'for it should have been no Disgrace for the *Romans* to have admitted into Society with them 'a Man royally descended, and a Commander 'of many warlike Nations. But, what Cloud 'soever Fortune hath cast over my State, she is 'not able to take from me those Things, which 'the Heavens, and Nature, have given me; 'that is, the Dignity of my Birth, and the 'Courage of my Mind, which never failed me. 'I know it is a Custom amongst you, to make 'your Triumphs the Spectacles of other Men's 'Miseries, and, in this Calamity, as in a Mirrour, you do now behold your own Glory: 'Yet know, that I was sometimes a Prince, 'furnished with Strength of Men, and Habiliments of War; and what Marvel is it, that 'I have now lost them, since your own Experience hath taught you, that the Events of 'War are variable and uncertain? I thought 'that the deep Waters, which, like a Wall, 'inclose us (whom the Heavens seem to have 'placed far off in another World by itself) 'might have been a sufficient Defence for us 'against Foreign Invasion: But I see now, that 'your Desire of Sovereignty admits no Limitation, since neither the Danger of an unknown 'Sea, nor the Distance of Place, can any longer warrant our Safety and Liberty. If you 'will needs command the whole World, then 'must all Men become your Vassals, and live 'under a forced Obedience. For my own 'Part, as long as I was able, I made Resistance, 'being unwilling to submit my Neck to a Foreign Yoke. The Law of natural Reason 'alloweth every Man to defend himself, being 'assailed, and to withstand Force by Force. 'Had I yielded at the first, thy Glory, and my 'Mishap, had not been so renowned, but both 'of them would soon have been forgotten. 'Fortune hath done her worst, and we have 'now Nothing left us but our Lives, which, if 'thou spare, having Power to spill, thou shalt 'do that which best becometh a great Mind, 'and a noble Nature.'

The Emperor hearing this Speech, and wondering to see such Boldness and Constancy of Mind in a dejected Estate, pardoned both him, and the rest of his Company, commanding them to be unbound, and so dismissed them. For many Days together, *Caractacus*'s Fortune ministered Matter of Discourse to the Lords of the Senate, who affirmed the Spectacle of his Captivity to be no less honourable, than that of *Syphax* the *Numidian* King, over whom *P. Scipio* triumphed, or that of *Perses*, whom *Paulus Æmilius* vanquished, or of any other Kings, that had in former Times been taken in War, and shewed to the People. Then publick Honours of Triumph were decreed for *Ostorius*, whose Fortunes, being now at the highest, began afterwards to decline, by Reason that either, *Caractacus*, the Object of his Valour, being removed, he supposed he had made a full Conquest, and therefore followed the Service more carelesly: Or else for that the Residue of the *Britons*, having Compassion of the Misfortune of so mighty a Prince, and being eager for Revenge, renewed the War; for they assailed the Legionary Cohorts, which were left behind to build Fortresses in the *Silures* Country, killed the Camp-Master, and eight Centurions, besides some of the forwardest Soldiers, and they had put all the rest to the Sword, if speedy Rescue had not come from the Villages and Forts adjoining. Divers other Sallies they made, as Time and Place gave them Advantage, prevailing sometimes by Strength, sometimes by Policy, and sometimes by Chance. The principal Motive, that induced the rest to take Arms, was the Example of the *Silures*, who were most resolutely bent, as being exasperated, by Reason of a Speech that the *Roman* Emperor had used, which was: That he would root out the Name of the *Silures*, as the *Sicambrians* had been in former Time. This made them bold and desperate to adventure, as Men knowing their Destiny before-hand. Many Skirmishes they had, in surprising the scattered Troops of the *Roman* Soldiers, and oftentimes with good Success, in taking rich Booties, and Prisoners, and distributing the Spoils among their Neighbours, by which Means they drew them all to revolt.

In the mean Time, *Ostorius*, wearied with Care and Travel, ended his Life. Whereof *Claudius* the Emperor being advertised, sent *Aulus Didius* to take Charge of the Army in *Britain*, where, notwithstanding all the Haste he made, he found all out of Frame: *Manlius Valens* with his Legion having encountered the *Britons* with ill Success, which, by Report of the Islanders, was made greater than indeed it was, to terrify the new Governor, who also made Use of the same Policy to serve his own

Turn; for by encreasing the Fame of that, which he heard reported, he supposed, either to win greater Praise, if he prevailed, or to purchase a more favourable Censure of his Actions, if he miscarried. The *Silures* had made many Roads into the subdued Country, wasting and spoiling round about, when *Didius* the Lieutenant, upon his first Arrival, entering into the Field, restrained their Outrage, and for a While kept them in some Awe. After *Caractacus* was taken, *Venutius*, a Prince, faithful to the *Romans*, and protected by them (so long as *Cartismandua*, his Wife, and he agreed together) upon private Discontentment began a new Rebellion. For *Cartismandua* (whom the *Romans* specially favoured for the Delivery of *Caractacus*) abounding now in Peace, Wealth, and Plenty, which are the Nurses of licentious Living, fell in Love with *Velocatus*, one of her Husband's Servants, and, forgetting, in the End, her own Honour, preferred him before *Venutius*, who, being deeply touched with such an open Injury, and Disgrace, raised a Power, to expel her and her Paramor, out of the Kingdom. The War seemed, at the First, to have been maintained between themselves and their private Followers only, till *Cartismandua*, by Policy, had taken *Venutius*'s Brother, and certain of his Kinsmen: And then the Inhabitants round about, fearing the Event, and disdaining to be brought under the servile Yoke of a Woman, declared themselves for *Venutius*, and, with a choice Number of youthful and well experienced Soldiers, invaded the Country: Whereof *Didius* having timely Intelligence, sent certain Cohorts to encounter them. Hereupon ensued a Sharp Conflict, the Success whereof was much doubted in the Beginning, but in the End the *Romans* prevailed. The like Fortune also had *Cæsius Nasica* with his Legion; For *Didius* himself, as a Man stricken in Years, and fitter to direct, than execute, used, for the most Part, the Ministry of other Men, keeping that, which his Predecessors had gotten, and building only some few Castles and Places of Defence within the Land to win, thereby, a Fame of augmenting the Office.

This was the State of the Affairs in *Britain*, when *Claudius* the Emperor died, leaving the *Roman* Monarchy to *Nero*, his adopted Son, who, after his first five Years spent, being given over to all Kinds of Vice, neglected the Government both at Home and Abroad, not daring to enter into any military Actions; and it was thought that he would have revoked the Army out of *Britain*, if very Shame, in detracting from his Father's Glory, and losing that, which he had won, had not with-held him. About that Time *Veranius* was Governor in *Britain*, where the Shortness of his Continuance suffered him not to effect any great Matter; for he died in the first Year of his Government; and then was the Province assigned to *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the most famous Men of that Age for military Matters. His good Success, at his first Entrance, in subduing Nations, and establishing Garisons, where Need required, made him bold to assail the Isle of *Mona*, lying in the West Part of *Britain*, as having been a common Receptacle of Fugitives, during the War. In his Passage thither he left the Country behind him, as he marched, unfurnished in divers Places, laying it thereby open to all Opportunities of Annoyance. At his Arrival, the barbarous People rudely armed, standing upon the Shore, made Shew of their Purpose to resist: The Women in Mourning Attire, their Hair about their Ears, shaking burning Firebrands like Furies of Hell, ran up and down, and the *Druyds*, lifting up their Hands towards Heaven, filled the Air with Cries and Curses; these *Druyds* were certain Priests had in great Reverence among the *Britons*. They kept their Residence, for the most Part, in shady and dark Groves, as fittest Places for Devotion. Among all Trees, they most esteemed the Oak, as hallowed, and without the which, they could not perform their superstitious Rites. Their Sacrifices were both private and publick. They instructed the Youth of *Britain*, and decided Controversies, civil and criminal. If any Man refused to stand to their Award, he was forbidden to be present at their Sacrifices, which was accounted the greatest Punishment that might be; for thereby he was reputed a notorious Offender, exempt from the ordinary Protection of the Laws, uncapable of any Preferment, and all Men would fly his Company. Amongst these Priests there was always one, that had the chief Authority, and, he being dead, the worthiest of them that survived succeeded in his Place. If there seemed to be an Equality of Worthiness among more than one, then the Choice was made by Plurality of Voices. At one certain Time in the Year, they used to hold a Session in *Gallia* in some consecrated Place, where they heard and determined Causes

ſes; for the Superſtition was firſt brought thither out of *Britain*. They had Immunity from all Manner of Tributes, and from Service in the Wars; by Reaſon of which Privileges, they drew to them many Followers, whom they taught a great Number of Verſes by Heart, ſuppoſing it unlawful to commit thoſe ſacred Things to Writing; whereas in other Matters, as well publick, as private, they uſed the *Greek* Letters. And this it is likely they did, either for that they would not have the Knowledge of their ſuperſtitious Rites laid open to the common People (in whom Ignorance ſeemeth to ingender a Kind of Devotion) or elſe for that they would have their Scholars to truſt the more to their Memory, while they wanted the Help of Writing. They preached, that the Soul was immortal, and that after the Death of one Man it went to another. By this Perſuaſion they ſtirred up Men to Virtue, and took away the Fear of Death, the main Obſtacle of glorious Adventures. Other Things they taught alſo concerning the Motion of the Stars, the Situation of the Earth, and the Power of their prophane Gods. The ſtrange Behaviour of theſe religious Prieſts, and the Outcries of the People of *Mona*, ſo amazed the *Roman* Soldiers, that, like Men inchanted, they ſtood ſtill without Motion, till the Captain ſpoke unto them, and encouraged them to adventure, not fearing a Flock of ſilly Women, or frantick People; and then, boldly giving the Charge, he ſoon diſordered and diſperſed them, making himſelf Maſter of the Field: Which done, the *Roman* Soldiers entered the Towns, and placed Gariſons there, felling the Woods which the Inhabitants ſuperſtitiouſly reputed holy, by Reaſon of the Altars whereupon they ſacrificed the Blood of Captives, and propheſied of the Succeſs of their own Affairs, by viewing the Intrails of Men, whom they had killed.

In the mean Time *Praſutagus* King of the *Icenians*, a Man renowned for his Riches, did by his laſt Will make the *Roman* Emperor his Heir (jointly with two of his Daughters) ſuppoſing, that thereby his Kingdom and Family ſhould have been maintained in good Eſtate, and protected from Violence after his Death: All which fell out contrary to his Hopes; for this Kingdom was made a Prey to the Soldiers, *Voadica*, his Wife, whipped, his Daughters deflowred, ſuch as were of his Family made Slaves, and the wealthieſt Men of his Kingdom, either by open Force, or ſurmiſed Pretences, deprived of their Goods, and diſpoſſeſſed of their Inheritance. Beſides that, *Seneca* one of *Nero*'s Counſellors, having forced divers of the better Sort of the *Britons* to take great Sums of Money of him upon Uſury, did then, for his private Gain, exact the Payment of the Principal, upon a Sudden, to the utter Undoing of his Debtors: And *Decianus Catus*, the Procurator in *Britain*, renewed the Confiſcation of their Goods, which *Claudius* the Emperor had pardoned. The Soldiers, placed in the Colony at *Camalodunum*, had thruſt the Owners and ancient Inhabitants out of their Houſes, terming them Slaves, and Drudges, and abuſing them in all reproachful Manners. The Temple erected in the Honour of *Claudius* was an Eye-ſore, and continual Burden unto them, while the Prieſts *Auguſtales*, that attended there, waſted the Wealth of the Inhabitants under the Pretext of Religion. To theſe common Grievances of the afflicted People, the preſent Occaſion ſeemed to offer Means of Redreſs, while the *Roman* General was making War in *Mona*. Whereupon they reſolved to take Arms, inciting the *Trinobantes* and other Nations, that were not wholly brought under Subjection, to do the like. Then they began to diſcourſe of the Miſeries of Bondage, to lay their Injuries together, aggravating them by their own Conſtructions, and complaining, that their Patience had profited them nothing, but to draw heavier Burdens upon them, 'as 'Men that would gently bear: That, whereas 'in former Times they had only one Com-'mander, now there were two thruſt upon 'them; the Lieutenant to ſuck their Blood, 'and the Procurator their Subſtance; whoſe 'Diſagreement was the Vexation of the Sub-'ject, and Agreement, their utter Undoing, 'while the one burthened them with Soldi-'ers and Captains, the other with Wrongs, 'and Indignities: That the Luſt and Cove-'touſneſs of theſe their Enemies laid Hold 'upon all Perſons without Exception: That, 'though in the Field he that ſpoileth be com-'monly the ſtronger, yet themſelves were by 'Cowards, and Weaklings, for the moſt Part, 'diſpoſſeſſed of their Houſes, bereaved of their 'Children, enjoined to yield Soldiers for o-'ther Men's Service, as though they were ſuch 'a Kind of People, as knew how to do any 'Thing elſe, ſave only to die for their own 'Country; for otherwiſe there was but a Hand-'ful of Soldiers come over, if they did but 'reckon their own Number, conſidering, with-

'al,

'al, that *Germany* had already ſhaken off the 'Yoke, having no Ocean Sea, but a River to 'defend it: That the Cauſes, then moving 'them to take Arms, were juſt and honour'able; namely, to recover their Liberty, and 'to defend their Parents, Wives, Children, 'and Country; whereas the *Romans* had no'thing to provoke them to War, but their 'own Covetouſneſs, and wanton Luſt, and 'were likely enough to depart, as *Julius Cæſar* 'had done, if themſelves would imitate the 'Virtues of their Progenitors, and not be 'diſmayed with the doubtful Event of one Skir'miſh, or two, ſeeing that Men in Miſery 'have commonly more Courage, than at other 'Times, and more Conſtancy to continue: 'And now the Heavens themſelves ſeemed to 'pity their poor Eſtate, by ſending the *Ro'man* Governor out of the Way, and con'fining the Army, as it were, into an other 'Iſland; by which Means, Opportunity of 'Revenge, and Hope of Liberty, was offered: 'And finally, that, being aſſembled to deviſe 'and deliberate together, they had obtained 'the hardeſt Point, in an Action of that Na'ture, wherein it were more Danger to be 'taken conſulting, than doing. With theſe 'and the like Speeches they ſtirred up one ano'ther, each Man laying open his own parti'cular Grievances, and adding them to the 'common Cauſe.

About this Time, divers prodigious Signs were noted, to portend the Subverſion of the *Roman* Colony, as namely, an Image of Victory falling down reverſed at *Camalodunum*; ſtrange Noiſes ſounding in the Air: Strange Apparitions ſeen in the Sea: The Ocean bloody in Shew: And the Print of Men's Bodies upon the Sands. Divers Conſtructions were made of theſe Things as ominous, whether that they proceed from ſome natural Cauſes, though not always obſerved, or elſe that they do neceſſarily forego the Ruin and Change of great States. Howbeit commonly, in ſuch Caſes, Men's Minds do miſgive them, while they frame the future Event of things anſwerable to their own fearful Imaginations; and, great Alterations falling out ſometimes after like Accidents, they ſuperſtitiouſly ſuppoſe them, to be always the certain Forerunners of Deſtruction. The Apprehenſion of theſe Things, at the Firſt, ſtruck the *Romans* with greater Fear, by Reaſon of the Abſence of their General, and thereupon they required the Aid of *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, who ſent a ſmall Company badly armed, to reinforce the Gariſon. The old Soldiers that had been left within the Town, although few in Number, yet truſting to the Privileges of the Temple, and not doubting the ſecret Conſpiracy of their Confederates, were in a Manner careleſs, as in Times of Peace, following their Pleaſures, and making no Proviſion for Defence. The *Britons* having, in the mean Time, taken Arms under the Conduct of *Voadica*, a Lady of the Blood of their Kings (for in Matter of Government they made no Difference of Sex) and being informed of the State of the Colony, determined firſt to aſſail the Towns and Forts in the Paſſage thither. The good Succeſs, they had in thoſe Attempts, made them deſirous to invade the Colony itſelf, and *Voadica* as their Leader, being a Woman of great Spirit, and comely Perſonage; (apparelled in a looſe Gown of divers Colours, with a golden Chain about her Neck, and a light Spear in her Hand) ſtanding upon a Heap of Turves, the better to be ſeen, her Daughters on each Side of her with a ſhrill Voice uttered theſe, or the like Words:

'It is no new Cuſtom for the *Britons* to 'make War under the Leading of Women, 'ennobled by their Birth and Deſcent; the 'Examples of former Times can well witneſs 'the Experience thereof: Howbeit, at this 'Preſent, I will diſclaim all Titles of Dig'nity, and Prerogatives of Blood; and, what 'Difference ſoever there is in our Eſtates, 'yet ſhall our Fortune, in this Action, be 'indifferent and common to us both. I ſhall 'not need to repeat that, which you all know 'but too well: Namely, What Miſeries we 'have endured under the Tyranny of this 'proud Nation. You have had the Trial 'both of Liberty and Bondage, and I doubt 'not but you find now, how much the one 'is to be preferred before the other; and 'howſoever ſome of you heretofore have, for 'private Reſpects, inclined to the *Roman* Go'vernors, as Favourers of their uſurped So'vereignty; yet, I ſuppoſe, you will now 'confeſs with me, that Freedom, in a poor 'Eſtate, is better than golden Fetters. For, 'What Abuſe can there be named ſo vile, or 'Indignity ſo diſgraceful, that hath not been 'offered us, without Reſpect of Degree, Age, 'or Sex? We till our Grounds, and ſweat 'for other Men, that reap the Sweet of our

'Travels;

'Travels; the Wealth, that we gather to 'maintain ourselves and our Families, is by 'other Men wastefully and riotously misspent; 'we have nothing of our own, but what they 'leave us, and nothing left us, but Labour 'and Vexation; our Bodies and Estates being 'consumed, to satisfy their Ambition and 'Covetousness, we have not so much as our 'Heads Toll-free; so narrowly are we sifted, 'from the Highest to the Lowest. Other sub-'dued Nations are yet, by Death, freed from 'Bondage; but we, even after Death, seem 'to live still in Thraldom, while we are 'forced to pay Tribute, as well for the Dead, 'as the Living. What, are we a Nation so 'contemptible, that we can serve to no other 'Use, than to be Slaves? Or so unhappy, 'that Death itself cannot acquit us from be-'ing miserable? How long shall we give 'Way to our own Wrongs? Shall we hope 'for Reformation of these Abuses? Nay, we 'have hoped too long, and, by patient Bear-'ing of one Injury, we have drawn on ano-'ther. Why should we not rather seek to 'redress them? For, if we enter into due 'Consideration of ourselves, What are the '*Romans* more than we? Our Bodies are as 'strong as theirs; our Numbers greater. We 'have Agility of Body, our Women no less 'than our Men, to run, to leap, to swim, 'and to perform all warlike Exercises; for 'which, indeed, we are naturally more fit, 'than for the Spade, Plough, or Handicrafts: 'And howsoever the *Romans* may seem for-'tunate by the Folly, or Weakness, of other 'Nations; yet are they not comparable unto 'us, whom Nature hath framed to endure 'Hunger, Cold, and Labour, and to be con-'tent with Things necessary only: For, to us, 'every Herb and Root is Meat, each River 'and Spring yield us Drink, while we seek 'no further than to appease Hunger, and 'quench Thirst; each Tree serves for Shelter 'against Storms in Winter, and for Shadow 'against the parching Heat of Summer; we 'need no other Beds than the Earth, nor Co-'vering than the Heavens; whereas they must 'have their Joints suppled with hot Baths, 'sweet Ointments, and soft Couches, and 'their Bodies pampered with Wine, dainty 'Fare, and all Kinds of effeminate Niceness 'and Delicacy. These are the Properties 'wherein they imitate their Master *Nero*, 'who hath only the Shape of a Man, being 'indeed a Woman, or rather, neither Man 'nor Woman, but a Monster of Nature, a 'Singer, a Fidler, a Stage-player, a Mur-'therer; and one that excelleth other Men 'as far in Vice, as he doth in Preheminence 'of Degree. Besides all this, the Cause of 'our War is just, and the Divine Powers, 'that favour Justice, have made our first At-'tempts prosperous; and, methinketh, that 'the Necessity of our Case were able to make 'even Cowards valiant. Your Ancestors 'could make Head against *Julius Cæsar*, and 'the Emperors *Caligula* and *Claudius*; the 'Germans have lately freed themselves by that 'memorable Overthrow of the *Roman* Le-'gions, under the Conduct of *Quintilius Va-'rus*; and shall not we (who scorn to be 'reputed inferior to the *Germans* in Valour) 'be confident in our own Strength, and boldly 'adventure? Considering, that, if we prevail, 'we recover our lost Liberty; if we be forced 'to retire, we have Woods, Hills, and 'Marshes, for our Refuge; and, if we die, we 'do but sell our Lives with Honour, which 'we cannot possess with Safety. For my 'own Part, you shall find me no less ready to 'execute, when Time serves, than I am now 'to advise and exhort you; myself having 'determined, either to vanquish, or die; if 'any of you be otherwise minded, then live, 'and be Slaves still.'

With these, and the like Speeches, she in-flamed the Hearts that were already kindled, and, persuading the *Britons* to pursue their Enemies, as Dogs and Wolves do fearful Hares and Foxes, she let slip out of her Lap a quick Hare, at whose Running through the Camp, the *Britons* shouted, apprehending it as a Matter ominous, and fore-signifying the *Romans* Flight: And thereupon they cried that they might be speedily led to the Colony itself, as the Seat of their Slavery; which, at their first Coming, they surprised, killing, spoiling, and consuming all with Fire and Sword, except the Temple only, into which the Soldiers fled as a Sanctuary, though it could not long protect them from the Violence of the furious Multitude. *Petilius Cerealis*, the Lieutenant of the Ninth Legion, coming to succour the Garison, had all his Footmen slain, and him-self, with a few Horse, hardly escaped. *Ca-tus*, the Procurator, knowing himself to be odious to the *Britons* (by Reason of the Ex-tortions he had committed in his Office) fled secretly

ſecretly into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius*, upon Intelligence of the Revolt, returned out of *Mona*, and led his Army, with ſome Difficulty, towards *London*, a Place not known at that Time by the Name of a Colony, but famous only for Concourſe of Merchants and Traffick. There he ſtaid a While, as doubting what Courſe to take; the ſmall Number of his Forces, and the ill Succeſs of *Cerealis*, making him more wary; and he ſuppoſed it would be a Work well worth his Labour, if, with the Loſs of one Town, he could preſerve the reſt, that were likely to revolt: Whereupon, furniſhing his defective Companies with ſuch able Men as were then in the Town, although the *Londoners*, with Tears, implored his Aid, and deſired his Abode there for their Defence; yet he marched forward, leaving behind him all ſuch as either by Reaſon of their Age, Sex, or other Infirmities, could not follow, or elſe, for Love of the Place, as being bred and born there, would not abandon it. The Town, being thus weakly guarded, was taken by the *Britons*, and the People therein all put to the Sword. The like Calamity befel the free Town of *Verulamium*, by Reaſon that divers of the *Britons*, finding their own Strength, forſook their Forts, and aſſailed the moſt notable and wealthy Places, inriching themſelves with the Spoil of their Enemies, whom they hanged, burned, and crucified, exerciſing all Kinds of Cruelty, that a Mind, enraged with Deſire of Revenge, could deviſe. They took no Priſoners, either to preſerve for Ranſom, or to exchange, according to the Laws of War; but ſlew both Citizens and Confederates, to the Number of about ſeventy-thouſand. *Suetonius*, with the Fourteenth Legion, ſeconded by the Standard-Bearers of the Twentieth, and ſome Auxiliaries, made Haſte to encounter the *Britons*; and reſolved, without further Delay, to try the Chance of a ſet Battle. Then he pitched in a Place that had a narrow Entrance, with a thick Wood for a Defence behind him, and a fair wide Plain before his Camp. The Legionary Soldiers were marſhalled together in thick Ranks, the Light-harneſſed incloſing them about, and the Horſemen making Wings on each Side. *Pœnius Poſthumus*, the Camp-Maſter of the Second Legion, was appointed to lead the Foreward, but he contemptuouſly refuſed the Charge.

In the mean Time the *Britons* ranged abroad in great Troops, triumphing for their late good Succeſs, and, being encouraged by the Example of *Voadica* their General, were fiercely bent to aſſail the *Roman* Camp, ſuppoſing now that no Force was able to reſiſt them. And they had brought their Wives with them, and placed them in Waggons about the outmoſt Parts of the Plain, to be the Beholders of their valiant Acts, and Witneſſes of their expected Victory. *Suetonius* being now ready to join Battle, though he perceived that his Soldiers were not much diſmayed with the Sight of ſo great Numbers ſcattered upon the Plain; yet he ſuppoſed it not unneceſſary to uſe ſome Speech to them, by Way of Exhortation, and therefore began in this Manner:

'I cannot now uſe many Words to exhort 'you; the Time permits it not, and the pre-'ſent Occaſion requireth rather Deeds than 'Words: Yet let not our ſmall Number diſ-'courage you, conſidering that your An-'ceſtors, with a ſmaller Number, have ef-'fected greater Matters; and that, where ma-'ny Legions have been in the Field, a few 'Soldiers have carried away the Victory: 'What a Glory ſhall it be for you then, if 'with ſo ſmall a Power, you can purchaſe 'the Praiſe of a whole Army? There is no 'Fear of Ambuſh; the Woods guard you be-'hind, and on the Plain before you lieth your 'Enemies Camp, wherein you may behold 'more Women than Men, and the Men 'themſelves, for the moſt Part, unarmed, 'and not likely to endure the Points and 'Strokes of our Weapons, which they have 'ſo often felt to their Smart. It ſtands you 'now upon to approve yourſelves the ſame 'Men you are reputed to be: This is the 'Time either to recover that you have loſt, 'or to loſe that which you ſhall never re-'cover: You fight now not for Honour on-'ly, but for Honour and Life. Remember 'that you are *Romans*, whoſe Glory it is to 'do and ſuffer great Things: The Fortune 'of this Battle will either give us peaceable 'Poſſeſſion of that our Forefathers have won, 'or for ever deprive us of it: What ſhall be-'come of you, if you be taken, the woeful 'Experience of your Countrymen, moſt mi-'ſerably maſſacred before your Eyes, may 'ſufficiently teſtify: Revenge therefore both 'their Wrongs and your own, and, no doubt,

' but the Gods themſelves (who never leave ' Cruelty unpuniſhed) will aſſiſt you: It is ' better for us to die in this Action, than by ' Yielding, or Flying, to out-live the Praiſe of ' our own Worthineſs: But, whether we live ' or die, *Britain* ſhall be ours; for, if we ' live, and recover it, our Poſterity ever after ' ſhall be able to defend it; and, though they ' ſhould not, yet ſhall our Bones keep con- ' tinual Poſſeſſion of it. Take Courage there- ' fore, and fear not the loud and vain Shouts ' of a diſordered Multitude, but boldly give ' the Aſſault, and, keeping yourſelves cloſe to- ' gether, purſue the Fight, without Thinking ' of the Spoil, till you have made a full End; ' for, the Victory once gotten, all Things ' elſe will, of themſelves, fall to your Share.'

With theſe, or the like Words, the old Soldiers were pricked forward; and *Suetonius*, perceiving it, gave the Signal of Battle. The Legions kept the Streight, as a Place of Defence, till the *Britons* had ſpent their Darts; and then they ſallied out into the Plain (the Auxiliaries and the Horſemen making Way), and preſſing into the thickeſt Troops of the barbarous People, who, being unable to endure the Fierceneſs of the Aſſault, turned their Backs, thinking to ſave themſelves by Flight; but, by Reaſon their Waggons, placed about the Plain, had hedged in the Paſſages on all Sides, few of them eſcaped: The Reſidue, as well Women as Men, were put to the Sword, and their dead Bodies, mingled with the Carcaſes of their Horſes and Chariots, were heaped one upon another. The Number of the *Britons* ſlain in that Battle was reported to be about eighty-thouſand, and of the *Romans* about four-hundred only, and not many more wounded in the Conflict. This Day's Service was renowned among the *Romans*, as comparable to thoſe of ancient Times in the free Commonwealth. *Voadica*, diſdaining to fall into her Enemies Hands, ended her Life by Poiſon; and *Pœnius Poſthumus*, ſeeing the good Succeſs of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Legions (for that, by diſobeying the General, contrary to the Diſcipline of War, he had defrauded his own Legion of their Part of the Glory in the Action) for very Grief ſlew himſelf.

Then, *Suetonius* having gathered together his diſperſed Troops, certain Legionary Soldiers and Cohorts of Auxiliaries were ſent him out of *Germany*, to reinforce the Gariſons, and to make an End of the War: Some of the *Britons* that either openly reſiſted, or elſe ſtood doubtfully affected, were put to the Sword; and, ſome that eſcaped the Sword, died of Famine for Lack of Corn, a Calamity incident to them, as to a People given rather to War, than Huſbandry: The reſt found Means to relieve themſelves by the *Romans* Proviſion; And though ſome Overtures were made for a Treaty of Peace: Yet they would not hearken thereto, for that they doubted their Safety, imagining that their Guiltineſs of the Rebellion had excluded them from all Hope of Pardon; and they much feared the private Diſpleaſure of the Lieutenant who, though otherwiſe a ſingular Man, yet ſeemed to ſhew too much haughty and hard Dealing towards them, that yielded themſelves, and in ſome Sort, under Pretext of the publick Service, to revenge his own Injuries. Beſides, *Julius Claſſicianus*, who was ſent to ſucceed *Catus*, being at Variance with *Suetonius*, had given out that a new Lieutenant was coming, and that he was ſuch a one, as being void of Malice, or the Pride of a Conqueror, would be ready to receive into Favour all ſuch as would yield themſelves, he wrote Letters alſo to *Rome*, ſignifying to the Senate, that they ſhould look for no End of the War in *Britain*, ſo long as *Suetonius* continued the Government there; and that the ill Succeſs, which he had in the Service, was to be attributed to his own ill Carriage of himſelf, and the Good, to the Fortune of the Commonwealth. Hereupon *Nero* ſent *Polycletus*, a Libertine, into *Britain*, to examine and report the State of the Affairs there, and to interpoſe his Authority as a Means to reconcile the Lieutenant and the Procurator, and to win the *Britons* to embrace Peace. At his Landing in the Iſland, the *Roman* Soldiers there ſeemed to fear and reverence him; and the Cauſes of his Coming were diverſly reported at the Firſt. But the *Britons* derided him; for, as Men being born free, they knew not, till that Time, the Power of Libertines (Men made free) but rather marvelled, that a Captain, and an Army, which had atchieved ſo great an Enterpriſe, could be brought to obey, and yield an Account of their Actions, to a baſe Bond-ſlave, as they termed him.

Theſe Things, howſoever they were cenſured by others, yet they were reported to *Nero*, in ſuch Manner, as the Reporters thought might beſt content him; and *Suetonius*, after the Loſs of ſome of his Shipping, was commanded (the War

War being not yet finiſhed) to deliver up the Army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had a little before given over his Conſulſhip. He was a Man of a ſoft Spirit, and, being a Stranger to the *Britons* Faults, was the more tractable, and ready to remit them; by which Means, having compoſed the former Troubles, he delivered up his Charge to *Trebellius Maximus*, whoſe Unfitneſs for Action, and Want of Experience in military Matters, gave the more Boldneſs to the *Britons*, that began now to diſcover the Defects of their Governors, having learned both to flatter and diſſemble, in conforming themſelves to the preſent Times and Occaſions, for their Advantage, and, for the moſt Part, yielding themſelves to thoſe Pleaſures, which Security uſeth to ingender, even in Minds well diſpoſed by Nature. For *Trebellius*, beſides his Inſufficiency, abuſed the Authority of his Place, to inrich himſelf, by polling the common Soldiers; and *Roſcius Cœlius*, a Lieutenant of the Twentieth Legion, whetted them on againſt him, as againſt his ancient Enemy; ſo that in the End they broke out into heinous Terms, the one objecting Matter of Crime againſt the other. *Trebellius* charged *Cœlius* with factious Behaviour; *Cœlius* again *Trebellius* with beggaring the Legions; and the Diſcord betwixt them grew ſo far, that *Trebellius*, being deſpiſed, as well by the Aids, as the Legions, both of them ſorting themſelves to *Cœlius*'s Side, was in great Fear of his Life: The Danger whereof he ſought to prevent, rather by flying away, than by executing any exemplary Juſtice upon Offenders. In the mean Time, the Soldiers, neglecting the ancient Diſcipline of War, fell to Mutiny and all Kinds of Riot, as Men that had rather be doing Ill, than doing nothing. And afterwards, taking again his former Place, as it were by Capitulation, he ſeemed to govern, only at the Diſcretion of his Soldiers, who, finding his Weakneſs and Want of Judgment to uſe his Authority, took upon them to do what they liſted; and herewith alſo the Lieutenant himſelf ſeemed contented, as being now given over altogether to a ſlothful Kind of Life, terming it *Peace* and *Quietneſs*, for which, the civil Diſcord at that Time between *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, miniſtered ſome Colour of Excuſe. About this Time the Fourteenth Legion, famous for many great Attempts, and growing now more inſolent than the reſt, was revoked out of the Iſland, to have been ſent to the *Streights* about the *Caſpian* Sea, though afterwards upon Intelligence of the Revolt in *Gallia*, and *Spain*, when *Julius Vindex* took Arms againſt *Nero*, it was retained about the City of *Rome* for a Safeguard to thoſe Parts. In the turbulent Times that enſued *Nero*'s Death, it took Part with *Otho* again *Vitellius* at the Battle near *Bebriacum*, where *Otho* was overthrown; and *Vitellius* after the Victory, ſuſpecting the Soldiers of that Legion, as knowing their great Stomachs, and ill Affection towards him, thought it expedient to join to them the *Batavian* Cohorts, that, by Reaſon of the inveterate Hatred between them, they might one oppoſe the other, and himſelf in the mean Time remain more ſecure.

Then *Vectius Bolanus*, a Man not much unlike *Trebellius* in ſome Reſpects, was ſent over by *Vitellius*; during the Time of whoſe Government the like Diſorders continued ſtill in the Camp, ſaving that *Bolanus*, by the Mildneſs of his Nature (being not touched otherwiſe in his Reputation) had purchaſed Love and Good-will, inſtead of Fear and Obedience. In his Time, divers choice Men of War, taken out of the Legions in *Britain*, were conducted to *Rome* by *Hordeonius Flaccus*, in Aid of *Vitellius*; but, when *Veſpaſian* made War for the Empire, *Bolanus* refuſed to ſend *Vitellius* any Succour, by Reaſon that the *Britons*, finding the *Roman* State encumbered with Civil Diſſenſion, began to revolt in divers Places of the Iſland; and ſome of them alſo ſhewed themſelves openly in Favour of *Veſpaſian*, who had carried himſelf honourably in *Britain*, when *Claudius* was there, and ſeemed now, by many ominous Predictions, to be a Man ſpecially marked for the Empire.

The Death of *Vitellius*, quenching the Flame of Civil Broils among the *Romans*, confirmed the Poſſeſſion of the Empire to *Veſpaſian*, who ſhewed the Care and Reſpect he had of the Iſland of *Britain*, by employing great Captains and good Soldiers there. The Lieutenantſhip was then aſſigned to *Petilius Cerealis*, a Man that had given good Proof of his Sufficiency in former Services: Upon his firſt Entrance into Office, he invaded the Country of the *Brigantes*, the moſt populous State of the whole Province; the greateſt Part whereof, after many bloody Battles, was either conquered, or waſted, and the Hope of the *Britons* greatly abated; when *Julius Frontinus*, whoſe Reputation was nothing impaired by the Fame of his Predeceſſor, took upon him the

Charge, which he afterwards executed with great Commendation, in ſubduing the ſtrong and warlike Nation of the *Silures*; among whom he ſeemed to fight, not only with Men, whoſe Strength and Valour was able to make Oppoſition againſt his Attempts, but alſo with Mountains, Streights, and Places of very difficult Acceſs.

In this State *Julius Agricola* (having been trained up, for the moſt Part, in the *Britiſh* War) did find the Province, when he, as Succeſſor to *Cerealis*, entered into the Government. He croſſed the narrow Seas about the Midſt of Summer; at which Time, as though the Seaſon of the Year had been paſt to begin a new War, the *Roman* Soldiers attended an End of their Travel, and the *Britons* a Beginning of Annoyance to their Enemies. The *Ordovices*, a little before he landed, had almoſt cut in Pieces a Troop of Horſemen, that lay upon their Borders; upon which Attempt, the Country being awaked, as deſirous of War, allowed the Example, and ſome ſtaid to ſee how the new Lieutenant would take it. *Agricola* in the mean Time, although the Summer was ſpent, and the Bands lay diſperſed in the Province (his Soldiers having fully preſumed of Reſt for that Year, and divers Officers of the Army being of Opinion, that it were better to keep and aſſure the Places ſuſpected, than to make any new Attempt) yet, all this notwithſtanding, he reſolved directly to encounter the Danger, and, gathering together the Enſigns of the Legions, and ſome few Auxiliaries (becauſe the *Ordovices* durſt not deſcend into indifferent Ground) himſelf firſt of all, to give others like Courage, marched up to begin the Aſſault: And having, in that Conflict, deſtroyed almoſt the whole Nation of the *Ordovices*, and knowing right well, that Fame muſt with Inſtance be followed (for, as the firſt ſhould fall out, ſo the reſt would ſucceed) he deliberated to conquer the Iſland of *Mona*, from the Poſſeſſion whereof *Paulinus* had been formerly revoked by the general Rebellion of *Britain*: But, Ships being then wanting, as in an Enterpriſe not intended before, the Policy and Reſoluteneſs of the Captain deviſed a ſpeedy Paſſage; for he commanded the moſt choice of the Aids, to whom all the Shallows were known, and who, after the Uſe of their Country, were able to ſwim in their Armour, if Need were, to lay aſide their Carriage, and, putting over at once, ſuddenly to invade them: Which Thing ſo amazed the Inhabitants, who ſuppoſed, that the *Romans* would have ſtaid a certain Time for Ships and ſuch-like Proviſion by Sea, that now, believing nothing could be hard or invincible to Men, which came ſo minded to make War, they humbly intreated for Peace, and yielded the Iſland. Thus *Agricola*, at his firſt Entrance into Office (which Time others uſed to conſume in vain Oſtentation, or ambitious Seeking of Ceremonies) entering withal into Labours and Dangers, became famous indeed, and of great Reputation. Howbeit, he abuſed not the proſperous Proceeding of his Affairs to Vanity, or Braving in Speeches; for he eſteemed it an Action not worthy the Name of a Conqueſt, to keep in Order only Perſons ſubdued before; neither decked he with Laurel his Letters of Advertiſement, but, by ſtopping and ſuppreſſing the Fame of his Doings, he greatly augmented it, when Men began to diſcourſe upon what great Preſumption of future Succeſs he ſhould make ſo light an Account of ſo great Actions already performed. As touching the Civil Government, *Agricola*, knowing how the Province ſtood affected, and being taught alſo, by Experience of others, that Arms avail little to ſettle a new-conquered State, if Violence and Wrongs be permitted, determined at the firſt to cut off all Cauſes of War and Rebellion; and, beginning at Home, he firſt of all reformed his own Houſe, a Point of more Hardneſs to ſome Men, than to govern a Province: He committed no Manner of publick Affairs to Bond-men, or Libertines: He received no Soldier near his Perſon upon private Affection of partial Suiters, nor upon Commendation or Intreaty of Centurions, but elected the beſt and moſt ſerviceable: He would look narrowly into all Things, yet not exact all Things to the utmoſt: Light Faults he would pardon, and the great ſeverely correct, not always puniſhing Offenders, but oftentimes ſatisfied with Repentance, chuſing rather not to prefer to Office ſuch as were likely to offend, than, after the Offence, to condemn them. The Augmentation of Tribute and Corn he tempered with equal Dividing of Burdens, cutting away thoſe petty Extortions which grieved the *Britons* more than the Tribute itſelf. For the poor People, in former Times, were conſtrained in a Mockery to wait at the Barn-doors, which were locked againſt

againſt them, and firſt to buy Corn, and afterwards ſell at a low Price. Several Ways alſo, and far diſtant Places, had been aſſigned them, by the Purveyor's Appointment, for carrying Proviſions from the neareſt ſtanding Camps to thoſe which were far off and out of the Way (petty Officers in the mean Time making a Gain thereof, by ſparing ſome, and charging others at their Pleaſure) ſo as that, which lay open to all, and at Hand, was turned only to the private Profit of a few. By repreſſing theſe Abuſes in his firſt Year, a good Opinion was conceived of the Peace, which either by the Negligence, or Partiality, of former Lieutenants was now no leſs feared than War. In Times of Service he was very painful, and oftentimes more adventurous in his own Perſon, than was fit for a General; for himſelf would always appoint his Ground for pitching the Camp, and alſo be the firſt Man in proving the Thickets, Bogs, or any other Places of Danger, not ſuffering any Corners or ſecret Harbours unſearched, but waſting and ſpoiling every-where with ſudden Incurſions and Aſſaults. Howbeit, when by theſe Means he had terrified the *Britons*, then would he again ſpare and forbear, as hoping thereby to allure them to Peace; whereupon, many Cities, which before that Time ſtood upon Terms of Equality, gave Hoſtages, and meekly ſubmitted themſelves, receiving Gariſons, and permitting the *Romans* to fortify: A Work performed with ſuch Foreſight and Judgment, that nothing was ever attempted againſt them, while he continued in Office, whereas, before that Time, no new fortified Place in all *Britain* eſcaped unaſſailed. Thus far had *Agricola* proceeded, when the News came, That *Veſpaſian* was dead, and *Titus* his Son inveſted in the Empire.

The Winter enſuing was ſpent in a moſt profitable and politick Device: For, whereas the *Britons* were rude, and diſperſed, and therefore prone upon every Occaſion to War, *Agricola*, that he might induce them by Pleaſures to Quietneſs and Reſt, exhorted them in private, and commanded his Soldiers to help them to build Temples, Houſes, and Places of publick Reſort; commending ſuch as were forward therein, and checking the ſlow and idle Perſons; ſeeming thereby to impoſe a Kind of Neceſſity upon them, while every Man contended to gain the Lieutenant's Good-will. Moreover, the Noblemen's Sons he took and inſtructed in the Liberal Sciences, preferring the Wits of the *Britons* before thoſe of the Students in *Gallia*; the *Britons* alſo themſelves being now curious to attain the Eloquence of the *Roman* Language, whereas they lately rejected the Speech. After that, the *Roman* Attire grew to be in Account, and the Gown much uſed among them; and ſo, by little and little, they proceeded to thoſe common Provocations of Vices, namely, ſumptuous Galleries, hot Baths, and exquiſite Banquetings; which Things the ignorant People termed Civility, though it were indeed a Badge of their Bondage.

In the third Year of his Government, he diſcovered new Countries, waſting all before him, till he came to the Firth of *Taus*: Which Thing ſo terrified the Northern *Britons*, that, although the *Roman* Army had been toiled and wearied with many ſharp Conflicts, yet they durſt not aſſail it; whereby the *Romans* had the more Leiſure to incamp themſelves, and to fortify; wherein *Agricola* was either ſo skilful, or ſo fortunate, that no Caſtle, planted by him, was either forced by Strength, or upon Conditions ſurrendered, or, as not defenſible, forſaken. In all theſe Actions *Agricola* never ſought to draw to himſelf the Glory of any Exploit done by another; but, were he Centurion, or of other Degree, that had atchieved it, he would faithfully witneſs the Fact, and yield him always his due Commendation.

The fourth Year of his Office was ſpent in viewing and ordering that which he had overrun: And, if the valiant Minds of his Soldiers, and the Glory of the *Roman* Name, could have ſo permitted it, there ſhould have been no Need to have ſought other Limits of *Britain*, than were at that Time diſcovered: For *Glota* and *Bodotria*, two Arms of the two contrary Seas, ſhooting mightily into the Land, are only divided aſunder by a narrow Partition of Ground, which Paſſage was guarded and fortified with Gariſons and Caſtles; ſo that the *Romans* were now abſolute Lords of all on this Side, having caſt their Enemies, as it were, into another Iſland.

The fifth Year of the War, *Agricola* ſubdued, with many and proſperous Conflicts, ſtrange Nations, before that Time unknown, and furniſhed with Forces that Part of *Britain* which lieth againſt *Ireland*; and this he did, more for Hope of Advantage, than Fear of Danger:

Danger: For, if *Ireland* might have been won (lying, as it doth, between *Britain* and *Spain*, and commodious alſo for *Gallia*) it would aptly have united, to the Uſe and Profit one of the other, thoſe ſtrongeſt Members of the Empire. The Nature and Faſhions of the *Iriſh* did not then much differ from the *Britiſh*; but the Ports and Haven-Towns in *Ireland* were more known and frequented, by Reaſon of greater Reſort thither of Merchants. *Agricola*, having received a Prince of that Country, driven thence by civil Diſſenſion, did, under Colour of Courteſy and Friendſhip, retain him, till Occaſion ſhould ſerve to make Uſe of him. It was afterwards reported, that with one Legion, and ſome few Aids, *Ireland* might then have been won, and poſſeſſed; and that it would have been alſo a Means to have kept *Britain* in Obedience, if the *Roman* Forces had been planted in each Country, and Liberty, as it were, clean baniſhed out of Sight.

Now, in the Summer following, becauſe a general Riſing in Arms, of all the further Nations beyond *Bodotria*, was feared (the Paſſages being all beſet with the Power of the barbarous People) he manned a Fleet to ſearch the Creeks and Harbours of the ample Region beyond it; backing them firſt of all with a Navy, and, with a goodly Shew, bringing War both by Land and Sea: And oftentimes it chanced, that the Horſemen and Footmen, and the Sea-ſoldiers, met, and made merry in the ſame Camp; each Man extolling his own Proweſs and Adventures, and making their Vaunts and Compariſons, Soldier-like, ſome of the Woods and high Mountains that they had paſſed; others, of Dangers of Rocks and Tempeſts that they had endured: The one, of the Land and the Enemy defeated; the other, of the Ocean aſſayed and ſubdued. The *Britons* (as by the Priſoners it was underſtood) were much amazed at the Sight of the Navy, ſuppoſing that, the Secrets of their Sea being now diſcloſed, there remained no Refuge for them, if they were overcome. Whereupon, the *Caledonians*, arming with great Preparation, and greater Fame (as the Manner is of Matters unknown) began to aſſail their Enemies Caſtles; and ſome of the *Roman* Captains, which would ſeem to be wiſe, being, indeed, but Cowards, counſelled the General to retire on this Side *Bodotria*, and rather to depart of his own Accord, than to be driven back with Shame. In the mean Time, *Agricola* had Intelligence, that the *Britons* intended to divide themſelves, and to give the Onſet in ſeveral Companies: Whereupon, leſt he ſhould be incloſed about, and intrapped, either by their Multitude, or by their Skill in the Paſſages, he marched alſo with his Army divided in three Parts; which when it was known to the *Caledonians*, they changed Advice on the Sudden, and, uniting their Forces together, jointly aſſaulted, by Night, the Ninth Legion, as being of weakeſt Reſiſtance: And, having ſlain the Watch (partly aſleep, and partly amazed with Fear) they broke into the Camp, and were fighting within the Trenches, when *Agricola*, having underſtood by Spies, what Way the *Britons* had taken, and following their Footſteps, commanded the lighteſt Horſemen and Footmen to play upon their Backs, and to maintain the Skirmiſh. When the Day drew near, the Glittering of the Enſigns dazzeled the Eyes of the *Britons*, who, being daunted with Fear of Danger on each Side, began to draw back, and the *Romans*, like Men that were now out of Peril of their Lives, did fight more chearfully for their Honour, freſhly aſſailing the *Britons*, and driving them to their own Gates, where, in the very Streights, the Conflict was ſharp and cruel; till, in the End, the *Britons* were forced to fly, whilſt the *Roman* Armies ſeverally purſued them, contending with a Kind of Emulation, the one to ſeem to have helped the other, and the other to ſeem to have needed no Help. Upon the Succeſs of this Battle, the *Roman* Soldiers, preſuming that to their Power all Things were eaſy and open, cried to the General to lead them into *Caledonia*, that with a Courſe of continual Conqueſts they might find out the utmoſt Limits of *Britain*. Now ſuch, as before the Battle were ſo wary and wiſe in adventuring, waxed forward enough after the Event, and grew to ſpeak gloriouſly of themſelves. [Such is the hard Condition of War; if aught fall out well, all challenge a Part: Misfortunes commonly are imputed to one.] Contrariwiſe, the *Britons* (preſuppoſing that not true Valour, but the Cunning of the General, by uſing the Occaſion, had carried away the Victory) abated not much their wonted Courage, but armed their Youth, tranſported their Children and Wives into Places of Safety, and fought, by Aſſemblies, and religious Rites, to eſtabliſh an Aſſociation

of

of the Cities together: And ſo, for that Year, both Parties, as Enemies, departed incenſed away.

In the Beginning of the next Summer, *Agricola* ſending his Navy before, which, by ſpoiling in ſundry Places, ſhould induce a greater and more uncertain Terror, followed himſelf with his Army by Land, having drawn to his Party ſome of the valianteſt *Britons*, whom, by long Experience in Peace, he had found moſt faithful, and ſo arrived at the Mount *Grampius*, where the *Britons* had lodged themſelves before. For they were not altogether dejected with the unfortunate Event of the former Battle, but now, as Men prepared for all Chances, they attended nothing elſe but Revenge, Death or Servitude; and, being taught, at Length, that common Danger muſt be repelled with mutual Concord, by Leagues and Ambaſſages, they had aſſembled the Power of all the Cities together, in Number above thirty-thouſand armed Men, the View being taken, beſides a great Company of Youth, which daily flocked to them, and luſty old Men renowned in War, and bearing the Badges due to their Honour; at which Time *Galgacus*, for Virtue and Birth, the principal Man of all the Leaders, ſeeing the Multitude hotly demand a Battle, is ſaid to have uſed this or the like Speech:

'When I conſider the Cauſe of this War, 'and our preſent Neceſſity, I have Reaſon, 'methinks, to preſume, that this Day, and 'this our general Agreement, will give a 'happy Beginning to the Freedom of the whole 'Iſland. For we have all hitherto lived in 'Liberty, and now no Land remaineth beyond 'us: No Sea for our Safety: The *Roman* Navy, 'as you ſee, ſurveying, and invironing our 'Coaſts; ſo that Combate and Arms, which 'Men of Virtue deſire for Honour, the Daſtard 'muſt alſo uſe for his Security. The former 'Battles, which have with divers Events been 'fought with the *Romans*, had their Refuge 'and Hope reſting in our Hands. For we, 'the Flower of the *Britiſh* Nobility, and ſeated 'in the furtheſt Part of the Iſland, did never 'yet ſee the Borders of thoſe Countries, which 'were brought under ſervile Subjection, our 'Eyes being ſtill kept unpolluted, and free 'from all Contagion of Tyranny. Beyond us 'is no Land: Beſides us none are free: Us 'only, hitherto, this Corner, and ſecret Harbour, hath defended; you ſee the uttermoſt 'Point of the Land is laid open, and Things, 'the leſs they have been within Knowledge, 'the greater is the Glory to atchieve them. 'But what Nation is there now beyond us? 'What elſe, but Water and Rocks, and the '*Romans* Lords of all within the Land, whoſe 'intolerable Pride in Vain ſhall you ſeek to 'avoid by Service and humble Behaviour? They 'are the Robbers of the World, that, having 'now left no Land to be ſpoiled, ſearch alſo the 'Sea. If the Enemy be rich, they ſeek to 'win Wealth: If poor, they are content to 'gain Glory to themſelves, whom neither the 'Eaſt, nor Weſt, can ſatisfy, as being the only 'Men of all Memory, that ſeek out all Places, 'be they wealthy or poor, with like greedy 'Affection. To take away by main Force, 'to kill and ſpoil, falſely they term Empire and 'Government; when all is waſte as a Wilderneſs, that they call Peace. His Children and 'Blood each Man holdeth by Nature moſt dear, 'and yet even they are preſſed for Soldiers, and 'carried away to be Slaves, we know not where. 'Our Siſters and Wives, though they be not 'violently forced, as in open Hoſtility, yet are 'they, under the Colour and Title of Friends, 'and Gueſts, ſhamefully abuſed. Our Goods 'and Subſtance they daily draw from us, rewarding us only with Stripes and Indignities. 'Slaves, which are born to Bondage, are ſold 'but once, and after are fed at their Owners 'Expences. But *Britain* dailybuyeth, daily feedeth, and is at Charges with her own Bondage. And as, in a private Retinue, the freſh 'Man and laſt Comer is ſcoffed at, by his 'fellow Servants: So, in this old Servitude of 'the whole World, they ſeek only the Deſtruction of us, as being the lateſt attempted, 'and, of all others, the moſt vile in Account. 'We have no Fields to manure, no Mines to 'be digged, no Ports to trade in; and to what 'Purpoſe then ſhould they keep us alive, conſidering that the Manhood, and fierce Courage of the Subject, doth not much pleaſe the 'jealous Sovereign, and this Corner, being ſo 'ſecret and out of the Way, the more Security it yieldeth to us, the greater Suſpicion it 'worketh in them? Seeing therefore all Hope 'of Pardon is paſt, it behoveth you, at 'length, to ſhew Courage, in Defending and 'Maintaining, both your Safety, and Honour. 'The *Icenians*, led by a Woman, fired the *Roman* Colony, forced the Caſtles, and, had

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'the Proſecution of the War been anſwerable 'to ſo lucky a Beginning, the *Britons* might 'then with Eaſe have ſhaken off the Yoke, 'and prevented our Peril. We, as yet, never 'touched, never ſubdued, but born to be free, 'not Slaves to the *Romans:* We, I ſay, are 'now to make Proof of our Valour, and to 'ſhew in this Encounter, what Manner of 'Men *Caledonia* hath reſerved in Store for her'ſelf. Do you think that the *Romans* be as 'valiant in War, as they are wanton in Peace? 'No, you are deceived. For they are grown 'famous, not by their own Virtue, but by our 'Jars, and Diſcord, while they make Uſe of 'their Enemies Faults, to the Glory of their 'own Army, compoſed of moſt divers Nati'ons; and therefore, as by preſent Proſperity 'it is holden together; So doubtleſs, if For'tune frown on that Side, it will ſoon be diſ'ſolved: Unleſs you ſuppoſe the *Gauls* and '*Germans*, and, to our Shame be it ſpoken, 'many of our own Nation, which now lend 'their Lives to eſtabliſh a foreign Uſurper, to 'be led with any true-hearted and faithful 'Affection. No, it is rather with Terror and 'Diſtruſt, weak Workers of Love: Which 'if you remove, then thoſe, which have made 'an End to fear, will ſoon begin to hate. All 'Things that may encourage, and give Hope 'of Victory, are now for us. The *Romans* 'have no Wives to hearten them on, if they 'faint; no Parents to upbraid them, if they 'fly. Moſt of them have no Country at all, 'or, if they have, it is ſome other Men's. They 'ſtand like a Sort of fearful Perſons, trembling 'and gazing at the Strangeneſs of the Heaven 'itſelf, at the Sea, and the Woods. And now 'the Heavens, favouring our Cauſe, have de'livered them, mewed up, as it were, and 'fettered into our Hands. Be not terrified, 'or diſmayed with the vain Shew, and Glit'tering of their Gold and Silver, which of them'ſelves do neither offend, nor defend. And 'think, that, even amongſt our Enemies, we 'ſhall find ſome on our Side, when the *Bri'tons* ſhall acknowledge their own Cauſe, the '*Gauls* remember their old Freedom, and the 'reſt of the *Germans* forſake them, as of late 'the *Uſipians* did. What then ſhould we fear? 'The Caſtles are empty, the Colonies peopled 'with aged and impotent Perſons, the free 'Cities diſcontented, and diſtracted with Facti'ons, whilſt they which are under obey with 'ill Will, and they which do govern rule a'gainſt Right. Here is the *Roman* General, 'and the Army, their Tributes, and Mines, 'with other Miſeries, inſeparably following 'ſuch as live under Subjection of others; which, 'whether we are to endure for ever, or ſpee'dily to revenge, it lieth this Day in this 'Field to determine. Wherefore, being now 'to join Battle, bear in Mind, I beſeech you, 'both your Anceſtors, which lived in the hap'py Eſtate of Liberty; and your Succeſſors, 'who, if you fail in this Enterpriſe, ſhall 'live hereafter in perpetual Servitude.' This Speech was chearfully received with a Song, after their barbarous Faſhion, accompanied with confuſed Cries and Acclamations. And as the *Roman* Cohorts drew together, and diſcovered themſelves, while ſome of the boldeſt preſſed forward, the reſt put themſelves in Array: And *Agricola*, albeit his Soldiers were glad of that Day, and could ſcarce with Words have been with-holden; yet, ſuppoſing it fit to ſay ſomewhat, he encouraged them in this Wiſe:

'Fellow Soldiers, and Companions in Arms, 'your faithful Diligence, and Service, theſe 'eight Years, ſo painfully performed by the 'Virtue and Fortune of the *Roman* Empire, 'hath at length conquered *Britain*. In ſo 'many Journies, ſo many Battles, we were 'of Neceſſity to ſhew ourſelves, either va'liant againſt the Enemy, or patient and la'borious above and againſt Nature itſelf: In 'all which Exploits we have both of us ſo 'carried ourſelves hitherto, as neither I de'ſired better Soldiers, nor you another Cap'tain. We have exceeded the Limits, I of 'my Predeceſſors, and you likewiſe of yours. 'The End of *Britain* is now found, not by 'Fame and Report, but we are with our 'Arms and Pavilions really inveſted thereof. '*Britain* is found, and ſubdued. In your 'Marching heretofore, when the Paſſage of 'Bogs, Mountains, or Rivers troubled and 'tired you, how often have I heard the vali'ant Soldiers ſay, When will the Enemy pre'ſent himſelf? When ſhall we fight? Lo, 'now they are put out of their Holes, and 'here they are come. Lo now your Wiſh: 'Lo here the Place for Trial of your Virtue, 'and all Things likely to follow in a good 'and eaſy Courſe, if you win; contrariwiſe 'all againſt you, if you loſe. For, as to 'have gone ſo much Ground, eſcaped the 'Woods and Bogs, and paſſed over ſo many 'Arms of the Sea, are honourable Teſtimo-

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‘ nies of your Forwardneſs; ſo, if we fly, the ‘ Advantages we have had will become our ‘ greateſt Diſadvantage. For we are not ſo ‘ ſkilful in the Country; we have not the like ‘ Store of Proviſions; we have only Hands ‘ and Weapons, wherein our Hopes, our Fortune, and all Things elſe are included. For ‘ my own Part, I have been long ſince reſolved, that to ſhew our Backs is diſhonourable, both for Soldier and General, and ‘ therefore a commendable Death is better than ‘ Life with Reproach (Surety and Honour commonly dwelling together) howbeit, if ‘ aught ſhould miſhappen in this Enterpriſe, ‘ yet this will be a Glory for us, to have died ‘ even in the uttermoſt End of the World, ‘ and of Nature. If new Nations and Soldiers unknown were in the Field, I would, ‘ by the Example of other Armies, encourage ‘ you: But now I require you only to recount ‘ your own victorious Exploits, and to aſk ‘ Counſel of your own Eyes. Theſe are the ‘ ſame Men which the laſt Year aſſailed one ‘ Legion by Stealth in the Night, and were ‘ ſuddenly and (in a Manner) by the Blaſts of ‘ your Mouths overthrown. Theſe, of all the ‘ other *Britons*, have been the moſt nimble ‘ in Running away, and by that Means have ‘ eſcaped the longeſt alive. For, as in Foreſts and Woods, the ſtrongeſt Beaſts are ‘ chaced away by main Force, and the cowardly and fearful ſcared only by the Noiſe of ‘ the Hunters; ſo the moſt valiant of the *Britiſh* ‘ Nation we have already diſpatched, and the ‘ Raſcal Herd of daſtardly Cowards only remaineth. And lo, we have now at length ‘ found them, not as intending to ſtay and ‘ make Head againſt us, but as laſt overtaken, ‘ and by extreme Paſſion of Fear ſtanding like ‘ Stocks, and preſenting Occaſion to us in this ‘ Place of a worthy and memorable Victory. ‘ Now therefore make a ſhort Work of our ‘ long Warfare, and to almoſt fifty Years ‘ Travel let this Day impoſe a glorious End. ‘ Let each of you ſhew his Valour, and approve to your Country, that this Army of ‘ ours could never juſtly be charged, either ‘ with protracting the War for Fear, or upon ‘ falſe Pretences for not accompliſhing the Conqueſt.’

As *Agricola* was yet ſpeaking, the Soldiers gave great Tokens of their fervent Deſire to fight; and, when he had ended his Speech, they joyfully applauded it, running ſtraightways to their Weapons, and ruſhing furiouſly forward; which the *Roman* General perceiving, forthwith ordered his Army in this Manner: With the Auxiliary Footmen he fortified the middle Battle. The Horſemen he placed in Wings on both Sides. The Legions he commanded to ſtand behind, before the Trench of the Camp, to the greater Glory of the Victory, if it were obtained without *Roman* Blood; or otherwiſe for Aſſiſtance, if the Forward ſhould be diſtreſſed. The *Britons* were marſhalled on the higher Ground fitly for Shew, to terrify their Enemies: The firſt Troop ſtanding on the Plain, the reſt on the Aſcent of the Hill, riſing up as it were by Degrees one over another: The Middle of the Field was filled with Chariots, and Horſemen, cluttering and running round about. Then *Agricola*, finding them to exceed him in Number, and fearing leſt he ſhould be aſſailed on the Front and Flanks both at one Inſtant, thought it beſt to diſplay his Army in Length: And although by that Means the Battle would become diſproportionably long, and many adviſed him to take in the Legions; yet he confidently rejected the Counſel, and, leaving his Horſe, advanced himſelf before the Enſigns on Foot. In the firſt Encounter, before they joined, both Sides diſcharged and threw their Darts. The *Britons*, employing both Art and Valour, with their great Swords and little Targets defended themſelves, and wounded their Enemies, till *Agricola*, eſpying his Advantage, appointed three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians*, to preſs forward and to bring the Matter to Handy Strokes and Dint of Sword; which they, by Reaſon of their long Service, were able readily to perform, to the Prejudice of the other Side, in regard of their little Bucklers and huge Swords. For the Swords of the *Britons*, being weighty and blunt-pointed, were no Way fit either for the cloſe or open Fight. Now, as the *Batavians* began to ſtrike them on their Faces with the Pikes of their Bucklers, and, having overborne ſuch as reſiſted, to march up to the Mountains; the reſt of the Cohorts, gathering Courage upon Emulation, violently beat down all about them, and, running forward, left ſome of the *Britons* half-dead, ſome wholly untouched, for Haſte and Deſire to have Part of the Glory in winning the Field. In the mean Time, both the Chariots of the *Britons* mingled themſelves with their Enemies Battle of Footmen, and alſo their Troops of Horſemen;

Horſemen; albeit they had lately terrified others, yet now themſelves, beginning to fly, were diſtreſſed by the Unevenneſs of the Ground, and the thick Ranks of their Enemies, who continued the Fight, till the *Britons*, by main Weight of their own Horſes and Chariots, were borne down one upon another; the maſterleſs Horſes affrighted running up and down with the Chariots, and many Times over-bearing their Friends, which either met them or thwarted their Way.

Now the *Britons* (which ſtood aloof from the Battle upon the Top of the Hills, and did at the firſt in a Manner diſdain the ſmall Number of their Enemies) began to come down by little and little, and ſought to fetch a Compaſs about the Backs of the *Romans*, which were then in Train of winning the Field: But *Agricola*, ſuſpecting as much, oppoſed them with certain Wings of Horſemen, purpoſely retained about him for ſudden Diſpatches upon all Chances, and repulſed them as fiercely as they ran to aſſail; ſo, the Counſel of the *Britons* turning to their own Hurt, the *Roman* Wings were commanded to forſake the Battle, and follow the Flight. Then were there pitiful Spectacles to be ſeen, Purſuing, Wounding, Taking Priſoners, and then Killing ſuch as were taken, as ſoon as others came in the Way. Then whole Regiments of the *Britons*, though armed, and more in Number, turned their Backs to the Fewer; others, unarmed, ſought their own Death, offering themſelves voluntarily to the Slaughter. The Fields every-where were imbrued with Blood; every-where Weapons lay ſcattered; wounded Bodies, mangled Limbs; ſome ſlain out-right, ſome half-dead, ſome yielding up the Ghoſt; and yet, even at the laſt Gaſp, ſeeming, by their Countenances, to diſcover both Anger and Valour. Such of the *Britons*, as in Flying recovered the Woods, joined themſelves together again, and intrapped unawares ſome of the *Roman* Soldiers, that unadviſedly followed, not knowing the Country: And, if *Agricola* had not, by his Preſence and Direction, aſſiſted at Need, ſetting about them his moſt expert Footmen (as it were in Form of a Toil) and commanding ſome of his Horſemen to leave their Horſes, where the Paſſage was narrow, and others to enter ſingle on Horſeback, where the Wood was thin, doubtleſs the *Romans* had taken a Blow by their over-much Boldneſs. But, after that the *Britons* ſaw them again in good Array, and orderly following the Chace, they fled (not in Troops, as before, when they attended each other, but utterly diſbanded, ſhunning all Company) toward the Deſart and far diſtant Places. The Darkneſs of the Night, and Satiety of Blood, made an End of the Chace. Of the *Britons* were then ſlain about Ten thouſand; of the *Romans*, Three-hundred and forty; amongſt whom the chief Man of Note was *Aulus Atticus*, the Captain of a Cohort, who, upon a youthful Heat, and through the Fierceneſs of his Horſe, was carried into the Midſt of his Enemies. That Night the Winners refreſhed themſelves, taking Pleaſure in talking of the Victory, and dividing the Spoil; but the *Britons*, being utterly diſcouraged, crying and howling (both Men and Women together) took and drew with them their wounded Perſons, called the not wounded, forſaking their own Houſes, and in Deſpight ſetting them on Fire; then ſeeking Holes abroad to lurk in, and, having found them, ſtraightways again forſaking them; ſometimes communicating Counſels together, and conceiving ſome little Hope, and then by and by dejected and deſperate; ſometimes moved with Pity at the Sight of their Kinsfolk and Friends, and ſometimes ſtirred with Rage and Envy in thinking and ſpeaking of their Enemies; and (which was moſt lamentable) ſome of them, by Way of Compaſſion and Mercy, killing their own Children and Wives.

The Day following did more plainly diſcover the Greatneſs of the Victory by the Calamity of the Vanquiſhed: Deſolation and Silence every-where; the Smoke of the Houſes fired appeared afar off; no Sallies out of the Wood, no Stirring in the Mountains, no Man to make Reſiſtance, or to meet with the *Roman* Spies, who, being ſent Abroad into all Quarters, found, by the Print of the *Britons* Footſteps, that their Flight was uncertain, and that they were no-where in Companies together, but ſcattered in divers Places, and altogether unable to make any new Attempt upon the Sudden: Wherefore *Agricola* (the Summer being now ſpent in this Journey, and the Time paſt for Employment elſewhere) brought his Army into the Borders of the *Horeſtians* Country, where, having received Hoſtages of the Inhabitants, he commanded the Admiral of his Navy (being furniſhed with Soldiers and ſufficient Strength for that Purpoſe) to ſail about *Britain*, whither the Fame and

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Terror of the *Roman* Name was already gone before. Then he planted Gariſons upon the Borders between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, and diſpoſed of his Footmen and Horſemen in their Wintering-places within the Province. Thus, after many Conflicts by the Space of about an hundred and thirty Years, the utmoſt Limits of *Britain*, and the Iſles of the *Orcades*, lying on the North-ſide of it, were, by the Valour and Induſtry of *Julius Agricola*, firſt diſcovered and made known to the *Romans*, and the South Part of the Iſle reduced to a full Province, the Government whereof was peculiar to the *Roman* Emperors themſelves, and not at the Diſpoſition of the Senate.

This State of Affairs here *Agricola* ſignified by Letters, without any amplifying Terms, to *Domitian* the Emperor, who, after his Manner, with a chearful Countenance and grieved Heart received the News, being inwardly pricked with Anger and Diſdain to think, that his late counterfeit Triumph of *Germany* (wherein were certain Slaves bought for Money, and attired like Captives of that Country) was had in Deriſion, and juſtly ſcorned Abroad, whereas now a true and great Victory (ſo many Thouſands of Enemies being ſlain) was current in every Man's Mouth. Beſides, he eſteemed it as a moſt perilous Point in a State, that a private Man's Name ſhould be exalted above the Name of a Prince; and he ſuppoſed, that he had in vain ſuppreſſed the Study of Oratory, and all other Politick Arts, if he ſhould in Military Glory be excelled by another; for Matters of other Kinds, as he ſuppoſed, might more eaſily be paſſed over, but to be a good Commander of an Army was to be above a private Eſtate, that being a Virtue peculiar for a Prince. *Domitian*, being tormented with theſe and the like Conceits, and muſing much in his Cloſet alone (which was commonly noted as a Sign of ſome Miſchief in Working) thought it beſt, for the preſent, to cloke and diſſemble his Malice, till the Heat of *Agricola*'s Glory and the Love of his Soldiers were ſomewhat abated, for as yet *Agricola* remained in Office: Wherefore he commanded, that all the Honours of Triumphal Ornaments, the Image Triumphal, and whatever elſe whas uſually beſtowed in Lieu of Triumph, ſhould in moſt ample and honourable Terms be awarded him in Senate; and then, ſending a Succeſſor, he cauſed a Bruit to be ſpread, That the Province of *Syria*, which was then void, and ſpecially reſerved for Men of great Quality, ſhould be aſſigned to *Agricola*. The common Opinion was, that *Domitian*, ſending one of his moſt ſecret and truſty Servants unto him, ſent withal the Commiſſion of Lieutenancy for *Syria*, with private Inſtructions, That, if *Agricola*, at the Time of his Coming, ſhould be ſtill in *Britain*, then it ſhould be delivered; if otherwiſe, it ſhould be kept back; and that the ſame Man, meeting *Agricola* as he croſſed the Seas, without Speaking to him, or Delivering his Meſſage, returned again to *Domitian*. Whether this were true, or feigned upon a probable Surmiſe, as agreeable to the Prince's Diſpoſition, it could not directly be affirmed; but, in the mean Seaſon, *Agricola* had yielded up the Province in good and peaceable State unto *Cneius Trebellius*, or rather, as ſome Writers report, to *Saluſtius Lucullus*: And, leſt his Coming to *Rome* ſhould have been noted, by Reaſon of the Multitude of People, which would have gone out to ſee and meet him, he warily cut off the Occaſion of that Courteſy, entering the City by Night; and by Night, as he was commanded, came to the Palace; where, being admitted to the Prince's Preſence, and received with a ſhort Salutation, and no further Speech, he ſorted himſelf with other Gentlemen of his Rank, carrying himſelf ever after very temperately and warily in all his Actions, as knowing the preſent State of thoſe Times, and the dangerous Inclination of the Emperor himſelf, who, being (as all other Princes are commonly) more fearful and jealous of the Good, than the Bad, envied him thoſe Virtues, and that honourable Reputation, whereof himſelf was not capable: Yet, as good Deſerts cannot be hid (true Worthineſs ſhining even in Darkneſs itſelf) ſo the retired Life, which *Agricola* led, did nothing diminiſh his Glory, but rather, like Water ſprinkled upon a burning Fire, increaſed and continued the Heat thereof. Divers Times was he accuſed in his Abſence, which miniſtered to his Ill-willers Opportunity of working his Diſgrace; and as often in Abſence was he acquitted, the Opinion only of his good Deſerts, and no Matter of Crime, giving the Occaſion; while ſuch, as highly commended him to the Emperor, ſeeming his Friends, but being indeed the moſt peſtilent Kind of Enemies, procured under-hand his Peril and Ruin in the End. Howbeit, the ill Succeſs of the *Roman*

Armies in divers Provinces at that Time, ſerving as a Foil to ſet out his honourable Actions, drew him by Force into Glory; and *Domitian* made Pretences of his Purpoſe to employ him, thinking thereby to ſatisfy the People, who then complained of the Want of good Leaders. But Virtue, that never continueth long Time in proſperous Eſtate, as being the common Object of Envy, haſtened the Death of *Agricola*, who, as the conſtant Fame went, was made away by Poiſon, and that not without the Emperor's Knowledge and Conſent. Theſe Things, concerning *Agricola*'s Government in *Britain*, I have ſet down particularly, as they are reported by *Cornelius Tacitus*, who writ the Story of his Life; which remaineth to the World, as a perpetual Monument of the Doings of the one, and the Writings of the other.

Saluſtius Lucullus, ſucceeding *Agricola*, left little Memory of himſelf by doing any Thing here, either for that no Occaſion was then offered to ſhew himſelf in Action; or elſe, for that the Fame of ſo worthy a Predeceſſor blemiſhed his Reputation: For, having held the Office but a ſhort Time, he was, by Commandment of *Domitian*, put to Death, for ſuffering certain Spears, of a new Faſhion, to be called by his own Name. About this Time, *Arviragus*, a *Briton* by Birth and Education, did govern, as King, Part of the Iſland of *Britain*, the *Romans* accounting it a Point of Policy to permit the *Britons*, ſometimes, to be ruled by Princes of their own Nation, whoſe Aid and Counſel they might uſe, upon Occaſions, to the Pacifying of Rebellions, and the Eſtabliſhing of their own Greatneſs; for the common People (whoſe Affection doth oftentimes ſway the Fortunes of great Princes) are much more eaſily brought under the Obedience of their own Countrymen, than of Strangers.

Domitian being ſlain, *Nerva Cocceius* ſucceeded in the Empire: But in what State the Affairs of *Britain* then ſtood, the Hiſtories of thoſe Times make no Mention, either, for that the Emperor, being a Man far ſtricken in Years, and diſpoſed to Eaſe and Quietneſs, employed himſelf rather in Reforming Abuſes at Home, than in Maintaining War Abroad; or elſe, for that the ſhort Continuance of his Government did not ſuffer him to enter into any great Actions in Places ſo remote: For, having held the Empire little above one Year, he left the ſame, by Death, to *Ulpius Trajanus*, a *Spaniard*, whom he had adopted for his Virtue and Wiſdom. In his Time, ſome of the *Britons*, deſirous to free themſelves from the *Roman* Tyranny, entered into Rebellion; but, wanting Means to effect what they had begun, they ſoon gave over the Enterpriſe. Howbeit, *Ælius Adrianus*, who ſucceeded *Trajan* in the Empire, having Intelligence that the Northern *Britons* made Incurſions into the Province, ſent over *Julius Severus* to impede their Attempts; but, before he could make an End of the War, he was revoked, and ſent into *Syria* to ſuppreſs the *Jewiſh* Rebellion; and *Adrian* the Emperor, himſelf, came with an Army into *Britain*, where he encountered the barbarous People of the *North*, recovered ſuch Forts as they had taken, and forced them to retire to the Mountains and Woods, whither the *Roman* Horſemen, without Danger, could not purſue them: And then, fortifying the Borders of that Province, by raiſing a Wall of Turves, about eighty Miles in Length (between the Mouths of the Rivers *Ituna* and *Tina*) to defend the Inhabitants thereof from the ſudden Aſſaults of their ill Neighbours, he returned triumphantly to *Rome*. This Exploit won Reputation to the *Roman* Army, and great Honour to the Emperor himſelf, who was then called the *Reſtorer of Britain*, and had the ſame Inſcription figured for the Stamp of his Coin.

Now, the *Britons* dwelling within the Province ſeemed, for the moſt Part, patiently to bear the Yoke (which Cuſtom had made leſs painful) and they obeyed the more willingly, as ſtanding in Need of the *Roman* Help, againſt their own Countrymen, whoſe Cruelty was now as much feared as in former Times the Invaſion of Strangers. Whereupon they conformed themſelves to the *Roman* Laws, both in martial and civil Affairs, which were then principally directed by *Licinius Priſcus*, who had been, not long before, employed in the Expedition of *Jewry*, and was at that Time Proprætor of *Britain*.

Antoninus Pius ſucceeded *Adrian* the Emperor, when, *Lollius Urbicus* being Lieutenant, the barbarous People made a Road into the Province; but they were beaten back by the *Roman* Forces that lay upon the Borders; and then was there another Wall of Turves built, by Commandment of the Lieutenant, to ſtrengthen thoſe Parts with a double Rampart: In the mean Time, a new War was kindled among the *Brigantes*, that annoyed ſome

ſome of the *Roman* Confederates; but, by the Diſcretion of the General, it was quenched, before it came to a Flame. For *Lollius Urbicus*, upon the firſt Rumour of the Revolt, marched thither with Part of the Army, leaving the reſt behind to guard the Borders; and *Sejus Saturninus*, Admiral of the *Britiſh* Fleet, being well appointed by Sea, lay upon the North-ſide of the Iſle, to defend the Coaſts, and, upon Occaſions, to further the Land-ſervice. By this Means the *Brigantes* were eaſily reduced to Obedience, even by the Preſence only of the Lieutenant, who, for his good Service in *Britain*, during the ſhort Time of his Employment there, obtained the Sirname of *Britannicus*.

Antoninus Pius being dead, and *Antoninus Philoſophus* poſſeſſed of the Empire, *Calphurnius Agricola* was made Lieutenant of the Province, who, at his firſt Entrance into Office, underſtood of ſome new Tumults raiſed during the Vacation; but partly by Policy, and partly by Force, he, in a ſhort Time, appeaſed them, deſerving thereby great Commendation, though oftentimes the Glory of ſuch Exploits was attributed to the Emperors themſelves (the Labour and Peril in attempting, and, for the moſt Part, Envy after Victory) remaining only as Rewards to their Miniſters.

Now was the Time come (namely about one hundred and fifty Years after the Birth of our Saviour) when the Chriſtian Religion (which for many Years together, had been wrapped up in the dark Clouds of Error and Superſtition) began to diſcover itſelf more openly in this Iſland, by the Means of *Lucius*, ſirnamed *Lever Maur*, who, by Permiſſion of the *Roman* Lieutenant, did govern, as King, a great Part of the Province. For it appeareth by the Teſtimony of ancient Writers, that *Britain* received the Chriſtian Faith, even in the Infancy of the Church, immediately after the Death of our Saviour *Chriſt*, whoſe Apoſtles and Diſciples, according to his Commandment, publiſhed and diſperſed the ſame in divers Parts of the World, by Preaching and Doing Miracles; the Fame whereof did ſometimes move Heathen Princes, to allow their Doctrine, and to favour the Profeſſors thereof, as *Lucius* then did. Beſides that, the *Roman* Lieutenants and Governors, as well in *Britain* as other Provinces, did ſometimes tolerate the Exerciſe of true Religion, which they ſeemed inwardly to approve; howſoever, for worldly Reſpects, they forbore to ſhew themſelves openly in Favour of it. But *Lucius* deſiring to be fully inſtructed in that Faith, whereof he meant to be a Profeſſor, ſent Letters to *Eleutherius*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, requiring his Direction and Aſſiſtance, in accompliſhing the good Work which he intended. This Motion was well liked of the Biſhop, who, writing unto the King, 'Commended his zealous Diſpoſition to embrace 'the Truth, exhorting him to read the holy 'Scriptures with Humility and Reverence, 'and out of them, by God's Grace, and the 'Advice of faithful Counſellors, to gather In'ſtructions for the Framing of Laws neceſſary 'for the Preſervation of his Eſtate; which 'Laws, ſo gathered and framed, he did affirm 'to be much better than the Imperial Conſti'tutions of the *Romans*, or any other what'ſoever:' That, to make Laws, and execute Juſtice, were the proper Office of a Prince, who was, upon Earth, the Vicar of God himſelf, and received from him that Title and Authority, to the End he ſhould uſe the ſame, to the Good of the Catholick Church, and of the People committed to his Charge. Hereupon *Lucius* and his Family were baptiſed, the Worſhiping of Images forbidden, the *Flamens* and *Arch-flamens*, idolatrous Prieſts among the *Britons*, expelled, and the Temples, dedicated to prophane Gods, were conſecrated to the Service of the only true God. Thus Chriſtianity, being here received by King *Lucius*, kept on her Courſe untainted, and without Oppoſition, till the Time of *Diocleſian* the Emperor, who kindled the Fire of the laſt and longeſt Perſecution in the Primitive Church. That Storm being overblown, the Sun-ſhine of true Religion diſplayed itſelf, till *Arius*, and other Hereticks after him, diſperſed their impious Aſſertions, which, like a contagious Diſeaſe, infecting moſt Parts of the World, invaded alſo this our Iſland, the Inhabitants whereof, as Men delighting in Novelties, were carried hither and thither, with every Blaſt of vain Doctrine, retaining nothing in Matters of Religion for certain, but their own uncertain Opinions; howbeit, *Britain* may think herſelf, as happy in many other Bleſſings, ſo moſt happy in this, that, among all the Nations of *Chriſtendom*, ſhe brought forth and nouriſhed the firſt Chriſtian King.

This was the State of the Church in *Britain*, when new Troubles began to the Diſtur-

bance of the Province: For the Northern *Britons* making a Breach in the Wall, which *Adrian* the Emperor had built; and, finding the Borders but weakly guarded, entered the Province, and, ſurpriſing the *Roman* General, killed many of his Soldiers, and, ranging the Countries, waſted and ſpoiled every where, without Reſiſtance, till *Ulpius Marcellus*, being ſent over by *Commodus* the Emperor, ſtaid their Fury, and, with great Difficulty, forced them to retire within the Wall. By which Means the Province being quieted, he applied himſelf to reform Abuſes in his Camp, reviving the ancient Diſcipline of War, which had been for a Time diſcontinued among the *Roman* Soldiers, whom long Service, and many Victories, had made bold to ſay, and do, oftentimes more than became them. For *Marcellus* indeed was a Man ſomewhat auſtere, in reproving and puniſhing, otherwiſe very temperate; diligent in Times of War; not idle in Peace: His Diet was the ſame which the common Soldier uſed; in Quantity more ſparing; for he would eat no Bread, but ſuch as was brought from *Rome*; which he did, to the End he might avoid Exceſs, and take no more than ſufficed Nature (the Staleneſs of the Bread having taken away all Taſte, that might either pleaſe the Senſe, or provoke the Appetite.) The Day-time, for, the moſt Part, he ſpent in viewing his Camp, in training young Soldiers, and giving Direction to Officers. In the Night he wrote Letters, and made his Diſpatches into divers Parts of the Province, as Occaſion required. He ſlept very little, by Reaſon of his thin Diet, and much Buſineſs, wherewith he was continually occupied; for he thought he, that ſlept a whole Night together, was no meet Man to be either a Counſellor to a Prince, or the Commander of an Army. Every Evening he uſed to write Inſtructions upon twelve Tables made of Linden Tree, which Tables he delivered to one of his Servants, appointing him to carry them, at ſundry Hours of the Night, to certain of his Soldiers, who, thereby ſuppoſing that their General was ſtill waking, and not gone to his Bed, were the more careful in keeping the Watch, and preventing ſudden Attempts in the Night-ſeaſon. He was ſevere in the Execution of Juſtice; not to be led by Favour, not to be corrupted by Bribes: He levied Money only as neceſſary for the War, not to inrich himſelf or his Friends, as other Governors, in former Times, had done; for he never preferred his own private, before the publick Good, nor a wealthy Eſtate before an honourable Reputation. The Fame of theſe Virtues, as they made him much reſpected both of his own Soldiers and of the *Britons*, ſo they procured Envy, which always followeth Virtue inſeparably, as a Shadow doth the Body. *Commodus* the Emperor, underſtanding how *Marcellus* had carried himſelf in *Britain*, was much diſpleaſed therewith; and, doubting leſt he ſhould grow too great, he thought it beſt to cut him off. But, ſome Accidents happening, in the mean Time, to make him change that Purpoſe, he only ſent Letters of Diſcharge, and ſo diſmiſſed him from the Office.

After his Departure, the Army having been kept in by a hard Hand, and, finding now the Rein let looſe upon a Sudden, began to be mutinous, and refuſed to acknowledge *Commodus* for their Emperor. Theſe Diſorders *Perennis*, one of his Favourites, took upon him to redreſs, by Diſplacing ſuch Perſons as he ſuſpected, and Committing their Offices to Men of meaner Quality, wherewith the Legions were much diſcontented, diſdaining, that, inſtead of Senators, and Men of Conſular Degree, they ſhould now be governed by Upſtarts, and baſe Companions. In the Heat of theſe Broils, about fifteen-hundred Soldiers forſook the Army, and went to *Rome*, where they exhibited to the Emperor a Bill of Complaint againſt *Perennius*, whom they charged as the chief Author of the Diſſenſion of the Army, by bringing in new Cuſtoms, by exceeding his Commiſſion, and doing Things derogatory to the Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire. Theſe, and other Things, as well falſe as true, were objected againſt him by the Multitude, who, for the moſt Part, diſlike ſuch as exerciſe Authority over them, and keep no Meaſure in their Affections, either of Love or Hatred. But that, which touched to the quick, was an Accuſation of Treaſon put up againſt him for Conſpiring againſt the Life of the Emperor, and Seeking to advance his Son to the Empire. This Point was quickly apprehended by *Commodus*, who thought that the Suſpicion of the Fact, or the Report only to have intended it, was a ſufficient Cauſe of Condemnation, howſoever the Party accuſed was indeed either guilty or innocent. Hereupon *Perennius* was declared a Traitor, and delivered to the Soldiers, who ſtripped him of his

his Apparel, whipped him with Rods, and, in the End, cruelly murthered him.

Then was *Helvius Pertinax*, a Man of mean Fortune by Birth, as having riſen from the State of a common Soldier to the Dignity of a Commander, ſent into *Britain*, to appeaſe the Tumults there. He was one of them that *Perennius* had before diſcharged from bearing Office, and ſent into *Liguria*, where he was born. At his firſt Entrance he attempted by Force to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of the Army, venturing ſo far in a Skirmiſh, that, though he eſcaped with Life, yet he was left among the Dead, and ſuppoſed to be ſlain. Afterwards, proceeding with better Advice and Succeſs, he compoſed the Troubles, ſeverely puniſhing the principal Offenders, and uſing ſome Rigour in revenging his own Injuries, by which Means, growing odious to the Soldiers, and diſtruſting his own Safety, he made Suit to be diſcharged of the Lieutenantſhip.

Then was the Government of the Province aſſigned to *Clodius Albinus*, a Man of noble Birth, very forward, and, for the moſt Part, fortunate in his Attempts; for which, the Emperor *Commodus*, either upon Fear or Favour, did honour him with the Title of a *Cæſar*, though *Albinus* ſeemed unwilling to accept it, and afterwards diſcovered his Diſpoſition more openly, in affecting the ancient free State: For, upon a falſe Report of the Death of *Commodus*, he made an Oration, to the Legions in *Britain*, in Favour of the Senate, whoſe Government he had commended, and preferred the ſame before that of the Emperors. But *Commodus*, being advertiſed thereof, ſent *Junius Severus*, with all Speed, to take Charge of the Army. In the mean Time, *Albinus* retired himſelf from Affairs till *Commodus* was dead, and *Pertinax* elected Emperor. Then he combined himſelf with *Didius Julianus*, whom the Soldiers, that then made open Sale of the Empire, had elected after the Death of *Pertinax*. But *Julianus*, being infamous for his Vices, and failing to perform his Promiſe made to the Soldiers, was, in a ſhort Time, forſaken of them, and afterwards murdered. Upon Report of *Julianus*'s Death, *Septimius Severus*, a Man adorned with excellent Gifts of Nature, was declared Emperor; and, for that he feared *Clodius Albinus*, who then had recovered the Government of *Britain*, he made him his Aſſociate in the Empire, and ſent *Heraclianus* to be Lieutenant of the Province, which *Heraclianus*, ſoon after, reſigned to *Virius Lupus*. But Deſire of Sovereignty, that cannot endure Equality of Degree, made the one jealous of the other, and the Fire of Ambition, that had been ſmothered for a Time, burſt out at length into a Flame: For *Severus*, having pacified ſome Tumults in the Weſt Part of the World, and, after many Conflicts, ſubdued *Peſcennius Niger*, who uſurped the Empire in the *Eaſt*, pretended the Breach of Aſſociation, as a Colour to make War upon *Albinus*, who, underſtanding thereof, tranſported over the Seas a mighty Army, furniſhed with Abundance of Victuals out of the Iſland itſelf, which then, through the Induſtry of the Inhabitants applying themſelves to Tillage and Huſbandry, yielded Plenty of Grain, and ſerved the *Romans* as the Garner of the *Weſt* Empire, out of which they carried yearly great Quantities of Corn, to maintain their Armies in *Gallia* and *Germany*. Near *Lyons*, in *Gallia*, *Severus* encountered with *Albinus*, whoſe Forces were there defeated, and himſelf ſlain. Then *Severus* made Preparations for his Voyage into *Britain*, which, by Reaſon of the often Change of Governors, was grown much out of Order; and, although the *Britons*, upon Intelligence of his Purpoſe, did ſend over Ambaſſadors to offer their voluntary Submiſſion, yet, the Emperor, in whom neither Age nor Sickneſs had abated the Heat of Ambition, would not directly accept thereof, but entertained them with Delays, till all Things were in Readineſs for his Expedition (ſo earneſt a Deſire he had to paſs into the fürtheſt Part of *Britain*, and to purchaſe the Sirname of *Britannicus*, as an honourable Addition to his other Titles.) His two Sons, *Baſſianus*, commonly called *Caracalla*, and *Geta*, he took with him, as doubting their Agreement in his Abſence. To *Geta*, his younger Son, he committed the Government of the Province here for Civil Cauſes, wherein *Æmilius Paulus Papinianus*, the famous Lawyer, who, as chief Miniſter of Juſtice under him, had his Tribunal Seat at *York*, was appointed to aſſiſt and direct him. *Severus* himſelf, and *Baſſianus*, with the Army, marched Northward againſt the *Meatæ*, a People bordering upon the *Caledonians*, and in League with them. *Virius Lupus*, but a little before, had eſſayed to enter the Country by Force, when the *Meatæ*, ſtanding upon their own Strength, withſtood him, and forced him, in the End, to purchaſe his Peace with Money. Then *Severus*

verus haſtened into *Caledonia*, where, finding the Paſſages uncertain and dangerous, by Reaſon of the Fens, Woods, and deep Waters, he cauſed Trees to be felled, and Bridges and Cauſeways to be made, for his Soldiers to march over. The *Caledonians*, in the mean Time, ſallied out of the Woods, and charged the *Romans*, who were much incumbered for Want of firm Ground, and were oftentimes forced to trace the Country, and to diſperſe themſelves in ſeveral Companies, ſeeking Places of Advantage; by which Means, a great Number of them periſhed, while the barbarous People (lying in Ambuſh, and, ſometimes, leaving their Cattle Abroad, as a Train, to draw them within Danger) ſuddenly ſurpriſed and killed them, before they could recover the Camp. This was an unfortunate Journey to the *Romans*, who, beſides the Loſs which they ſuſtained by their Enemies, were afflicted with Diſeaſes, by Reaſon, partly of the unwholſome Waters which they drank, and partly of the contagious Air that infected their Spirits; yea, many Times, they killed one another; for ſuch, as through Feebleneſs could not keep Rank in Marching, were ſlain by their own Fellows, that they might not be left a Prey to their ſavage Enemies. There died, in this Enterpriſe, about fifty-thouſand *Romans*: Yet would not *Severus* withdraw his Forces, till the *Caledonians* made Offer to treat of Peace, whereto he then hearkened the more willingly, for that he ſaw the Difficulty, and, in a Manner, Impoſſibility, to bring that Northern Part of the Iſle wholly under Subjection, by Reaſon of the Rocks, Mountains, and Marſhes; as alſo, for that, the Country being, for the moſt Part, barren and unfruitful, the Profit thereof was not deemed likely to countervail the Charge in getting and keeping it. The Conditions were: That the *Caledonians* ſhould firſt diſarm themſelves, and deliver Part of the Country, lying next the Province, into the *Romans* Poſſeſſion; and that, from that Time forward, they ſhould attempt Nothing againſt the publick Peace: Which Articles being agreed upon, and Aſſurance taken for the Performance, *Severus* retired himſelf into the Province, leaving his Son *Baſſianus* to take Charge of the Army, which, after the Emperor's Departure, grew careleſs and diſſolute; wherewith the General ſeemed Nothing diſpleaſed, either for that he was, by his own Nature, inclined to the worſt; or elſe, for that he hoped thereby to win the Soldiers Favour, as a Means for his Advancement to the Empire after his Father's Death, which he had oftentimes attempted, by indirect Practices, to procure.

In the mean While, the *Caledonians*, notwithſtanding the late Contract, underſtanding what Diſorders were in the *Roman* Camp, ſuddenly invaded it, killing, and taking Booties, which they ſhared with their Neighbours of the Province, that had aſſiſted them in the Enterpriſe. *Severus*, being greatly incenſed therewith, ſent Part of the Army to purſue the *Caledonians*, expreſly commanding, that they ſhould be all put to the Sword, without Reſpect of Age or Sex. This ſharp Manner of Proceeding quailed the Hope of the Northern *Britons*, who fled into the remote Parts of *Caledonia*; and *Severus* having rather ſtayed, than ended the Troubles, ſpent ſome Time in Repairing and Enlarging *Adrian*'s Wall, which he carried athwart the Iſland, from Sea to Sea, intrenching and fortifying it, with Bulwarks and ſquare Towers in Places moſt convenient, to give Warning one to another upon any ſudden Aſſault, for Defence of the Borders. Then, being wearied with Age, Sickneſs, and Travel, having his Mind alſo much grieved with the diſloyal and unnatural Practices of his Son *Baſſianus*, he withdrew himſelf to *York*, a Colony of the *Romans*, being then the Station of the Sixth Legion, called *Victrix*, and afterwards growing to be one of the chief Places of Account among the *Brigantes*: For theſe Stations of the *Roman* Legions were commonly the Seed-plots of Towns and Cities, both in this Iſland, and divers other Parts of the Empire.

It was reported, that, in his Paſſage thither, a *Moor*, with a Cypreſs Garland on his Head, did meet and ſalute him by the Name of a God: And that, at his Entrance into the City, he was by Error of the Soothſayer, that guided him, brought into the Temple of *Bellona*: And that black Beaſts, being appointed for Sacrifice, did of themſelves follow him to his Palace. Theſe Things, howſoever they fell out accidentally, yet they were interpreted as ominous, in Reſpect of the Event. And now *Severus*, perceiving his Death to approach, called before him ſome of his Counſellors, and chief Captains, unto whom he is ſaid to have ſpoken in this Manner:

'It is now about eighteen Years, ſince I 'was firſt declared Emperor by the Army in

'*Pannonia*

Pannonia; during which Time, with what Care, Pain, and Travail, I have wielded this vaſt Body of the Empire, my continual Employment in Wars, both at Home and Abroad, may witneſs ſufficiently. For, at my firſt Entrance, I found the State incumbered every where, and now I ſhall leave it peaceable, even to the *Britons*. The future Proſperity, whereof muſt depend upon the mutual Agreement of my two Sons. For neither Multitude of Men, nor Abundance of Treaſure, are ſo available to defend and maintain Commonwealths, as Amity and Unity between Governors. For, by Concord, we ſee, that ſmall Things grow to Greatneſs, whereas by Diſcord the greateſt fall to Ruin. I muſt now leave to them, as my Succeſſors, the Imperial Diadem, that which *Baſſianus* hath ſo long thirſted after, though he know not yet, whether it be a Thing to be wiſhed, or feared, as having not proved the Difference betwixt a Prince, and a private Perſon. But ambitious Minds are carried blindfold, they know not whither, in deſiring that, which, having once obtained, they can neither keep without great Care, nor leave without extreme Peril; ſuch a Thing is Sovereignty, whoſe Greatneſs is not contained in itſelf, but conſiſteth for the moſt Part in the Opinion, and dependeth upon the Diſpoſitions of other Men. It is Virtue only, not glorious Titles, which makes Men truly great. Myſelf, at this Preſent, may ſerve for an Example, to ſhew, upon what a weak Foundation, human Greatneſs is built. For I have been all Things, though now it avail me nothing: Seeing I muſt pay my Debt to Nature, and, after all my Exploits in the Eaſt and Weſt Parts of the World, I muſt die, as I may ſay, out of the World, in a ſtrange Country, if any Country may be termed ſtrange to the *Romans*, who have now by Conqueſt made all Countries their own. I exhort you therefore, as you tender the Welfare of the *Roman* Empire, of your own ſelves, and your Poſterity, be true and faithful to my Sons, as you have been to me, aſſiſting them with your Counſel, and perſuading them to mutual Concord, as the main Pillar to ſupport both their Eſtates, and your own.

When he had uttered theſe, or the like Speeches, he turned aſide, and ſhortly after yielded up the Ghoſt. *Baſſianus*, being advertiſed of his Father's Death, practiſed with the Soldiers by Bribes, and fair Promiſes, that he might be declared ſole Emperor: Whereto when he could not perſuade them, for the Reverence they bore to his Father *Severus*, he made a League with the Northern *Britons* that then aſſailed the Borders, and returned to *York*, to meet with *Julia* the Empreſs, his Mother-in-Law, and *Geta* his Brother. There he cauſed the Phyſicians to be put to Death, for not Ridding his Father ſooner out of the Way, as he had commanded them. Then he appointed ſecretly to the Slaughter all thoſe, that for their Virtue and Wiſdom had been eſteemed, and advanced by his Father, and all ſuch, as, having been Tutors to him and his Brother, adviſed them to mutual Concord. This done, he entered into Conſultation about his Father's Funerals, which were ſolemniſed by the Army with all due Rites, according to the ancient Cuſtom in Times of War. The Aſhes of the dead Body, being put into a golden Urn, were afterwards by *Julia* the Empreſs, accompanied with the two *Cæſars*, carried to *Rome*, where *Severus*, after the uſual Ceremonies, was conſecrated a God.

Now the Affairs of *Britain*, for the Space of about fifty Years together, were paſſed over in Silence, as being either omitted through the Negligence of Writers in that Age, or periſhing through the Calamity of the Times that enſued. But when *Gallienus* had obtained the Empire, the *Roman* State was much incumbered, and oppreſſed with her own Forces, while certain Captains, commonly called the *thirty Tyrants*, diſdaining the Government of ſo cruel and diſſolute a Prince as *Gallienus*, and being choſen Emperors by the Armies which they commanded, uſurped abſolute Authority in divers Provinces. Among theſe, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Poſthumus*, *Tetricus*, and *Marius*, as Hiſtories report, ruled in *Britain*.

In the Time of *Aurelianus* the Emperor, *Bonoſus*, a *Briton* by Birth, and famous for his Exceſs in Drinking, invaded the Empire with *Proculus*, uſurping *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gallia Braccata*. But, being afterwards vanquiſhed by *Probus* the Emperor, he hanged himſelf; whereof there went a common Jeſt among the Soldiers, that a drinking Veſſel, not a Man, was hanged up. Then the Governor of the Province in *Britain*, being preferred to the Office, by Means of *Victorinus* a *Moor*, a Man

in great Favour with *Probus* the Emperor, began to raiſe Sedition among the Soldiers there; with which Practice *Probus* firſt acquainted *Victorinus*, who, ſuppoſing himſelf touched with the Imputation of his Crime, whom he had recommended and advanced to the Government there, deſired Leave of the Emperor to go into *Britain*, where, giving it out, that he fled thither for Safeguard of his Life, he was courteouſly entertained by the Governor, whom he afterwards murdered ſecretly in the Night, and then ſpeedily returned to *Rome:* Having, by this Device, appeaſed the Tumults in the Province, and approved his Fidelity to the Emperor. About this Time, as it is reported, certain *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, which had invaded *Gallia*, being vanquiſhed by *Probus*, were ſent into *Britain*, where they ſeated themſelves, and did afterwards good Service to the *Romans*, in ſuppreſſing rebellious Attempts there: Though the Emperor then ſought to win the *Britons* Favour, rather by Clemency, than Rigour: Licenſing them to plant Vines, and make Wine, and to do other Things, as well for their Pleaſure as Profit.

Then *Carus*, ſucceeding *Probus* in the Empire, aſſigned *Britain*, *Gallia*, *Spain*, and *Illyricum* to *Carinus*, one of his Sons, who poſſeſſed the ſame, till *Diocleſian* was declared Emperor: In whoſe Time the Province was peaceably governed, the Borders being ſtrongly guarded with Forts and Bulwarks againſt foreign Invaſion; but the Sea Coaſts, both of *Gallia* and *Britain*, were much annoyed with Pirates of *Germany*, againſt whom *C. Carauſius*, as Admiral of the *Britiſh* Fleet, was ſent to Sea.

Carauſius was a Man by Birth of low Degree, though otherwiſe worthy of the higheſt, if his own Ambition, and the Guiltineſs of his Actions, had not pricked him forward to ſeek it by unlawful Courſes, and to bolſter out Wrong by that Authority, which is the ordinary Means appointed to puniſh it; for in a ſhort Time he grew very rich, by taking great Store of Shipping and Treaſure, which he detained to his own Uſe, without reſtoring the ſame to the right Owners, or rendering Account thereof to the Emperors Officers. Whereupon *Maximianus Herculeus*, whom *Diocleſian* had taken to be his Aſſociate in the Empire, being then making War in *Gallia*, ſurpriſed the principal Men of *Carauſius*'s Faction at *Geſſoriacum*, and gave Commandment, that *Carauſius* himſelf ſhould be made away. But *Carauſius* being privily advertiſed thereof, and knowing that then there remained for him no mean Fortune betwixt the Life of a Prince, and the Death of a Traitor, entered forthwith into actual Rebellion, making his Party ſtrong both by Sea and Land, in drawing diſcontented Perſons into the Action, and alluring the Northern *Britons* to join with him, upon Hope of Spoils to be gotten in the Province, which he then ruled with a Kind of abſolute Authority, and ſoon after uſurped there the Imperial Ornaments.

The *Roman* State being ſhaken in divers Places, either by the negligent Government or ambitious Attempts of Captains, and Commanders of Armies, which gave Occaſion to whole Nations and Provinces to revolt: The two Emperors declared *Galerius Maximinus* and *Conſtantius Chlorus* as their Aſſiſtants, by the Name of *Cæſars*. Then was *Maximinus* ſent into *Perſia*, and *Conſtantius* into *Britain*, againſt *Carauſius*. But, before *Conſtantius* arrived there, *Carauſius* was ſlain by the Practice of *C. Alectus*, his familiar Friend, who then uſurped the Empire, as *Carauſius* had done before; and, underſtanding that *Conſtantius* was coming over with a great Power, he reſolved to meet him upon the Sea, and impede his Landing; for which Purpoſe he lay with his Navy upon the Coaſt of the Iſle *Vectis*; but, his Hopes failing him, by Reaſon the *Romans* in a thick Miſt did recover the Land, before he could diſcover them, he prepared his Forces to encounter them in a ſet Battle near the Shore. *Conſtantius*, having determined to try the utmoſt of his Fortune, to take away from his Soldiers all Hope of Return, did firſt ſet his Ships on Fire, and afterwards gave the Charge upon *Alectus*, whoſe Army was, for the moſt Part, compoſed of mercenary Men, conſiſting of *Britons*, *Francs*, *Germans*, and divers other Nations, who fought not all with like Courage; for, after the firſt Encounter, ſome of them turned their Backs, forſaking their Commander, who eſcaped the Fury of the Battle by Flight, though he was ſhortly after taken, and ſlain by *Aſclepiodatus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*. The *Francs* that ſerved under *Alectus* fled to the City of *London*, which, being weakly guarded, they rifled and ſacked, though they did not long Time enjoy the Spoil; for Part of the *Roman* Army coming thither, rather by Error in miſtaking their Way, than of ſet Purpoſe, aſſailed them, took away their Booties, and put the moſt Part of them to the Sword.

Sword. This Victory restored again to the *Roman* Empire the Province of *Britain*, which had been usurped about seven Years by *Carausius*, and three Years by *Alectus*.

Now began the Storm of Persecution for the Christian Religion to arise under *Diocletian*, who commanded, that, throughout the Dominions of the Empire, the People should offer Sacrifice only to the Gods of the Emperors, and that such, as refused so to do, should be punished with divers Kinds of cruel Death. Hereupon the Christians, being then dispersed in divers Parts of the World, not fearing any Torments that Tyranny could devise, made publick Profession of their Faith, which they constantly maintained, and willingly sealed with their Blood. Amongst many others that died in *Britain* for that Cause, *Alban*, an Inhabitant of the famous free City *Verulamium*, is especially remembered as the first *British* Martyr, who, being yet but a Pagan, received into his House a Christian, one of the Clergy, that fled from his Persecutors; and, observing his Devotion in Watching, Fasting, and Praying, became, in the End, a Follower of his Faith and Virtue. And, to the End that his Guest might escape the Hands of those that pursued him, he put on his Garments, offering himself to the Soldiers, that were sent to search his House, and, in that Habit, was presented to the Judge, before whom he made Confession of his Faith, reproving the profane Rites of Heathenish Superstition: Whereupon he was committed to the Tormentors to be whipped, and, persisting in his Constancy, was afterwards beheaded on the Top of an high Hill, near the City. It is reported, that the Tormentor, who was first appointed to behead him, perceiving a Miracle wrought by him, as he went to the Place of Execution, refused to do his Office, casting the Sword out of his Hand; and, prostrating himself at St. *Alban*'s Feet, desired earnestly that he might either die for him, or with him, rather than live to be the Minister of his Death; whereupon, as a Professor of that Faith, whereof he had been long Time a Persecutor, he drank of the same Cup with St. *Alban*; and, instead of the Sacramental Sign of Baptism, was washed in the Bath of his own Blood. It is also written of St. *Alban*'s Executioner, that his Eyes fell out of his Head, at the very Instant that the Martyr's Head (being severed from the Body) fell to the Ground: But, whether it were the Pleasure of God, in the first Planting of his Truth here, to approve the same by Miracles, or whether the Incredulity of that Age might give Writers Occasion to report more than the Truth, I will not take upon me to censure. There suffered also in *Legeceſtria*, about the same Time, and for the same Cause, *Aaron* and *Julius*: And, in sundry other Places of this Island, many others, as well Women as Men, who gave Testimony of their Patience in praying for their Persecutors; and also of their Piety, by doing Things miraculous, which moved the Pagan Princes at last to cease from their Tyranny; as being rather wearied with afflicting the Christians, than the Christians themselves with enduring the Affliction: Such Power hath Man, being assisted with Divine Grace, to do, and suffer, even above, and against Nature itself. The Manner of St. *Alban*'s Death, being engraven upon a Marble Stone, was set up within the City, for a Terror to the Christians, who afterwards erected a Temple in that Place, which was accounted venerable for many Ages after the Destruction of *Verulamium*, out of whose Ruins another Town was raised, continuing the Name and Memory of St. *Alban* the Martyr, even to this Day. But, *Diocletian* and *Maximianus* resigning their Authority, *Constantius Chlorus* staid the Persecution in *Britain*, and afterwards went thither himself, reinforcing the Garisons, both within the Province, and upon the Borders, and establishing a general Peace throughout the Island; which done, he repaired to *York*, and there fell sick of a languishing Disease. In the mean Time, *Constantinus*, his Son, being left at *Rome*, as his Father's Pledge, escaped from his Keepers, and houghing the Post-horses, as he passed the Countries, that he might not be overtaken by Pursuit, came, at length, into *Britain*, where he was received with great Joy by *Constantius*, his Father, who, being then past Hope of Life, signified, in the Presence of his Counsellors and Captains, 'That he willingly and gladly embraced his Death, since he should leave a 'memorable Monument of himself in the 'Life of his Son, who, he hoped, should succeed him in the Government, to protect 'the Innocent from Oppression, and to wipe 'away the Tears from the Christians Eyes; 'for therein, above all other Things, he accounted himself most happy.' Thus died

Conſtantius Cæſar, a wife and virtuous Prince, as being not ſubject to thoſe Vices which commonly accompany the higheſt Fortunes. He was firſt called from the Degree of a Senator to be a *Cæſar*; not affecting the Title for Ambition, nor refuſing it in reſpect of the Danger. *Helena* his Wife, the Mother of *Conſtantine the Great*, was, as ſome have written, the Daughter of *Coil*, a *Britiſh* King, though by others it is otherwiſe reported. But, of what Country or Kindred ſoever ſhe was, it appeareth by Conſent of all Writers, that ſhe was a wife and virtuous Lady, worthy to be the Wife of ſuch a Husband, and the Mother of ſuch a Son. She was an earneſt Profeſſor of Chriſtianity, and, upon religious Zeal, travelled to *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe found out the Manger, wherein Chriſt was laid at the Time of his Birth, and the Croſs whereon he was nailed when he ſuffered. By this Croſs many Diſeaſes were cured, and ſtrange Miracles wrought, if Credit may be given to ſuch as have written thereof. Her conſtant Deſire to advance the Chriſtian Faith firſt moved *Conſtantius*, her Husband, to favour the Chriſtians; who, having in Times of Danger hidden themſelves, for the moſt Part, in Deſarts and Dens, did then come Abroad again into the View of the World, re-edified their old Churches, founded New, inſtituted holy Days to be celebrated in Honour of their Martyrs, and exerciſed Religion freely and peaceably, as being licenſed ſo to do by publick Edicts. In all Virtues, becoming a Prince, there were few of his Degree, either before his Time, or ſince, that might worthily be compared with *Conſtantius*, who, in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in Civil Cauſes, carried ſo even a Hand, that he never uſed to make Difference of Perſons, or to be miſled by Affection. He was no waſteful Spender of his Subjects Treaſure; no greedy Hoarder up of his own; for he eſteemed Money only as a Thing to be uſed, not kept: And he would oftentimes ſay, That it was more neceſſary for the Commonwealth, that the Wealth of the Land ſhould be diſperſed in Subjects Hands, than barred up in Princes Coffers. For glorious Apparel, and other outward Ornaments, wherewith Princes uſe to dazzle the Eyes of the common People, he was more meanly furniſhed than became the Greatneſs of his Eſtate. His Diet was neither curious nor coſtly; and, when he feaſted his Friends, he borrowed his Silver Veſſels, ſuppoſing it a Thing unneceſſary to have any of his own; and conſidering, perhaps, that the Metal, whereof they were made, might be converted to a better Uſe. In Times of War, he was diligent and induſtrious; yet not uſing Force, where Policy might prevail: For he ſo much eſteemed the Life of a Man, that he would never hazard it in deſperate Attempts for his own Glory; which won him great Reputation among his Soldiers, who, for the Love they bore him, did, preſently after his Death, elect *Conſtantine*, his Son, to ſucceed him; other Nations ſuppoſing this our Iſland moſt happy, in firſt ſeeing him ſaluted Emperor.

Then *Conſtantine*, although he ſeemed at the firſt unwilling to accept the Imperial Title, and proteſted openly againſt it; yet, when the Senate had confirmed the Election, he took upon him the Government of thoſe Provinces which his Father had held in the Weſt Parts, and, with an Army of *Britons* and other Nations, he ſubdued firſt *Maxentius*, *Maximian's* Son, then uſurping the Empire in *Italy*, and afterwards *Licinius*, his Aſſociate, who perſecuted the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity in the Eaſt Parts of the World. By which Means *Conſtantine* alone enjoyed the Empire, and, for his many and glorious Conqueſts, was worthily ſirnamed the *Great*. In his Time the Form of Government in *Britain*, both for Civil and Martial Cauſes, was altered, and new Laws eſtabliſhed. The Civil Government of the Province there he committed to *Pasatianus*, who ordered the ſame as Deputy to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gallia*, an Officer newly inſtituted by him. Then *Conſtantine* intending to make War in *Perſia*, either to defend or enlarge the Limits of the Eaſt Empire, removed the Imperial Seat from *Rome* to the City *Byzantium*, which he re-edified, and cauſed the ſame to be called after his own Name *Conſtantinople*: Drawing thither the Legions in *Germany*, that guarded the Frontiers of the Weſtern Empire, which was thereby laid open to the Incurſions of thoſe barbarous People that afterwards aſſailed it, and in the End poſſeſſed the greateſt Part thereof. The Borders alſo of the Province in *Britain* were weakened, by removing the Gariſons there into other Cities and Towns, which being peſtered with Soldiers (for the moſt Part unruly Gueſts) were abandoned by the ancient Inhabitants.

After-

After the Death of *Conſtantine the Great*, *Conſtantinus* his eldeſt Son enjoyed *Britain* as a Portion of his Dominion, till, making ſome Attempts upon his Brother *Conſtans* for the Enlarging of it, he was by him ſlain. Then was the Empire divided between *Conſtans* and *Conſtantius*, the two younger Brethren. *Conſtans* ſeized upon the Provinces which *Conſtantinus* his Brother had held, and made a Voyage into *Britain*, where *Gratianus* had then Charge of the Army. This *Gratianus* was ſirnamed *Funarius*, for that, being a young Man, he was able (as it is written of him) to hold a Rope in his Hand againſt the Force of five Soldiers eſſaying to pull it from him. But *Conſtans*, afterwards following ill Counſel, the ready Way to Princes Ruins, and giving himſelf over to all Kinds of Vice, was ſlain by *Magnentius Taporus* the Son of a *Briton*, who then invaded the Empire, uſurping the Government of *Gallia* and *Britain* till (after three Years War with *Conſtantius*) finding himſelf unable any longer to uphold his Greatneſs, he murdered himſelf. Then was *Martinus*, an aged Man, made Deputy of *Britain*, when *Paulus*, a *Spaniard*, ſirnamed *Catena* (a Name well ſorting with his Nature) was ſent thither as a Commiſſioner, to enquire of ſuch as had conſpired with *Magnentius*; but under Colour of his Authority he called in Queſtion ſuch as were not faulty, either upon falſe Information, or private Diſpleaſure, and ſometimes to make a Gain of thoſe that were accuſed; which Courſe *Martinus* the Deputy diſliking, intreated him, that ſuch, as had been no Actors in the Rebellion, might be no Partners in Puniſhment with Offenders. Whereupon *Paulus* charging the Deputy himſelf as a Favourer of Traitors, and privy to the Conſpiracy, did ſo far forth incenſe *Martinus*, that (being either impatient of Reproaches, or perhaps not altogether guiltleſs) he ſtruck at *Paulus* with his Sword, intending to have killed him; but, failing in the Execution, he preſently thruſt the Sword into his own Body. *Gratianus Funarius*, though he was not ſpecially bound by Oath to the Emperor, as ſome others had been; yet, for that he had received *Magnentius* into his Houſe, was adjudged to forfeit all his Goods; the reſt of the accuſed Perſons being fettered, and preſented to the Emperor, were condemned, ſome to Death, and ſome to Exile.

Now was the Government of *Gallia* and *Britain* aſſigned to *Julianus*, commonly called the *Apoſtate*, whom *Conſtantius* had made a *Cæſar*. Then *Lupicinus*, Maſter of the Armour to the Emperor (a good Soldier, but notorious for his Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Cruelty) and after him *Alipius* were ſent into *Britain*, to repreſs the barbarous People that had invaded the Province there, while *Julianus* himſelf remained in *Gallia*, not daring to paſs into the Iſland, both for that he feared the *Gauls*, who were ready (upon the leaſt Occaſion) to revolt, and alſo doubted the *Germans*, who were then up in Arms. After the Death of *Conſtantius*, *Julianus* poſſeſſing the Empire (which he had uſurped in the Life-time of *Conſtantius*) baniſhed *Palladius* an honourable Perſon into *Britain*, and ſent *Alipius* to repair the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, in which Attempt God, diſcovering his Wrath by terrifying the Builders with Thunder and Lightening, and killing many thouſand *Jews*, gave an apparent Teſtimony how vain a Thing it is for the Power of Man to oppoſe itſelf againſt his immutable Decree.

Jovinian ſucceeded *Julianus* in the Empire, which he held but few Months. About this Time, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* invaded the *Roman* Province in *Britain*, *Valentinianus*, the firſt of that Name, then governing the Empire, together with *Valens* his Brother. Theſe *Picts* and *Scots*, as ſome Writers report, came firſt out of *Scythia*, though it is not improbable, that the *Picts* were very *Britons* themſelves, which, being either born in the Northern Promontory of the Iſland, or flying thither out of the South Parts, entered into Confederacy with the *Scots*, and retained for a Time their ancient Name of *Picts*, as being ſo called by the *Romans*, in Reſpect of the old Cuſtom of painting their Bodies, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Britons* then dwelling in the Province. Theſe *Picts*, increaſing in Number, did afterwards inhabit the Iſles of the *Orcades*, and, being for the moſt Part rude and ſavage, as the *Scots* then were, became in the End, as it were, one People with them, oftentimes harraſſing the Borders, and grievouſly annoying their civil Countrymen; there being, commonly, no greater Hatred, than that which is bred and nouriſhed among the People of one Nation, when they are ſevered each from other by Difference of Manners and Cuſtoms. That the *Scots* had their Original from the *Scythians*, their very Name may ſeem in ſome Sort to diſcover;

diſcover; howbeit, divers Stories affirm, that they travelled firſt into *Cantabria* in *Spain*, where, perhaps diſliking that barren Soil, they continued not long, but ſailed into *Ireland*; and from thence a great Number of them came over into *Britain*, ſeating themſelves in the North Parts of the Iſland; where, being now armed with foreign Power, they aſſailed the *Britons* both by Sea and Land, killing *Nectaridius*, the Admiral of the *Britiſh* Fleet, and ſurpriſing *Bulchobaudes*, one of their chief Captains, the Mutiny at that Time in the *Roman* Camp giving them Opportunity and Boldneſs to do, in a Manner, what they liſted. For the Legionary Soldiers refuſed to obey their Leaders, and the Deputies themſelves, complaining of the Emperor's Partiality, in puniſhing the leaſt Offence of the common Soldiers, and winking at the great Abuſes of Commanders and Officers. Hereupon, a warlike Troop of *Germans* was ſent over, under the Conduct of *Fraomarius* their King, who exerciſed there the Authority of a Tribune. *Severus*, the Steward of the Emperor's Houſhold, and *Jovinius* were appointed to ſecond him, with certain auxiliary Forces out of *Gallia*. By this Means the Fury of thoſe barbarous Nations was ſomewhat reſtrained, till the Coming of *Theodoſius*, who firſt appeaſed the Mutiny among the Soldiers, and afterwards proſecuted the War with ſuch good Succeſs, that he reſtored the decayed Towns, ſtrengthened the Borders, appointing Night-watches to be kept there, and in the End recovered the Province, which was then contented to admit of Governors, as in former Times, and, as a new-conquered State, had a new Name given it; for, in Honour of the Emperor *Valentinian*, a Part of the Province was, for a Time, called *Valentia*. Not long after, one *Valentinian*, a *Pannonian*, entered into a Conſpiracy there; which being diſcovered, before it was ripe, the Peril like to have enſued was eaſily avoided.

Then *Gratianus*, ſucceeding *Valentinian*, elected *Valentinian the Second*, his Brother, and *Theodoſius*, the Son of *Theodoſius* aforenamed, to be his Aſſociates in the Empire; but *Clemens Maximus*, governing the Army in *Britain*, upon Emulation and Envy of *Theodoſius*'s Glory, uſurped the Empire there; and, having tranſported the Strength of the Province into *Belgia*, the *German* Army being alſo revolted to him, he placed his Imperial Seat among the *Treviri*, from whence *Gratianus* intended by Force to have expelled him, but that, as he marched through *Italy* with his Army, the moſt Part of his Soldiers forſaking him, he fled to *Lyons* in *Gallia*, where he was intrapped by a Device, and afterwards ſlain by *Andragathius*, one of *Maximus*'s Captains. *Maximus*, having his Mind lifted up with his Fortune, created his Son *Victor* a *Cæſar*, and uſed great Cruelty againſt thoſe that had ſerved under *Gratianus*: Whereupon, *Valentinian*, doubting his own Eſtate, ſent St. *Ambroſe* unto him, as an Ambaſſador, to deſire Peace; which in the End was granted upon Conditions. But *Maximus*, ambitiouſly affecting the ſole Government, did ſoon after break the Peace, invading *Italy*, and attempting to have taken *Valentinian* himſelf, who, to prevent that Danger, fled with his Mother unto *Theodoſius* his Aſſociate, then ruling the *Eaſt* Empire, imploring his Aid againſt *Maximus*, that uſurped *Italy* and other Parts of his Government. Hereupon *Theodoſius* prepared an Army to encounter *Maximus*, who, in *Pannonia* being overthrown, fled to *Aquileia*, where, by the Treaſon of his own Soldiers, he was delivered to *Theodoſius*, and preſently put to Death. This End had *Maximus*, after he had uſurped the Empire five Years. The like Calamities alſo befel his Friends and Followers; for *Victor* his Son was afterwards ſlain in *Gallia* by *Arbogaſtes*. *Andragathius*, the Murderer of *Gratian*, drowned himſelf, and divers of *Maximus*'s Captains, being taken, were put to the Sword: Howbeit, the *Britons*, by whoſe Power *Maximus* had raiſed himſelf to that Greatneſs, as Men deſiring rather to try new Fortune Abroad, than to return Home, reſolved to ſtay in *Armorica*, where ſome of their Countrymen had remained, as divers Writers affirm, ſince the Conqueſt of *Gallia* by *Conſtantine the Great*. By this Means, in Proceſs of Time, partly by Force, and partly by Policy, they grew ſo ſtrong, that they left the Poſſeſſion of a great Part of that Country to their Poſterity; who, being rooted therein by many Deſcents, did afterwards enjoy it intirely as their own, the Name of *Britain* continuing there among them, even to this Day. This Victory of *Theodoſius* was ſo much eſteemed, that the Senate appointed by Decree, that yearly Feaſts ſhould be celebrated in Remembrance thereof.

Now the *Roman* Monarchy was drawing on to its fatal Period, when *Honorius*, ſucceeding *Theodoſius*

Theodoſius his Father in the *Weſtern* Empire, ſent *Stilico* into *Britain*, to defend the Province againſt the *Picts* and *Saxons*, who aſſailed the *Britons* in moſt Parts of the Iſland, working upon the Weakneſs of the Province, in which (the moſt choice and able Men having been from Time to Time tranſported and waſted in the *Roman* Wars with other Nations) there remained not then ſufficient Strength to defend itſelf. The common Soldiers there, ſeeing the State in Combuſtion, took upon them to elect and depoſe Emperors, firſt proclaiming *Gratianus*, a free Citizen of *Rome*; but, not long contented with his Government, they murdered him, and elected one *Conſtantine*, for the Name's Sake only, ſuppoſing the ſame to be auſpicious. *Conſtantine*, tranſporting the Flower and Strength of all *Britain* into *Gallia*, made many diſhonourable Leagues, to the Prejudice of the Empire, with the barbarous Nations that then invaded it, and ſent his Son *Conſtans*, whom of a Monk he had made a *Cæſar*, into *Spain*; where *Conſtans*, having put to Death ſome principal Men, whom he ſuſpected to favour *Honorius*, committed the Government of the Country to *Gerontius*, his chief Captain, who afterwards ſlew him at *Vienna* in *Gallia*; and *Conſtantine* his Father, having run through many Fortunes, was in the End beſieged at *Arles*, where he was taken and ſlain by the Soldiers of *Honorius* the Emperor, who then recovered *Britain*. *Chryſanthus* (the Son of *Martianus*, a Biſhop) a Man of Conſular Degree, was then Deputy of *Britain*, where he was in ſo great Reputation for his Virtue and Integrity ſhewed in the Government both of the Church (which was then tainted with the graceleſs Hereſy of *Pelagius* the *Briton*) and alſo of the publick Weal of the Province, that he was afterwards, though againſt his Will, preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*.

Now the *Romans*, about four-hundred and ſeventy Years after their firſt Entrance into the Iſland, gave over the Government of *Britain*, and the *Britons*, that had been many Times aſſailed by their uncivil Neighbours, conforted with Strangers of divers Nations, perceived themſelves unable to make Reſiſtance, as in former Times; whereupon they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, requiring *Aid*, and promiſing Fealty, if the *Romans* would reſcue them from the Oppreſſion of their Enemies. Then was there a Legion ſent over into the Iſland, to expel the barbarous People out of the Province: Which being with good Succeſs effected, the *Romans* counſelled the *Britons*, for their better Defence, to make a ſtone Wall between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, the two Arms of the Sea that ran into the Land, and ſo departed thence. But this Wall was made only of Turves, and not of Stone, as they were directed, the *Britons* having not then any Skill in ſuch Kind of Buildings; by which Means it ſerved to little Purpoſe; For the *Scots* and *Picts*, underſtanding that the *Romans* were gone, paſſed over the Water in Boats at both Ends of the Wall, invaded the Borders of the Province, and with main Force bore down all before them. Whereupon Ambaſſadors were ſent again out of *Britain*, to declare the miſerable State of the Province, which, without ſpeedy Succour, was likely to be loſt.

Then was there another Legion ſent over by *Ætius* the Preſident of *Gallia*, under the Conduct of *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, to aid the diſtreſſed *Britons*; and the *Romans*, having reduced the Province to its former State, told the *Britons*, that it was not for their Eaſe to take any more ſuch long, coſtly, and painful Journies, themſelves alſo being then aſſailed by Strangers, and that from thenceforth they ſhould provide for their own Safety, learn to uſe Armour and Weapons, and to truſt to their own Valour. Howbeit the *Romans*, in Regard of the good Service done by the *Britiſh* Nation in former Times, built a Wall of Stone, from Eaſt to Weſt in the ſelf-ſame Place, where *Severus* the Emperor had caſt his Trench, the Labour and Charges of the Work being borne partly by the *Romans*, and partly by the *Britons* themſelves. This Wall contained about eight Feet in Breadth, and twelve in Height, ſome Reliques thereof remaining to be ſeen at this Day. Upon the Sea Coaſts towards the South, they raiſed Bulwarks, one ſomewhat diſtant from another, to impede the Enemies Landing in thoſe Parts; and, this done, they took their laſt Farewell: Tranſporting their Legions into *Gallia*, as Men reſolved to return hither no more. As ſoon as they were gone, the barbarous People, having Intelligence thereof, preſumed, that, without any great Reſiſtance, they might now enter the Province. And thereupon accounting, as their own, whatſoever was without the Wall, they gave an Aſſault to the Wall itſelf, which with Grapples, and ſuch-like Engines, they pulled down to the

Ground,

Ground, while the *Britons*, their wonted Courage failing them, ran away, each Man laying aſide the Care of the Publick, and providing for himſelf, as the preſent Neceſſity would permit. The barbarous Enemy in the mean Time purſued, and killed ſuch as reſiſted.

Some of the *Britons*, being driven out of their own Houſes and Poſſeſſions, fell to Robbing one of another: Increaſing their outward Troubles with inward Tumults, and civil Diſſenſion; by which Means a great Number of the Inhabitants had nothing left to ſuſtain them, but what they got by Hunting, and Killing of wild Beaſts. Others, burying their Treaſure under Ground, whereof great Store hath been found in this Age, did fly, themſelves, either into the Countries of the *Silures* and *Ordovices*, or into the Weſt Part of the Iſland, where the *Danmonians* then inhabited, or elſe to their own Countrymen in *Armorica*; the reſt, being hemmed in with the Sea on one Side, and their Enemies on the other, ſent to the Emperor for Aid: Which they could not obtain, for that, the *Goths* and *Huns* invading *Gallia* and *Italy*, the greateſt Part of the Emperor's Forces were drawn thither, for Defence of thoſe Parts; by which Means, the State of *Britain* now declining with the Empire, and ſhrinking under the Burden of a barbarous Oppreſſion, the *Britons* ſent Ambaſſadors again to *Ætius* the Preſident in *Gallia*, deſiring him to relieve their Neceſſities: 'Declaring withal, that themſelves were the ſmall Remnant, which ſurvived after the Slaughter of ſo many Thouſands, whom either the Sword or the Sea had conſumed; for the barbarous Enemy drove them upon the Sea, the Sea again upon the Enemy: Between both which, they ſuffered two Kinds of Death, as being either killed or drowned: That it imported the Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire to protect them, who had ſo many hundred Years lived under their Obedience, and were now plunged into the Depth of intolerable Miſeries; for, beſides the Calamities of War both civil and foreign, at one Inſtant they were afflicted with Dearth and Famine, which forced them to yield themſelves to the mercileſs Enemy.' But the poor *Britons* complained in Vain: For the *Romans* either would not, or could not help them, without their own Hindrances; howbeit, as Extremities are not of long Continuance, ſo ſome of the *Britons*, taking Courage, and reſolving rather to die with their Country than to abandon it, reſiſted their Enemies, and conſtrained them to return whence they came; by which Means the reſt of the *Britons*, many Years after, lived in Peace, and without any Annoyance, ſave that the *Picts* ſometimes in ſmall Numbers made Incurſions into the Land, foraging the Borders, and taking Booties of Cattle there.

After this Peace in *Britain*, there enſued exceeding great Plenty of Grain, and other Fruits of the Earth, which the *Britons* abuſed, miſpending them riotouſly in Gluttony and Drunkenneſs. Thus diſſolute Living, Cruelty, Pride, and all Kinds of Vices, the true Cauſes of the Change and Ruin of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, reigned as well among the Clergy as the Laity, both whom God ſeverely puniſhed, by ſending among them a grievous Plague, which in a ſhort Time waſted ſo many of them, that the Living were ſcarce ſufficient, in Number, to bury the Dead. Howbeit, the Infection once ceaſing, the *Britons* fell to their old Diſorders, drawing thereby a greater Plague upon them, even to the utter Subverſion, and, in a Manner, Rooting out of their Name and Nation, as it afterwards happened. For the *Scots* and *Picts*, knowing how ſmall a Number of the *Britons* remained to withſtand their Attempts, the greater and better Part being already deſtroyed, either by the Sea, the Sword, Famine, or Peſtilence, entered boldly into the Heart of the Iſland, ſpoiled the People of their Wealth, burnt their Cities, made themſelves Slaves, and in a ſhort Time over-ran a great Part of the Land.

Thus about five-hundred Years after the *Romans* firſt Entrance, and four-hundred and forty-ſix, after the Birth of our Saviour *Chriſt*, the Iſland of *Britain*, which had been, not only a principal Member of the Empire, but, alſo, the Seat of the Empire itſelf, and the Seminary of Soldiers ſent out into moſt Parts of the World, was now in the Time of *Theodoſius* the younger bereaved of the greateſt Part of its ancient Inhabitants, and left as a Prey to barbarous Nations.

Treaſon pretended againſt the King of *Scots*, by certaine Lordes and Gentlemen, whoſe Names hereafter followe. With a Declaration of the Kinges Majeſties Intention to his laſt Acts of Parliament: Which openeth fully in Effect all the ſaide Conſpiracy. Out of *Skottiſh* into *Engliſh*. Imprinted at *London*, for *Thomas Nelſon*, and are to be ſolde at the Weſt Ende of *Paules*. 1585. *Black Letter Octavo*, containing twenty-four Pages.

The Coppie of a Letter ſent from a Gentleman in *Scotland*, to a Frend of his in *England*, touching the Conſpiracie againſt the Kinges Maieſtie.

My approued Friend, T. S.

THERE hath beene lately ſecret Practiſing againſt the Kinges Maieſtie of *Scotland*. But Time ſerueth not nowe to ſet down the Maner of their Proceeding in the ſaid Attempt: I haue here ſent to you the Kinges Declaration to his laſt Acts of Parliament, and, for Breuitie, haue ſet downe the Names of the Conſpirators, which are as followeth. And thus, in Hope you will accept my good Will, I commit you to the Almightie. From *Edenbrough*, this 20 of *Februarie*, 1585.

Yours, *Chriſtopher Studley*.

The Lord of *Don Whaſell*.
The Lord of *Dunkrith*.
The Lord of *Baythkicte*.
Robert Hamelton of *Yuchmachan*.
M. *Iames Sterling*.

Theſe wer apprehended at the Kinges Court.

John Hoppignell of the *Mores*, apprehended at his owne Houſe, by the Captaine of the Kinges Garde.

The Lord *Keir* and Lord *Maius* apprehended, with other Gentlemen, about *Sterling*.

The Lord *Blaketer* and *Georg Douglaſſe* are ſommoned to the Court, upon Suſpition.

The Lord *Don Whaſell* } executed.
The Lord *Maius* }

The Treaſon diſcouered by *Robert Hamelton*.

The Kinges Maieſties Declaration of his Acts confirmed in Parliament.

FOraſmvch as there is ſome euil affected Men that goeth about, ſo farre as in them lieth, to invent Lies and Tales to ſlaunder and impaire the Kinges Maieſties Fame and Honour, and to raiſe Reportes as if his Maieſtie had declined to Papiſtrie, and that he had made many Actes to aboliſh the free Paſſage of the Goſpel, good Order and Diſcipline in the Church: Which Bruites are mainteined by rebellious Subiects, who would gladly couer their ſeditious Enterpriſes vnder Pretenſe of Religion (albeit there can be no godly Religion in ſuch as raiſeth Rebellion to diſquiet the State of their natiue Soueraigne, and periuredly doeth ſtand againſt the Othe, Band, and Obligation of their Faith, whereunto they haue ſworne and ſubſcribed) therefore, that his Maieſties faithfull Subiects be not abuſed with ſuch ſlanderous Reportes, and his Highneſſe good affectionated Friends in other Countries may underſtand the Veritie of his vpright Intention, his Highneſſe hath commaunded this briefe Declaration of certaine of his Maieſties Acts of Parliament holden in *May* 1584, to be publiſhed and imprinted, to the Effect, that the indirect Practiſes of ſuch, as ſlaunder his Maieſtie and his Lawes, may be detected and diſcouered.

IN the firſt Acte his Maieſtie ratifies and approues the true Profeſſion of the Goſpell, ſincere Preaching of the Worde, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, preſently by the Goodnes of God eſtabliſhed within this Realme, and alloweth of the Confeſſion of Faith ſet downe by Acte of Parliament, the firſt Yeere of his Maieſties Raigne. Likewiſe, his Highneſſe not onely profeſſeth the ſame in all Sincerritie, but, prayſed be God, is come to that Ripeneſſe of Iudgement, by reading and hearing the Worde of God, that his Highneſſe is able to conuince and ouerthrowe by the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, the moſt learned of the contrary Sect of the Aduerſaries: So that, as *Plato* affirmeth, that Commonwealth to be moſt happy, wherein a Philoſopher raigneth, or he that raigneth is a Philoſopher: We may much more eſteeme this Countrey of *Scotland* to be fortunate, wherein our King is a Diuine, and whoſe Heart is repleniſhed with the Knowledge of the heauenly Philoſophy, for the Comfort not onely of his good Subiects and Friends in other Countreys, but of them that profeſſeth the Goſpell euery where, he beyng a King of great Wiſedome, and, by his Birthright, borne to great Poſſeſſions, but much more his Highneſſe, Vertue, Godlineſſe, and Learnyng, and daily Increaſe of all heauenly Sciences, doth promiſe and aſſure him of the mighty Protection of God, and Fauour of all them that fear his holy Name.

IN the ſecond Acte his Maieſties royal Authority ouer all Eſtates, both ſpirituall and temporall, is confirmed: Which Acte, ſome of Malice, and other ſome of Ignorance, doth traduce, as if his Maieſtie pretended to be called the Head of the Church; a Name which his Maieſtie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the Sonne of God, the Sauiour of the World, who is the Head, and beſtoweth Life ſpiritual vpon the Members of his miſticall Body; and he, hauyng receiued the holy Spirite in all Aboundance, maketh every one of the Faithfull Partakers thereof, according to the Meaſure of Faith beſtowed vpon them. Of the which Number of the Faithfull vnder the Head Chriſt, his Maieſtie acknowledgeth himſelfe to be a Member, baptiſed in his Name, Partaker of the Myſterie of the Croſſe and holy Communion, and attending with the Faithfull for the Comming of the Lord, and the finall Reſtitution of Gods Elect. And notwithſtanding his Maieſtie ſurely vnderſtandeth by the Scriptures, that he is the chief and principall Member appointed by the Lawe of God, to ſee God glorified, Vice puniſhed, and Vertue maintained within his Realme, and the ſoueraigne Iudgement for a godly Quietneſſe and Order in the Commonwealth, to appertaine to his Highneſſe Cure and Solicitude. Which Power and Authoritie of his Higneſſe, certaine Miniſters being called before his Maieſtie for their ſeditious and factious Sermons in ſtirring up of the People to Rebellion againſt their natiue King (by the Inſtigation of ſundry vnquiet Spirites) would in no wyſe acknowledge but diſclaime his Maieſties Authoritie as an incompetent Iudge; and ſpecially one called M. *Andrew Meluile*, an ambitious Man, of a ſalt and fiery Humour, vſurping the Pulpit of *Sandroyes*, without any lawfull Callyng, and priuie at that Tyme to certaine Conſpiracies attempted againſt his Maieſtie and Crowne, went about, in a Sermon vpon a *Sunday*, to inflame the Hearts of the People, by odious Compariſons of his Maieſties Progenitours and Counſaile, albeit the Duetie of a faithfull Preacher of the Goſpell be rather to exhort the People to the Obedience of their natiue King, and not by popular Sermons (which hath been the Euerſion and Decay of great Cities and Commonwealths, and hath greatly, in Times paſt, bred Diſquietneſſe to the State thereby) to trouble and perturbe the Countrey. The ſayd M. *Andrew*, beyng called before his Highneſſe, preſumptuouſly anſwered, that he would not be iudged by the King and Counſaile, becauſe he had ſpoken the ſame in Pulpit, which Pulpit, in Effect, he alleged to be exempted from the Iudgement and Correction of Princes, as if that holy Place ſanctified to the Word of God, and to the Breaking of the Bread of Life, might be any Colour to any Sedition in Worde or Deede, againſt the lawfull Authoritie, without Puniſhment. Alwaies his Maieſtie (beyng of himſelfe a moſt gratious Prince) was not willing to haue vſed any Rigour againſt the ſaide Maiſter *Andrew*, if he had humbly ſubmitted himſelfe, acknowledged his Offence, and craued Pardon; who, notwithſtanding, afraid of his owne Guiltines, beyng priuie to diuers Conſpiracies before, fled out of the Realme, whoſe naughty and preſumptuous Refuſing of his Highneſſe Iudgement was the Occaſion of the making of this ſeconde Acte, *videlicet*,

videlicet, That none ſhould decline from his Highneſſe Authoritie, in reſpect that the common Prouerbe beareth, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ ſunt*; that is, Of euill Maners good Lawes proceede. And in verie deede it wanteth not any right intollerable Arrogancy, in any Subiect called before his Prince, profeſſing and auctoriſing the ſame Truth, to diſclaime his Authoritie, neither doe the Prophets, Apoſtles, nor others (conducted by the Spirite of God) miniſter the like Example; for it is a great Errour to affirme, as many doe, that Princes and Magiſtrates haue onely Power to take Order in Ciuill Affaires, and that Eccleſiaſticall Matters doth onely belong to the Miniſterie. By which Meanes the Pope of *Rome* hath exempt himſelfe and all his Clergie, from all Iudgements of Princes, and he made himſelf to be Iudge of Iudges, and to be iudged of no Man; whereas, by the contrarie, not onely by the Examples of the godly Gouernors, Iudges, and Kings of the Old Teſtament, but alſo by the New Teſtament, and the whole Hiſtory of the Primitiue Church, in the which the Emperors, beyng Iudges ouer the Biſhop of *Rome*, depoſed them from their Seates, appointed Iudges to decide and determine in Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, and chalenge innocent Men, as *Athanaſius*, from the Determination of the Councell holden at *Tyrus*, and, by infinite good Reaſons, which ſhall be ſet downe, by the Grace of God, in another ſeuerall Worke, ſhall be ſufficiently prooued and verified. But this appeareth, at this Preſent, to be an vntimely and vnprofitable Queſtion, which hath no Ground upon their Part, but of the prepoſterous Imitation of the pretended Iuriſdiction of the Pope of *Rome*. For, if there were any Queſtion in this Land of Hereſie, whereby the profound Myſteries of the Scriptures behooued to be ſearched foorth, his Maieſtie would vſe the ſame Remedy, as moſt expedient, which the moſt godly Emperours hath vſed: And his Maieſtie, following their Example, would alow the Councell of learned Paſtours, that, by Conference of Scriptures, the Veritie might be opened, and Hereſie repreſſed. But, God be thanked, we haue no ſuch Controuerſies in this Land, neither hath any Hereſie taken any deepe Roote in the Countrey, but that certaine of the Miniſterie, ioyning themſelues to Rebels, hath traueled to diſquiet the State with ſuch Queſtions, that the People might embrace any ſiniſter Opinion of his Maieſties vpright Proceedings, and Factions might be nouriſhed and entertained in the Countrey. Neither is it his Maieſties Meaning nor Intention, in any Sort, to take away the lawfull and ordinarie Iudgement in the Church, whereby Diſcipline and good Order might decay, but rather to preſerue, maintaine, and increaſe the ſame. And as there is in the Realme Iuſtices, Conſtables, Shirifes, Provoſts, Baylifes, and other Iudges in temporall Matters; ſo his Maieſtie aloweth, that all Things might be done in Order, and a godly Quietnes may be preſerued in the whole Eſtate, the Sinodall Aſſemblies by the Biſhops, or Commiſſioners, where the Place was vſed, to be conuenient, twiſe in the Yeere, to haue the ordinary Trial of Matters belonging to the Miniſtery and their Eſtate; alwaies reſeruing to his Highneſſe, that, if thei, or any of them, doe amiſſe, neglect their Duetie, diſquiet the Eſtate, or offend in any ſuch Maner and Sort, that they in no wayes pretend that Immunitie, Priuiledge, and Exemption, which onely was inuented by the Popes of *Rome*, to tread vnder Foote the Scepters of Princes, and to eſtabliſh an Eccleſiaſticall Tyranny within this Countrey, vnder Pretence of new inuented Preſbyters, which neither ſhould anſwer to the King, nor Biſhop vnder his Maieſtie, but ſhould haue ſuch infinite Iuriſdiction, as neither the Lawe of God nor Man can tollerate. Which is onely his Maieſties Intention to repreſſe, and not to take away any godly or due Order in the Church, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

THE third Acte of his Majeſties foreſaide Parliament diſchargeth all Iudgements Eccleſiaſticall, and all Aſſemblies which are not allowed by his Maieſtie in Parliament; which Acte eſpecially concerneth the Remouing and Diſcharging of that Forme inuented in this Land, called Preſbyterie; wherin a Number of Miniſters of a certeine Precinct and Boundes, accounting themſelues to be equal, without any Difference, and gathering vnto them certeine Gentlemen, and others of his Maieſties Subiects, vſurpe all the whole Eccleſiaſticall Iuriſdiction, and altereth the Lawes at their owne Pleaſure, without the Knowledge and Approbation of the King or the Eſtate: A Forme of Doing without Example of any Nation, ſubiect to a Chriſtian Prince: The Peril whereof did ſo increaſe, that, in Caſe it had not beene

repreſſed in due Seaſon, and forbidden by his Maieſties Lawes; the ſame had troubled the whole Countrey. And beyng tried, by his Highneſſe, to be the Ouerthrow of his Maieſties Eſtate, the Decay of his Crowne, and a ready Introduction to Anabaptiſtrie, and popular Confuſion, in all Eſtates, his Majeſty hath giuen Commaundement againſt the ſame. And, that the Reader may vnderſtand the Daunger thereof, by many Inconueniences which, thereby, enſueth in this Lande, I will onely ſet downe one, whereby they may vnderſtand what Peril was in the reſt. The Embaſſadour of *Fraunce*, returning Home vnto his owne Countrey, commaunded the Prouoſt, Bayliffes, and Counſaile of *Edenbrough*, to make him a Banquet, that he might be receiued honourably, according to the Amitie of auncient Times betweene the two Nations. This Commaund was giuen on the *Saturday* by his Highneſſe, and the Banquet appointed to be on the *Monday*. A Number of the foreſaide pretended Preſbyterie, vnderſtanding thereof, aſſembled themſelues on *Sonday* in the Morning, and preſumptuouſly determined and agreed, that the Miniſters of *Edenbrough* ſhould proclaime a Faſting vppon the ſame *Monday*, where three ſeuerall Miniſters, one after another, made three ſeuerall Sermons, Inuectiues againſt the Prouoſt, Bayliffes, and Counſaile for the Time, and the noble Men in the Countrey, who repaired to the Banquet at his Maieſties Commaund. The foreſaide Preſbyterie called and perſwaded them, and ſcarſly, by his Maieſties Authoritie, could be witholden from excommunicating the ſaide Magiſtrates and noble Men, for Obeying onely his Highnes lawfull Commaund, which the Law of all Countreys, called *Ius Gentium*, requires towards Embaſſadours of Forreine Countreys. And not onely in this, but innumerable other Things, their Commaundement was proclaimed directly, vnder the Paine of Excommunication, to the Kings Maieſtie and his Lawes: Which Forme of Proceeding ingendred Nothing but Diſquietneſs, Sedition, and Trouble, as may manifeſtly appeere, in that the ſpeciall Authors of the Inuenting, Promoting, and Aſſiſting of the foreſaide pretended Preſbyteries hath ioyned themſelues with his Maieſties Rebels; and fleing foorth of the Realme, in Reſpect of their Guiltines, hath diſcouered what malitious Practices was deuiſed amongſt them, if God had not, in Time, prouided Remedie. The other Forme of Iudgement, which his Maieſty hath diſcharged, is the generall Aſſembly of the whole Clergie in the Realme; vnder Pretence whereof, a Number of Miniſters, from ſundry Preſbyteries, did aſſemble, with ſome Gentlemen of the Countrey, wherof ſome, for that Time, Malcontents of the Eſtate, ſought that Color, as Fauorers of the Miniſterie, by the which thei haue practiſed many Enterpriſes in the Realme, where there was no certeine Lawe in Eccleſiaſticall Affaires, but all depended vpon the ſaide generall Conuention, where the Lawes of the Church were alterable after the Number of Voices, which, for the moſt Part, ſucceeded vnto the moſt vnlearned of the Multitude. This generall Aſſembly, amongſt other Things, did appoint and agree with his Maieſties, Regentes in his Highneſſe Minority, that the Eſtate of Biſhops, which is one of the Eſtates of Parliament, ſhould be mainteined and authoriſed, as it is regiſtred in the Bookes of Counſell, and ſubſcribed by the Commiſſioners for the Time: Which Order was obſerued many Yeeres, and Biſhops, by their Conſentes, appointed to the Dioceſſe, vntill, within this late Time, in Aſſemblies holden at *Dundie* and *Glaſgow*, reſpecting the foreſaide Miniſters and Aſſemblies, thei tooke vppon them, contrarie to their owne Hand Writing, to diſcharge the Eſtate, and to declare the ſame to be vnlawfull, in their pretended Maner; and there commaunded the Biſhops of the Countrey to demit and leaue their Offices and Iuriſdictions, and that, in no wiſe, they ſhould paſſe to the Kings Maieſties Counſell, or Parliament, without Commiſſion obteined from their Aſſemblie; that they ſhould confirme Nothing in Parliament and Counſell, but according to their Acts and Iniunctions. And further, they directed their Commiſſioners to the Kings Maieſtie, commaunding him and the Counſell, vnder Paine of the Cenſures of the Church (whereby they vnderſtoode Excommunication) to appoint no Biſhop in Time to come, becauſe they had concluded that Eſtate to be vnlawfull.

And notwithſtanding, that which they would haue deiected in the Biſhops, they purpoſed to erect in themſelues, deſiring that ſuch Commiſſioners, as they ſhould ſend to Parliament and Counſell, might be authoriſed in Place of the Eſtate, whereby it ſhould haue come to paſs, that whereas, now, his Maieſtie may ſelect the moſt godly, learned, wiſe, and experimented of the Miniſterie, to be on his Maieſ-

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ties Eſtate, his Highneſſe ſhould haue been, by that Means, compelled to accept ſuch, as the Multitude, by an odde Conſent of the moſt vnlearned, ſhould haue appointed; which could not tend but to the Querthrow of the Realme, whereof that Eſtate hath bene a ſpeciall Stop. After they had diſcharged Biſhops, they agreed to haue Superintendents, Commiſſioners, and Viſitours: But, in the End, they diſcerned that there ſhould be no Difference amongſt the Miniſters, and imagined that new Forme of Preſbyterie, whereof we haue ſpoken before: Neither was there any other Appearance that they ſhould haue ſtaid from ſuch daily Alterations in the Commonwealth, which could not but continually be diſquieted, where the Lawe of Conſcience, which they mainteined by the Sword of Curſing, was ſubiect to ſuch Mutations, at the Arbitrement of a Number, whereof the moſt Part had not greatly taſted of Learning. At our the foreſaide Aſſemblie, was accuſtomed, not only to preſcribe the Lawe to the King and Eſtate, but alſo did, at certain Times, appoint general Faſtings throughout the Realme, ſpecially, when ſome Factioners in the Countrey was to mooue any great Enterpriſe: For, at the Faſt, all the Miniſters was commaunded by the Aſſemblie to ſing one Song, and to cry out vppon the Abuſes, as they termed it, of the Court and Eſtate for the Time; whereby, it is moſt certaine, great Alterations to haue enſued in this Land, while, at the good Pleaſure of God, and his Bleſſing towardes his Maieſtie, the Pretence of the laſt Faſt was diſcouered, and his Highneſſe deliuered from ſuch Attempts, whereby his Maieſtie hath bene iuſtly mooued to diſcharge ſuch Conuentions, which might import ſo preiudicially to his Eſtate: But ſpecially his Maieſtie had no ſmall Occaſion, whereas the ſame Aſſemblie, beyng met at *Edenbrough*, did authoriſe and auow the Fact perpetrate at *Ruthuen*, in the Takyng of his Highneſſe moſt noble Perſon: The which Deed, notwithſtanding his Maieſtie, with the Aduiſe of his Eſtates in Parliament, accounted to be Treaſon, the ſaide Aſſemblie, eſteeming their Iudgement to be the ſoueraigne Iudgement of the Realme, hath not only approoued the ſame, but ordained all them to be excommunicate that would not ſubſcribe and allow the ſame. So the Actes of this Aſſemblie, and the Lawes of the Eſtate, directly weighed in Ciuill Matter, with the which the Aſſemblie ſhould not haue medled, it behooued his Highneſſe, either to diſcharge himſelf of the Crown, or the Miniſterie of the Forme of Aſſemblie, which, in deede, of it ſelfe, without the Kings Maieſties Licence and Approbation, could not be lawfull; like as generall Counſells, at no Time, could aſſemble, without the Commaundement of the Emperour for the Time; and our King hath no leſſe Power, within his owne Realme, then any of them had in the Empire: Yea, the Biſhop of *S. Androis* had not, in Time of Poperie, Power to conuent the Biſhops and Clergie, out of their owne Dioceſſe, without Licence giuen before of his Highneſſe moſt noble Progenitours of good Memorie, and the Cauſes thereof intimated and allowed. Notwithſtanding that his Maieſties Intention and Meaning may fully be vnderſtood, it is his Highneſſe Wil, that the Biſhop, or Commiſſioners of any Dioceſſe, or Prouince, or Part thereof, ſhall, at their Viſitation appointed in euery Pariſh, accordyng to the Greatneſſe thereof, haue ſome honeſt, vertuous, and diſcrete Men, to aide and aſſiſt the Miniſter, and to haue the Ouerſight and Cenſure of the Maners and Behauiour of the People of that Pariſh: And, if there be any notable Offence worthy of Puniſhment, that the Biſhop and Commiſſioners be aduertiſed thereof, who ſhall haue an Officer of Armes to be aſſiſtant for the Puniſhment of Vice, and Executions to follow thereupon; that they, who contemneth the godly and lawfull Order of the Church, may finde, by Experience, his Maieſties Diſpleaſure, and be puniſhed according to their Deſeruings.

And further: His Maieſtie, vppon neceſſary Occaſions which may fall foorth by diuers Maner of Wayes among the Clergie, vppon humble Supplication made vnto his Highneſſe, will not refuſe to graunt them Licence to aſſiſt the Biſhops, Commiſſioners, and ſome of the moſt vertuous, learned, and godly of their Dioceſſe, where ſuch Eccleſiaſticall Matters, as appertaineth to the Vniformitie of Doctrine, and Conſeruation of a godly Order in the Church, may be intreated and concluded in his Maieſtics owne Preſence, or ſome of his Maieſties honourable Counſell, who ſhall aſſiſt for the Time: Where, if Neceſſity ſo require, a publike Faſt throughout the whole Realme may be commaunded, and, by his Maieſties Authoritie, proclaimed, to auoide the imminent Diſpleaſure and Daunger of the Wrath of the Lordes Iudgements; which is the right Ende of publike Humilitie, and not, vnder Pretence thereof

of, to couer ſuch Enterpriſes, as hath heretofore greatly diſquieted and troubled the Peace of this Commonwealth.

THE xx. Acte ratifieth, and approcueth, and eſtabliſheth the Eſtate of the Biſhops within the Realme, to haue the Overſight and Iuriſdiction, euery one in their owne Dioceſſe. Which Forme of Gouernment, and Rule in Eccleſiaſticall Affaires, hath not onely continued in the Church from the Dayes of the Apoſtles, by continuall Succeſſion of Tyme, and many Martyres in that Calling ſhed their Bloud for the Trueth: But alſo, ſince this Realme embraced and receiued the Chriſtian Religion, the ſame Eſtate hath beene mainteined to the Welfare of the Church, and Quietneſſe of the Realme, without any Interruption, vntill, within theſe few Yeares, ſome curious and buſie Men haue practiſed to induce in the Miniſterie an Equalitie in all Thinges, as well concernyng the Preaching of the Word, Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, as likewiſe in Diſcipline, Order, and Pollicie: The which Confuſion his Maieſtie finding, by moſt dangerous Experience, to haue bene the Mother and Nurſe of great Factions, Seditions, and Troubles within this Realme, hath, with Aduiſe of his Highneſſe Eſtates, aduiſedly concluded the ſaide pretended Paritie in Diſcipline, Orders, and Pollicie in the Church, to be no longer tollerate in this Countrey: But the Sollicitude and Care of all Churches in one Dioceſſe, to appertaine to the Biſhop and Commiſſioner thereof, who ſhall be aunſwerable to God, and his Maieſty, and Eſtates, for the right Adminiſtration and Diſcharge of the Office of particular Miniſters, within the Boundes of their Iuriſdiction. For, as it becommeth his Maieſtie, as *Euſebius* writeth of *Conſtantinus the Great*, to be a Biſhop of Biſhops, and Vniuerſall Biſhop within his Realme, in ſo far as his Maieſtie ſhould appoint euerie one to diſcharge his Duetie: Which his Highneſſe cannot, his Countrey beyng large and great, take him to euerie Miniſter that ſhall offend, and tranſgreſſe agaynſt Duetie, or quarrell with the whole Number of the Miniſterie: But it behooueth his Maieſtie to haue Biſhops and Ouerſeeres vnder him, which may be aunſwerable for ſuch Boundes, as the Lawe and Order of the Countrey hath limited and appointed vnto euerie one of them. And that they, hauing Acceſſe to his Maieſties Parliament and Counſell, may intercide for the reſt of the Brethren of the Miniſterie, propone their Griefe vnto his Highneſſe and Eſtates, and receiue his Maieſties fauourable Aunſwere therin. The which Forme doth preſerue a godly Quietnes, Vnitie, Concorde, and Peace in the Eſtate, and an vniforme Order in the Church: As, contrariwiſe, the pretended Equalitie deuideth the ſame, and, vnder the Pretence of Equality, maketh ſome of the moſt crafty and ſubtill Dealers to be aduaunced and enriched; and, in pretending of Paritie, to ſeeke nothing but their owin Ambition, and Aduauncement aboue the reſt of the ſimple Sort. And, notwithſtanding that his Maieſtie hath reſtabliſhed the ſaide Eſtate, it is not his Highneſſe Wil and Intent, that the foreſaide Biſhop ſhall have ſuch full Power, as to do within his Dioceſſe what he pleaſeth: For, as his Maieſtie cannot allow of any popular Confuſion, wherin, as the Prouerbe ſaith, *Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda eſt tyrannidi multitudinis.* That is, No Tyranny can be compared to the Tyranny of a Multitude, hauing Commaundement and Power in his Hands; ſo, on the other Part, his Maieſties Wil is, that the Biſhops Authoritie, in any graue Matter, be limited to the Councell of thirteen of the moſt auncient, wiſe, and godly Paſtors of his Dioceſſe, ſelected out of the whole ſynodall Aſſemblie of the Province; by whoſe Aduiſe, or at leaſt the moſt Part therof, the weightie Affaires of the Church may be gouerned, to the Glory of God, and Quietnes of the Realme. Further, it is his Highneſſe Wil and Commaundement, that their Biſhops or Commiſſioners, twiſe in the Yeere, to wit, ten Dayes after *Eaſter*, and the Sixth of *September*, hold their ſynodall Aſſemblies, in euerie Dioceſſe, for the Keeping of good Order therin. And, if any be ſtubborne, or contemne within their Bounds the good Order of the Church, that it may be declared vnto his Maieſtie, and puniſhed, to the Example of others, according to their Deſeruings. Neither is it his Maieſties Meaning or Intent, that ſuch Biſhops or Commiſſioners, as ſhall be appointed, ſhall receiue their onely and full Commiſſion of his Maieſtie, without Admiſſion ordinary, by ſuch as are appointed to that Effect in the Church; but hauing his Highneſſe Nomination, Preſentation, and Commendation, as lawfull and onely Patron, they to be tried and examined, that their Qualities are ſuch as thei are able to diſcharge

charge their Cure and Office: And if it ſhall happen any of the ſaid Biſhops, or Commiſſioners, to be negligent in their Office, or to be ſlanderous and offenſiue in their Behauiour, Life, and Maners, in Tyme to come; it is not his Highneſſe Wil, that they ſhalbe exempted from Correction, notwithſtanding any Priuilege of his Highneſſe Eſtate, Counſell, or Parliament, but their Labors, Trauels, Diligence, and Behauiour, to be tried in the Generall Aſſemblie, not conſiſting of a confuſed Multitude, as it was before, but of ſuch worſhipfull Perſons, as is heretofore preſcribed, in his Highneſſe Preſence, or his Deputies to that Effect. Laſtly, his Maieſtie giueth Commiſſion to the ſaide Biſhops, or Commiſſioners, at their Viſitations, to conſider in what Part of the Countrey, the Exerciſe, or Interpretation of the Scripture, by Conference of a certaine Number of the Miniſterie within thoſe Bounds, may be moſt commodiouſly once in euery fifteen Days. For, as his Maieſtie inhibits all unlawfull Meetings, that may ingender Trouble and Contention in the Countrey, ſo his Maieſtie is well affected to ſee the Miniſterie increaſe in Knowledge and Vnderſtanding, and by all Meanes to fortifie and aduance the ſame. Wherein his Highneſſe Commaundement is, that a graue, wiſe, and ſage Man ſhalbe appointed Preſident, who may haue the Ouerſight of theſe Bounds, and be aunſwerable therefore to the Biſhop, his Counſell and Synode, and he to be reſpected reaſonably for his Paines, at the Modification of Stipends; that all Things may be orderly done in the Church, Peace and Quietnes mainteined in the Realme, and we delyuered from apparant Plagues, and the Bleſſing of God continued, to the Comfort of our Poſteritie. And in the mean Time his Highneſſe inhibits and expreſly forbids, vnder the Paines conteined in his Maieſties Actes of Parliament, and all other Paines arbitral, at his Maieſties Sight and Counſell, that no Miniſters take in Hand to aſſemble themſelues for the foreſaide Cauſe, without the Appointment and Order taken by the ſaide Biſhops or Commiſſioners; wherby his Highneſſe may be certeinly enformed, that the foreſaide Miniſters aſſemble not, to meddle with any Ciuill Matters, or Affaires of Eſtate, as was accuſtomed before, but onely to profit in the Knowledge of the Word, and to be comforted one by another in the Adminiſtration of their Spiritual Office; which his Highneſſe wiſheth them faythfully to diſcharge, and then to call to God, that his Maieſtie may in a proſperous Reigne enjoy good and long Life, and continue and increaſe into the Feare of the Almightie.

The Kings Maieſties Intention.

HIS Maieſties Intention is, by the Grace of God, to mainteine the true and ſincere Profeſſion of the Goſpell, and Preaching thereof, within this Realme.

2. His Maieſties Intention is, to correct and puniſhe ſuch as ſeditiouſly abuſe the Trueth, and factiouſly apply or rather bewray the Text of the Scripture, to the Diſquieting of the Eſtate, and Diſturbing of the Commonwealth, or Impayring of his Highneſſe and Counſells Honour.

3. His Maieſties Intention is, if any Queſtion of Faith and Doctrine ariſe, to conuocate the moſt learned, godly, wiſe, and experimented Paſtors, that by Conference of Scriptures the Veritie may be tryed, and all Hereſie and Schiſme by that Means repreſſed.

4. His Maieſties Intention is, that, for the Keeping of good Order in euerie Pariſh, certeine Ouerſeers to the good Behauiours of the reſt be appointed at the Viſitation of the Biſhop, or Viſitour, who ſhal haue his Maieſties Authoritie, and Officers of Armes concurring, for the Puniſhment of Vice.

5. His Maieſties Intention is, to mainteine the Exerciſe of Propheſie, for the Increaſe and Continuing of Knowledge amongſt the Miniſterie; in which a wiſe and graue Man, ſelected by the Biſhop, or Commiſſioner, at the Synodall Aſſemblie, ſhall render an Account of the Adminiſtration of thoſe Bounds, where the Exercise is holden; for which Cauſe, ſome Reſpect of Liuing ſhal be had vnto him who ſuſtaines that Burthen.

6. His Maieſties Intention is, not to derogate vnto the ordinarye Iudgement of Matters of the Church, by the ordinary Biſhops, their Councells, and Synods; but, if any of them do amiſſe, and abuſe their Calling, to take Order for Correcting, Amending, and Puniſhing thereof.

7. His

7. His Maieſties Intention is, not to hinder or ſtay any godly or ſolide Order, grounded vppon the Worde of God, and Order of the Primitiue Church; but that the Miniſters of the Word meddle themſelues onely with their owne Calling, and iudge not fearfully of the Eſtate.

8. It is his Maieſties Intention, that the Preſbyteries conſiſting of many Miniſters and Gentlemen, at *Landwart* or other Waies, be no further tollerate in this his Realm; but the Exerciſe of Iuriſdiction of all Churches, to be in the Hands of the Biſhop or Commiſſioner, and their Councells and Synods.

9. It is his Maieſties Intention, that the Biſhops or Commiſſioners aſſemble not any generall Aſſemblie out of the whole Realme, without his Maieſties Knowledge and Licence obteined thereunto; which upon Supplication his Highneſſe will not denie: That an uniforme Order may be obſerued in the whole Realme, and the Biſhops and their Diligences there tryed and examined, and the Complaints of euery Perticular heard and diſcuſſed.

10. It is his Maieſties Intention to aſſiſt this Aſſemblie himſelf, or by a Nobleman of his Counſaile, his Highneſſe Deputie.

11. It is his Maieſties Intention, that, when any Pariſh findeth Neceſſitie of any Faſt, they enform the Occaſion to the Biſhop or Commiſſioner, their Counſaile, that they may vnderſtand the Cauſe to be lawfull; as lykewiſe the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, finding lawfull Occaſion, may, within the ſame, with his Counſaile, preſcribe any publike Humiliation.

12. It is his Maieſties Intention, that a generall Faſt throughout the whole Realm ſhall not be proclaimed but by his Majeſties Commaundement, or by a generall Counſaile, wherein his Maieſtie, or his Highneſſe Deputy, is preſent.

13. It is his Highneſſe Intention, that the Biſhops in the Realme in euery Dioceſſe, with their Counſaile, proceede into the Eccleſiaſticall Gouernment; but, as is ſaide, with a Counſaile, that both Tyranny and Confuſion may be avoided in the Church.

14. It is his Highneſſe Intention, that Commiſſioners be directed vniuerſally throughout the whole Realme to eſtabliſh a godly Order, and that his Maieſties Commiſſioners take Order preſently for the Tranſlation of ſuch Miniſters, whoſe Trauels they eſteeme may more conueniently and profitably ſerue in another Place.

The Lord-Treaſurer *Burleigh*'s Advice to Queen *Eliſabeth*, in Matters of Religion and State. *MS.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

CARE (one of the true-bred Children of my unfeigned Affection) awaked, with the late wicked and barbarous Attempts, would needs exerciſe my Pen to your ſacred Majeſty, not only encouraging me, that it would take the whole Fault of Boldneſs upon its Self, but alſo, that even the Words ſhould not doubt to appear in your Highneſs's Preſence in their kindly Rudeneſs: For that, if your Majeſty, with your Voice, did but read them, your very Reading would grace them with Eloquence.

Therefore, laying aſide all ſelf-guilty Conceits of Ignorance (knowing that the Sign is not angry with the well meaning Aſtronomer, though he happen to miſs his Courſe) I will, with the ſame Sincerity, diſplay my humble Conceits, wherewith my Life ſhall be amongſt the foremoſt to defend the Bleſſings, which God, in you, hath beſtowed upon us.

So far then, as can be perceived by any human Judgment, dread Sovereign, you may judge, that the Happineſs of your preſent Eſtate can no Way be encumbered, but by one of theſe two Means, *viz.*

1*ſt*, Either by your factious Subjects.
2*dly*, Or by your Foreign Enemies.

Your ſtrong and factious Subjects are the Papiſts. Strong I account them both in Number and Nature: For, by Number, they are able to raiſe a great Army, and, by their natural and mutual Confidence and Intelligence, they may ſoon bring to paſs an Uniting with Foreign

Foreign Enemies; factious I call them, becauſe they are diſcontented, of whom, in all Reaſon of State, your Majeſty muſt determine, Whether you will ſuffer them to be ſtrong, to make them the better content? Or, diſcontent them, by making them weaker? For, what the Mixture of Strength and Diſcontent ingenders, there needs no Syllogiſm to prove.

To ſuffer them to be ſtrong with Hope, that, with Reaſon, they will be contented, carrieth with it, in my Opinion, but a fair Enamelling of a terrible Danger.

For, *Firſt*, Men's Natures are apt, not only to ſtrive againſt a preſent Smart, but to revenge by paſt Injury, though they be never ſo well contented thereafter; which cannot be ſo ſufficient a Pledge to your Majeſty, but that, when Opportunity ſhall flatter them, they will remember, not the after Slacking, but the former Binding; and ſo much the more, when they ſhall imagine this Relenting to proceed from Fear: For it is the Poiſon of all Government, when the Subject thinks the Prince doth any Thing more out of Fear than Favour. And therefore, the *Romans* would rather abide the uttermoſt Extremities, than, by their Subjects, to be brought to any Conditions. Again, To make them abſolutely contented, I do not ſee how your Majeſty, either in Conſcience will do, or, in Policy, may do it; ſince, hereby, you cannot but thoroughly diſcontent your faithful Subjects; and to faſten an unreconciled Love, with the Loſing of a certain Love, is to build a Houſe with the Sale of Lands; ſo much the more, in that your Majeſty is embarked in the Proteſtant Cauſe, which, in many Reſpects, cannot, by your Majeſty, be, with any Safety, abandoned, they having been, ſo long Time, the only Inſtruments both of your Council and Power; and, to make them half content and half diſcontent, methinks, carries with it as deceitful a Shadow of Reaſon as can be, ſince there is no Pain ſo ſmall, but, if we can caſt it off, we will; and no Man loves one the better for giving him the Baſtinado, though with never ſo little a Cudgel.

But the Courſe of the moſt wiſe, moſt politick, and beſt grounded Eſtates hath ever been, to make an Aſſuredneſs of Friendſhip, or to take away all Power of Enmity.

Yet, here I muſt diſtinguiſh between Diſcontent and Deſpair; for it ſufficeth to weaken the Diſcontented, but there is no Way but to kill Deſperates, which, in ſuch a Number as they are, were as hard and difficult, as impious and ungodly.

And therefore, though they muſt be diſcontented, yet I would not have them deſperate; for, amongſt many deſperate Men, it is like ſome one will bring forth ſome deſperate Attempt.

Therefore conſidering, that the Urging of the Oath muſt needs, in ſome Degree, beget Deſpair, ſince, in the Taking of it, he muſt either think he doth an unlawful Act (as without the ſpecial Grace of God he cannot think otherwiſe) or elſe, by Refuſing it, muſt become a Traitor, which, before ſome Hurt done, ſeemeth hard: I humbly ſubmit this to your excellent Conſideration, Whether, with as much Security of your Majeſty's Perſon and State, and more Satisfaction for them, it were not better to leave the Oath to this Senſe, That whoſoever would not bear Arms againſt all Foreign Princes, and namely, the Pope, that ſhould any Way invade your Majeſty's Dominions, he ſhould be a Traitor? For, hereof, this Commodity will enſue, that thoſe Papiſts (as I think moſt Papiſts would that ſhould take this Oath) would be divided from the great mutual Confidence, which is now betwixt the Pope and them, by Reaſon of their Afflictions for him; and ſuch Prieſts as would refuſe that Oath then, no Tongue could ſay, for Shame, that they ſuffered for Religion, if they did ſuffer.

But here it may be objected, They would diſſemble and equivocate with this Oath, and that the Pope would diſpenſe with them in that Caſe. Even ſo may they, with the preſent Oath, both diſſemble and equivocate, and alſo have the Pope's *Diſpenſation* for the preſent Oath, as well as for the other. But this is certain, that whomſoever the Conſcience, or Fear of Breaking an Oath, doth bind, him would that Oath bind.

And, that they make Conſcience of an Oath, the Troubles, Loſſes, and Diſgraces that they ſuffer, for Refuſing the ſame, do ſufficiently teſtify; and you know that the Perjury of either Oath is equal.

So then, the fartheſt Point to be ſought, for their Contentment, is but to avoid their Deſpair. How to weaken their Contentment, is the next Conſideration.

Weakened they may be by two Means: *Firſt*, By leſſening their Number. *Secondly*, By taking away from their Force. Their Number will be eaſily leſſened, by the Means of careful, di-

ligent Preachers in each Pariſh, to that End appointed; and eſpecially by good Schoolmaſters, and Bringers up of their Youth; the former, by Converting them after their Fall; and the latter, by Preventing them from Falling into their Errors.

For Preachers, becauſe thereon groweth a great Queſtion, I am provoked to lay at your Highneſs's Feet my Opinion touching the preciſer Sort.

Firſt, Proteſting to God Almighty, and your ſacred Majeſty, that I am not given over, no, nor ſo much as addicted to their Preciſeneſs; therefore, till I believe that you think otherwiſe, I am bold to think that the Biſhops, in theſe dangerous Times, take a very ill and unadviſed Courſe in driving them from their Cures; and this I think for two Reaſons:

Firſt, Becauſe it doth diſcredit the Reputation and Eſtimation of your Power, when Foreign Princes ſhall perceive and know, that even amongſt your Proteſtant Subjects, in whom conſiſteth all your Force, Strength, and Power, there is ſo great a Heart-burning and Diviſion; and how much Reputation ſwayeth in theſe, and all other worldly Actions, there is none ſo ſimple, as to be ignorant: And the Papiſts themſelves (though there be moſt manifeſt and apparent Diſcord between the *Franciſcans*, the *Dominicans*, the *Jeſuits*, and other Orders of Religious Perſons, eſpecially the *Benedictines*) yet will they ſhake off none of them, becauſe, in the main Points of Popery, they all agree and hold together: And ſo far they may freely brag and vaunt of their Unity.

The other Reaſon is, becauſe, in Truth, though they are over ſqueamiſh and nice in their Opinions, and more ſcrupulous than they need; yet, with their careful Catechiſing, and diligent Preaching, they bring forth that Fruit which your moſt excellent Majeſty is to deſire and wiſh, namely, the Leſſening and Diminiſhing the Papiſtical Numbers.

And therefore, at this Time, your Majeſty hath eſpecial Cauſe to uſe and employ them, if it were but as *Frederick the Second*, that excellent Emperor, did uſe to employ the *Saracen* Soldiers againſt the Pope, becauſe he was well aſſured, and certainly knew, that they only would not ſpare his Sanctity.

And, for thoſe Objections, what they would do if once they got a full and intire Authority in the Church: Methinks they are *inter remota & incerta Mala*, and therefore, *vicina & certa*, to be firſt conſidered.

As for Schoolmaſters, they may be a principal Means of Diminiſhing their Number; the lamentable and pitiful Abuſes in this Way are eaſy to be ſeen, ſince the greateſt Number of Papiſts is of very young Men: But your Majeſty may prevent that Bud, and may uſe, therein, not only a pious and godly Means, in making the Parents, in every Shire, to ſend their Children to be virtuouſly brought up at a certain Place for that End appointed; but you ſhall alſo, if it pleaſe your Majeſty, put in Practice a notable Stratagem, uſed by *Sertorius* in *Spain*, by chooſing ſuch fit and convenient Places for the ſame, as may ſurely be at your Devotion; and, by this Means, you ſhall, under Colour of Education, have them as Hoſtages of the Parents Fidelities, that have any Power in *England*, and, by this Way, their Number will quickly be leſſened; for I account, that Putting to Death doth no Ways leſſen them, ſince we find by Experience, that it worketh no ſuch Effect, but, like *Hydra*'s Heads, upon Cutting off one, ſeven grow up, Perſecution being accounted as the Badge of the Church; and, therefore, they ſhould never have the Honour to take any Pretence of Martyrdom in *England*, where the Fulneſs of Blood, and Greatneſs of Heart, is ſuch, that they will even, for ſhameful Things, go bravely to Death; much more, when they think themſelves to climb Heaven; and this Vice of Obſtinacy ſeems, to the common People, a Divine Conſtancy; ſo that, for my Part, I wiſh no Leſſening of their Numbers, but by Preaching, and by Education of the Younger, under good Schoolmaſters.

The Weakening and Taking away of their Force is as well of Peace's Authority, as of War's Proviſion: Their Peace Authority ſtandeth either in Offices, or Tenantries. For their Offices and Credit, it will be available, if Order be taken, that, from the higheſt Counſellor to the loweſt Conſtable, none ſhall have any Charge or Office, but ſuch as will really pray and communicate in their Congregation, according to the Doctrine received generally into this Realm.

For their Tenantries, this Conceit I have thought upon (which I ſubmit to your farther piercing Judgment) that your Majeſty, in every Shire, ſhould give ſtrict Order to ſome, that

are, indeed, truſty and religious Gentlemen; that, whereas your Majeſty is given to underſtand, that divers Popiſh Landlords do hardly uſe ſome of your People and Subjects, as, being their Tenants, do embrace and live after the authoriſed and true Religion; that, therefore, you do conſtitute and appoint them, to deal both with Intreaty and Authority, that ſuch Tenants, paying as others do, be not thruſt out of their Living, nor otherwiſe unreaſonably moleſted.

This would greatly bind the Commons Hearts unto you (on whom, indeed, conſiſteth the Power and Strength of your Realm) and it will make them much leſs, or nothing at all, depend upon their Landlords. And although there may hereby grow ſome Wrong, which the Tenants, upon that Confidence, may offer to their Landlords; yet, thoſe Wrongs are very eaſily, even with one Wink of your Majeſty, redreſſed; and are nothing comparable to the Danger of having many Thouſands depending on the adverſe Party.

Their War's Proviſion I account Men and Ammunition, of whom, in Sum, I could wiſh no Man, either great or ſmall, ſhould ſo much as be trained up in any Muſters, except his Pariſhioners would anſwer for him, that he orderly and duly receiveth the Communion; and for Ammunition, that not one ſhould keep in his Houſe, or have at Command, ſo much as a Halberd, without he were conformable to the Church, and of the Condition aforeſaid.

And if Order was taken, that, conſidering they were not put to the Labour and Charge of Muſtering, and Training, therefore their Contributions ſhould be more and more narrowly looked into; this would breed a Chilneſs to their Fervour of Superſtition; eſpecially in popular Reſolutions, who, if they love *Egypt*, it is chiefly for the Fleſh-pots; ſo that, methinks, this Temper ſhould well agree with your Wiſdom, and the Merciſulneſs of your Nature.

For to compel them you would not; kill them you would not; ſo, to truſt them you ſhould not: Truſt being in no Caſe to be uſed, but where the Truſted is of one Mind with the truſting Perſon; which commandeth every wiſe Man to fly, and avoid that Shamefacedneſs of the *Greeks*, not to ſeem to doubt them which give juſt Occaſion of Doubt.

This ruined *Hercules*, the Son of great *Alexander*, for, although he had moſt maniſeſt Reaſons, and evident Arguments, to induce him to ſuſpect his ill Servant *Poliperchon*, yet, out of the Confidence he had in him, and the Experience he had of his former Loyalty, he would not make Proviſion accordingly, becauſe he would not ſeem ſo much as to miſdoubt or ſuſpect him; and ſo, by that Means, he was murthered by him.

But the Knot of this Diſcourſe is, that, if your Majeſty find it reaſonable, on the one Side, by relenting the Rigour of the Oath, and, on the other Side, by diſabling your unſound Subjects, you ſhall neither execute any, but very Traitors, in all Men's Opinions and Conſtructions, nor yet put Faith and Confidence in any but thoſe, who even for their own Sakes muſt be faithful.

The ſecond Point of the general Part of my Diſcourſe is, the Conſideration of your Foreign Enemies, which may prove either able or willing to hurt you; and thoſe are *Scotland*, for his Pretence and Neighbourhood; and *Spain*, for his Religion and Power: As for *France*, I ſee not why he ſhould not rather be made a Friend than an Enemy; for, though he agree not with your Majeſty in Matters of Conſcience and Religion, yet, in *hoc tertio*, he doth agree, that he feareth the Greatneſs of *Spain*; and therefore that may ſolder the Link which Religion hath broken, and make him hope, by your Majeſty's Friendſhip, to ſecure himſelf againſt ſo potent an Adverſary.

And, though he were evilly affected towards your Majeſty, yet, the preſent Condition of his Eſtate conſidered, I do not think it greatly to be feared, himſelf being a Prince who hath given Aſſurance to the World, that he loves his Eaſe much better than Victories, and a Prince that is neither beloved nor feared of his People: And the People themſelves being of a very light and unconſtant Diſpoſition; and beſides they are altogether unexperienced, and undiſciplined how to do their Duties, either in War or Peace; they are ready to begin and undertake any Enterpriſe before they enter into Conſideration thereof, and yet weary of it before it be well begun; they are generally poor and weak, and ſubject to Sickneſs at Sea; divided and ſubdivided into ſundry Heads, and ſeveral Factions, not only between the *Huguenots* and *Papiſts*, but alſo between the *Montmorencies* the *Guiſes* and the and the People being oppreſſed by all do hate all; ſo that, for a well ſettled and eſtabliſhed

Government and Commonwealth as your Majeſty's is, I ſee no Grounds why to miſdoubt or fear them, but only ſo far forth as the *Guiſards* happen to ſerve for *Boutefeus* in *Scotland*; and while it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty, but with reaſonable Favour to ſupport the King of *Navarre*, I do not think that the *French* King will ever ſuffer you to be from thence annoyed.

Therefore, for *France*, your Majeſty may aſſure your ſelf of one of theſe two, either to make with him a good Alliance, in reſpect of the common Enemy of both Kingdoms, or at the leaſt ſo muzzle him, as that he ſhall have little Power to bite you.

As for *Scotland*, if your Majeſty aſſiſt and help thoſe Noblemen there, which are by him ſuſpected, your Majeſty may be ſure of this, that thoſe will keep him employed at Home; and alſo, whilſt he is a Proteſtant; no Foreign Prince will take Part with him againſt your Majeſty: And of himſelf he is not able to do much Harm, the better Part of his Nobles being for your Majeſty; and, if in Time he ſhould grow to be a Papiſt, your Majeſty ſhall always have a ſtrong Party at his own Doors, in his own Kingdom, to reſtrain his Malice; who, ſince they depend upon your Majeſty, they are, in all Policy, never to be abandoned; for, by this Reſolution, the *Romans* anciently, and the *Spaniards* preſently, have moſt of all prevailed: And on the contrary the *Macedonians* in Times paſt, and the *Frenchmen* in our Age, have loſt all their Foreign Friends, becauſe of their Aptneſs to neglect thoſe who depended upon them: But, if your Majeſty could by any Means poſſible deviſe to bring in again the *Hamiltons*, he ſhould then be beaten with his own Weapons, and ſhould have more Cauſe to look to his own Succeſſion, than to be too buſy Abroad. But *Spain*, yea *Spain*, it is in which, as I conceive, all Cauſes do concur, to give a juſt Alarm to your Highneſs's excellent Judgment.

Firſt, Becauſe in Religion he is ſo much the Pope's, and the Pope in Policy ſo much his, as that whatever the Mind of Pope *Gregory*, and the Power of King *Philip*, will or can compaſs, or bring upon us, is in all Probability to be expected; himſelf being a Prince whoſe Cloſet hath brought forth greater Victories than all his Father's Journies, abſolutely ruling his Subjects, a People all one-hearted in Religion, conſtant, ambitious, politick, and valiant; the King rich and liberal, and, which of all I like worſt, greatly beloved among all the diſcontented Party of your Highneſs's Subjects; a more lively Proof whereof one could never ſee than in the poor *Don Antonio*, who, when he was here, was as much at Maſs, as any Man living, yet there did not ſo much as one Papiſt in *England* give him any good Countenance; ſo factious an Affection is borne to the *Spaniards*. Now as of him is the chief Cauſe of Doubt, ſo of him the chief Care muſt be had of Providence.

But this offers a great Queſtion, Whether it be better to procure his Amity? Or ſtop the Courſe of his Enmity? As of a great Lion, whether it be more Wiſdom, to truſt to the Taming of him, or Tying of him?

I confeſs this requires a longer and a larger Diſcourſe, and a better Diſcourſer than myſelf; and therefore I will ſtay myſelf from roving over ſo large a Field; but only, with the uſual Preſumption of Love, yield this to your gracious Conſideration.

Firſt, If you have any Intention of League, that you ſee upon what Aſſurance, or at leaſt what Likelihood, you may have that he will obſerve the ſame.

Secondly, That in a parlying Seaſon it be not as a Countenance unto him the ſooner to overthrow the *Low Countries*, which hitherto have been as a Counterſcarp to your Majeſty's Kingdom.

But, if you do not league, then your Majeſty is to think upon Means for Strengthening yourſelf, and Weakening of him, and therein your own Strength is to be tendered both at Home and Abroad.

For your home Strength, in all Reverence I leave it, as the Thing which contains in Effect the univerſal Conſideration of Government.

For your Strength Abroad, it muſt be in joining in good Confederacy, or at leaſt Intelligence, with thoſe that would willingly embrace the ſame.

Truly not ſo much as the *Turk* and *Morocco*, but at ſome Time they may ſerve your Majeſty to great Purpoſe; but from *Florence*, *Ferrara*, and eſpecially *Venice*, I think your Majeſty might reap great Aſſurance and Service, for undoubtedly they abhor his Frauds, and fear his Greatneſs.

And for the *Dutch*, and Northern Princes, being in Effect of your Majeſty's Religion, I cannot think but their Alliance may be firm, and their Power not to be contemned: Even the Countenance of united Powers doth much in Matters of State.

For the Weakening of him, I would, I muſt confeſs from my Heart, wiſh that your Majeſty did not ſpare thoroughly and manifeſtly to make War upon him both in the *Indies*, and the *Low Countries*, which would give themſelves unto you; and that you would rather take him, while he hath one Hand at Liberty, than both of them ſharply weaponed.

But, if this ſeem fooliſh Hardineſs to your Majeſty's Wiſdom, yet, I dare not preſume to counſel, but beſeech your Majeſty that what Stay and Support your Majeſty, without War, can give to the *Low Countries*, you would vouchſafe to do it, ſince, as King of *Spain*, without the *Low Countries* he may trouble our Skirts of *Ireland*, but never come to graſp with you; but, if he once reduce the *Low Countries* to an abſolute Subjection, I know not what Limits any Man of Judgment can ſet unto his Greatneſs. Divers Ways are to be tried; among the reſt one, not the worſt in my Opinion, might be to ſeek either the Winning of the Prince of *Parma* from the King of *Spain*, or at the leaſt to have the Matter ſo handled, as that the Jealouſy thereof may ariſe betwixt them; as Pope *Clement* did by the noble Marquiſs of *Peſcara*, for he practiſed with him, for Offering the Kingdom of *Naples*, not ſo much with Hope to win him, as to make his Maſter ſuſpect him. And when I conſider that *Parma* is a *Roman* by Blood, a Prince born, placed in the Place he hath, by *Don John*, and maintained in it by the Malecontents, whereunto the King hath rather yielded of Neceſſity than any other Way; laſtly, when I remember the City of *Pierouſa* kept by the *Spaniards*, and the apparent Title of his Son *Remutio* to the Crown of *Portugal*, things hardly to be digeſted by an *Italian* Stomach, I cannot ſee how ſuch a Mind in ſuch a Fortune can ſell its Self to a Foreign Servitude.

The Manner of dealing with him ſhould be by ſome Man of Spirit, with the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors at *Paris*, and afterwards with his own Father in *Italy*; both which are in their Hearts mortal Enemies to the Greatneſs of *Spain*.

But theſe Sheets of Paper bear Witneſs againſt me, of having offered too tedious a Diſcourſe to your Majeſty, divers of which Points yet, as of Mitigating the Oath, the School Hoſtages, the Heartening of Tenants, and the Dealing with the Prince of *Parma*, would require a more ample Handling; but it is firſt Reaſon to know whether your Majeſty like of the Stuff, before it be otherwiſe trimmed.

For myſelf, as I will then only love my Opinions, when your Majeſty *liketh* them; ſo will I daily pray, that all Opinions may be guided with as much Faith, as I have Zeal to your Majeſty's Service, and that they may be followed with infinite Succeſs.

Certain Orders meet to be obſerved upon any Foreign Invaſion, for thoſe Shires that lie upon the Sea Coaſts. With a Direction to the Juſtices of the Peace. *London*, Printed by *R. C.* for *Michael Sparke*, Senior, and are to be ſold at the Sign of the *Blue Bible*, in *Green-Arbour*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

THAT in every Shire be appointed one Nobleman to take the chief Charge for the Ordering and Governing of the ſame, and he to appoint a Leader of the Horſemen, and another of the Footmen, and, under them, Captains and Officers of all Sorts; which Captains may be of the better Sort inhabiting the Country, if their Courage and Skill be anſwerable for it.

The chief Leaders, both of Horſemen and Footmen, muſt be Men of that Experience, Diſcretion,

Diſcretion, Temperance, and Judgment, as well in ordering and diſpoſing of great Numbers, as alſo in taking Advantages of Grounds, Times, Occaſions, and Matters offered. And it were to be wiſhed they were ſuch in all Points, as the whole Realm might be able to furniſh every Front Shire but with two of that Conduct and Valour; that there might be alſo a Meeting and Drawing together of ſome convenient Numbers, both of Horſemen and Footmen, to be trained and exerciſed into all Manner of Sorts and Forms, as well frivolous as neceſſary, to the Intent to make them the more perfect how to give and receive a Charge. For I think, if you ſhall aſk the Opinion but of three Captains, How Horſemen ought to charge, and how they ſhould receive a Charge? And ſo likewiſe of Footmen and their Retreats, your three Captains will be of two Opinions at leaſt; and yet the firſt Thing, we offer unto the Enemy, is raſhly to join Battle, without any Foreſight of the Inconvenience thereof: A Thing ſo generally received of all our Nation, for the beſt Way, as who ſhould ſeem to impugn the ſame is in Danger to be made ridiculous, and his Reaſons to be holden for Hereſy, and not fit to be heard or read; and yet, how rude, ignorant, and untowardly we ſhould and would preſent ourſelves thereunto, make but ſome Models of convenient Numbers aſſembled, and you ſhall ſee the ſame.

In private Quarrels for trifling Cauſes, every Man deſireth to be exerciſed and ſkilful in that Weapon, wherewith he would encounter his Enemy; but, in this general Conflict, wherein we fight for the Safety of our Country, Religion, Goods, Wives, and Children, we ſhould hazard all in that Order and Form, wherein we are altogether ignorant and unexperimented.

But, becauſe I have found it, by Experience and Reaſon, a very deſperate and dangerous Kind of Trial, I would not wiſh any Prince to venture his Kingdom that Way, unleſs he be weary of the ſame, it being the only Thing for an Invader to ſeek, and a Defender to ſhun; for the one doth hazard but his People, and hath a Lot to win a Kingdom; the other, in loſing of the Battle, hath loſt his Crown.

A Battle is the laſt Refuge, and not to be yielded unto by the Defendant, until ſuch Time as he and his People are made deſperate.

In which Kind of Trial, ſeldom or never ſhall you ſee the Invader to quail; no, though his Numbers have been much leſs than the other.

There is a Kind of Heat and Fury in the Encounter and Joining of Battles; the which whoſe Side can longeſt retain, on that Part goeth Victory; contrariwiſe, which Side conceiveth the firſt Fear, whether it be upon juſt Cauſe, or not, that Side goeth to Wreck; yea, and oftentimes it falleth ſo out, before the Pikes be touched.

Thus much to the Uncertainty of Battle; wherein albeit I would wiſh our Nation to be well exerciſed and trained, it being a Thing of great Moment, yet to be uſed in our own Country, as the Sheet-anchor and laſt Refuge of all.

A Caveat for the Avoiding of that dangerous Courſe in Running down to the Sea-ſide, at the Firing of the Beacons.

THAT there be in every Shire Places appointed, whereunto the Country may reſort upon the Firing of the Beacons; which Places of Aſſembly ſhould not be leſs diſtant, than five or ſix Miles from the Sea-ſide at the leaſt, for the Footmen to gather themſelves together, to the Intent you may the better ſort your Men, put them in ſome Order, and conſult what is meeteſt to be done; which you ſhall hardly be able to do, if your Place of Aſſembly be within the View, or near unto the Enemy, who will by all Means ſeek to attempt you in your diſorderly Aſſemblies. Moreover, if Fear once take your Men, or they be amazed, if you had as ſkilful Leaders as the Earth doth bear, they would not be able to diſpoſe or reduce them into ſuch Order and Form as they would; neither will the Enemy give you Time to deliberate what is beſt to be done, but you muſt either diſorderly fight, or more diſorderly run away. And, above all Things, I eſpecially adviſe to ſhun that old and barbarous Cuſtom of running confuſedly to the Sea-ſide, thinking thereby to prevent the Landing of the Enemy, or at leaſt to annoy them greatly; which you ſhall never

never do; for, be it upon any Invaſion, you may be ſure, that there is no Prince will undertake ſo great an Enterpriſe, but he will be ſure to have ſuch a Number of Boats, Gallies, and other ſmall Veſſels of Draught, as he will be able to land at one Time two or three thouſand Men; which Boats ſhall be ſo well appointed with Baſes and other Shot, as that they will be ſure to make Way for their quiet Landing. And, for my own Part, I much doubt, whether you ſhall have in two or three Days, after the Firing of the Beacons, ſuch a ſufficient Number as, with Wiſdom and Diſcretion, were fit to deal or venture a Battle with ſo many Men as they will land in an Hour, for any Thing that ever I could yet ſee in the Country's Readineſs at the Firing of the Beacons.

If the Enemy doth intend but to land, and burn ſome Houſes or Villages near to the Sea-coaſt, for the Prevention thereof, as much as may be, it were good to appoint only thoſe, that dwell within two or three Miles of the Sea-ſide, to repair thither to make Reſiſtance; and, for their Succour, you may appoint the Horſemen to draw down to the Plains next adjoining to the ſame, who may alſo keep them at a Bay from Straggling far into the Country.

But, if the Attempt be made by a Prince purpoſed and appointed to invade, if you give them Battle at the firſt Landing, you offer them even the Thing they moſt deſire; and it is a Thouſand to One a Conqueſt the firſt Day.

My Reaſons are theſe: Firſt, You give Battle, but, I pray, with what People? Even with Countrymen altogether unexperimented in martial Actions, whoſe Leaders are like to themſelves; and another Thing, as dangerous as all this, You fight at Home, where your People know the next Way to ſave themſelves by Flight, in recovering of Towns, Woods, and By-ways.

Contrariwiſe, with whom do you encounter but with a Company of picked and trained Soldiers, whoſe Leaders and Captains are, no doubt, Men both politick and valiant, who are made ſo much the more deſperate and bold, by not leaving to themſelves any other Hope to ſave their Lives, but by marching over your Bellies. And beſides, it is to be imagined, that, having ſpread ſome Faction before, amongſt yourſelves, as there is no Country free from ſeditious and treacherous Malecontents, they are animated to purſue the Victory more ſharply. Again, if you once receive an Overthrow, what Fear and Terror you have brought yourſelves into, how hardly you ſhall bring a ſecond Battle, and how dangerous to fight with Men diſmayed, thoſe that are of Experience can judge. Likewiſe what Pride and Jollity you have put your Enemies in, to march forward, having no Forts, nor fenced Towns, to give them any Stop in this Fear, or for your own People to take Breath, and make Head again; but that your Enemies and factious Companies of your own Nation may join together, and be furniſhed with Victuals, Horſe, and Carriage at their Will and Pleaſure, without which no Prince can prevail in any Invaſion; for, if you drive him to bring theſe Things with him (as, if Matters be well foreſeen, and a good Plot laid, you may eaſily do) a World of Shipping will ſcarce ſuffice for the Tranſportation thereof, beſides an infinite Maſs and Charge, that muſt be provided before-hand; yea, and what Waſte and Loſs thereof will fall out, though Wind, Weather, and Shipping were had to paſs without Diſturbance, Experience thereof remaineth yet freſh in Memory.

Again, if Scarcity of Victuals and Unſavouriness thereof once grow, the Peſtilence and other Sickneſs (which aſſail the beſt victualled and ordered Army that ever was) will then be doubled and trebled, in ſuch Sort, that it will, in a ſhort Time, fight and get the Victory for you.

And here, by the Way, I would put you in Remembrance, that there be continual Lets and Diſturbances by your Navy of the quiet Paſſing of their Victuals which ſhould come unto them; whereof you ſhall oftentimes take Advantage alſo by Storms and contrary Winds.

Wherefore I hold it for the beſt and ſureſt Way to ſuffer the Enemy, coming to invade, to land quietly at his Pleaſure; which he will otherwiſe do, whether you will or not: Only fronting him in the Plains with your Horſemen; and by all Means and Diligence to draw the Victuals, Cattle, Carriages, and Corn behind your Back; and that which you cannot, to waſte and ſpoil, that the Enemy take no Advantage thereof, keeping ſuch Streights and Paſſages with your Footmen, as may be kept;

great

and which, with ſmall Numbers of your Horſemen, you may ſafely do, until great Power do come to back you. And, though they win ſome Streight, which they cannot do without great Loſs, yet, by keeping of Back-receipts in Streights, you ſhall always (if you be ſodriven) retire without any great Loſs or Danger: And always remember to leave a Ward in every Place meet to be guarded, though it be but of twenty or thirty Perſons, which will be an Occaſion for the Enemy to ſtop the Winning of them before they can paſs; becauſe elſe thoſe few Numbers will always annoy their Victuals and Ammunition, that daily and hourly muſt have free and quiet Paſſage to them. Now, if they tarry the Winning or Yielding of them up, though it be but a Day or two kept, you get thereby Time to yourſelves to grow ſtronger, and your Enemy loſeth Opportunity, and waxeth weaker.

For we ſee, and find by Experience, that huge Armies, lying in the Fields but fifteen or ſixteen Weeks, are brought to that Weakneſs, and their firſt Courage ſo abated by Sickneſs and Peſtilence, which are Handmaids unto ſuch great Aſſemblies, eſpecially where any Want of thoſe Things is that belong to the Suſtentation of Man's Body, that they may, with ſmaller Numbers and leſs Danger, be dealt withal, than at the firſt Landing. Moreover, your People ſhall, in that Time, attain to ſome Knowledge, by daily Exerciſe and Uſe of their Weapons; and the Terror of Shot will be more familiar unto them: For it is not Numbers that do prevail, but trained Men, reſolute Minds, and good Order. For, if a Prince would only ſelect and chooſe out ſuch Men to wear Armour, and employ the reſt, I mean the baſer Sort, to the Spade and Shovel, there is no Doubt but he ſhall ſooner attain unto Victory by this Means, than with rude Multitudes, in whom there is nothing but Confuſion and Diſorder.

Again, the Spade and the Shovel are ſo neceſſary Inſtruments of War, both to the Invader and Defender, as nothing is ſo impoſſible, that thereby may not be atchieved, and made eaſy: And, without the Employment whereof, we cannot preſume, at any Time, of Safety. I could diſcourſe at large hereof, in ſhewing the Uſe and Benefit of them: But, becauſe to every Man of Judgment and Experience it is ſufficiently known, I ſhall not need to ſpeak much therein; but wiſh you to embrace them, it being to a Defender ſo ſpecial and ſingular a Commodity, in that he may better be furniſhed with infinite Numbers of them.

And moreover, if you ſhall appoint them to Weapons, who are apter to labour than to fight, you ſhall find double Inconveniences thereby, in miſplacing them contrary to their natural Diſpoſition and Uſe.

And, touching my own Opinion and Judgment, I ſhould more ſtand in Fear of a few picked and choice Soldiers, that were furniſhed with a ſufficient Number of Pioneers; than with the Hugeneſs of an Army of unſelect and diſfurniſhed Numbers. Now, to ſay ſomewhat by the Way, touching your armed Pikes, the only Body, Strength, and Bulwark in the Field: It is not a little to be lamented, to ſee no more Store in this Land. We have ſo wonderfully weakened ourſelves, that it is high Time to look to the reſtoring of them again. And touching the Uſe of Shot, as it is a ſingular Weapon, being put into the Hands of the skilful and exerciſed Soldier, being the Pillar and Upholder of the Pikes, and without which he is no perfect Body: So no doubt, on the contrary Part, committed to a Coward's, or an unskilful Man's Handling, it is the privieſt Thief in the Field. For he robbeth Pay, conſumeth Victuals, and ſlayeth his own Fellows, in diſcharging behind their Backs. And one Thing even as ill as this, he continually waſteth Powder, the moſt precious Jewel of a Prince.

Wherefore, I would wiſh Captains not only to reject ſuch as are altogether unapt, but greatly to commend them that diſcharge but few Shots, and beſtow them well. For it is more worthy of Praiſe to diſcharge fair and leaſurely, than faſt and unaviſedly: The one taking Advantage by Warineſs and Foreſight, whereas the other loſeth all with Raſhneſs and Haſte.

But to return to the Pike again. Myſelf being in the *Low Countries* in the Camp, when thoſe great Armies were laſt aſſembled, and peruſing, in every ſeveral Regiment, the Sorting and Diviſion of Weapons, as well as their Order and Diſcipline: There were two Nations, the *French* being one, that had not, betwixt them both, and hundred Pikes. Whereof I much marvelling, and deſiring greatly to know the Cauſe that had moved them to leave the Pike, which, in my Conceit I always judged the Strength of the Field;

hap-

happening afterward into the Company of certain *French* Captains, ſome of them ancient in Years, and ſuch as were of the Religion, I demanded the Reaſon that had moved them to give over that defenſible Weapon the Pike, and betake them altogether to Shot. Not for any Diſliking, or other Cauſe, ſaid they, but for that we have not ſuch perſonable Bodies, as you *Engliſhmen* have, to bear them; neither have we them at that Commandment as you have, but are forced to hire other Nations to ſupply our Inſufficiency, for, of ourſelves, we cannot ſay we can make a compleat Body. Moreover, they affirmed, that, if in the Time of *Newhaven* we had let them have ſix-thouſand of our armed Pikes, they would have marched through all *France*; ſo highly eſteemed they the Pike, who nevertheleſs, in our Judgment, ſeem to have given over the ſame, or to make ſmall Account thereof.

Moreover, for the better and readier ordering and training of your Men in every Shire: Thoſe, that are appointed to be Captains, ſhould have, under every of their ſeveral Charges, only one Sort of Weapons, *viz.* one Captain to have the Charge of Pikes, another of Shot, *&c.* And no Man's Band to be leſs than two-hundred Men. By Means whereof, your Serjeant-Major, or ſuch to whom you ſhall commit the Order of your Footmen, may, from Time to Time, readily know the Numbers of every Sort of Weapons, whereby he will at one Inſtant range them into any Order and Form of Battle you will have them. And every Captain and his Officers ſhall ſerve with their own Men, which is a Matter of great Contentment to both Captain and Soldier. For otherwiſe, if he have Charge of more Sorts of Weapons, then muſt he either disjoin himſelf from his Officers in Time of Service, or elſe he muſt commit his Men under another Man's Direction, which breedeth oftentimes great Diſliking and Murmur.

Orders for the Proviſion and Guard of the Beacons.

FIRST, That the Beacons be provided of good Matter and Stuff, as well for the ſudden Kindling of the Fires, as alſo for the Continuance thereof.

That the Beacons and Watch-places, appointed to give Warning unto the Country, of the Landing or Invaſion of the Enemy, be ſubſtantially guarded with a ſufficient Company; whereof, one principal Perſon of good Diſcretion to have the chief Charge, at all Times, of every Beacon.

That the Beacons that are next to the Sea-Side, and are appointed to give the firſt Warning, may be very ſufficiently guarded, as well with Horſemen as Footmen, whereof ſome diſcreet Soldier, or Man of Judgment, to have the chief Charge, as hath been ſaid before, who muſt be very reſpective and careful, that he give not any Alarm upon light Matter or Occaſion: Nothing being more dangerous than falſe Alarms to breed a Contempt and Security.

Your Horſemen muſt be ready to give Warning to the other Beacons in the Country, leſt by Weather they may be prevented, that they cannot kindle Fire, or elſe the Enemy may hinder them by ſudden Aſſault; and ſo either let the Kindling of them, or extinguiſh the Fire newly kindled, before the other Beacons can take Knowledge thereof. For it is always to be feared, that the Enemy will ſeek, by all Means and Policy, not only to ſurpriſe the Beacons, that are next the Sea ſide, and ſhould give firſt Intelligence unto the Country; but alſo ſuch as are appointed to guard them, if their Watchfulneſs prevent them not.

Other neceſſary Notes to be obſerved.

THAT there may be Order taken to have a Store of Powder, Match, Bullets ready caſt, Moulds of divers Bores, Charges, Bow-ſtrings, Shooting-Gloves, Warbraſſes, and ſuch other Neceſſaries fit to be uſed at that Time: Whereof (I doubt me) whether the whole Shire be able to furniſh the tenth Part, that would be required. Whereof it were good to be provided aforehand, and brought in Carts, to thoſe Places of Aſſembly; whereby Men

may be readily furniſhed for their Money, and the Service nothing hindered in Time of Need.

That it be looked unto, by ſuch as have Charge to take the View of Men, and their Weapons, that every Shot be provided of a Mould, a Priming Pin, a Ferries, a Flint, and Match Powder, which Things are as needful to be ſeen into, as the Piece itſelf, although few provide and make Reckoning thereof.

That, in the ſaid Muſters and Aſſemblies, there be good Numbers of Labourers appointed, who may alſo be aſſigned to have a Spade, a Mattock, a Shovel, an Ax, or a Bill. And theſe Pioneers, to reſort to the Places of Aſſembly, at every Alarm; over whom, ſhould be a ſkilful Engineer appointed, to have the chief Charge and Government.

And, whereas you have great Numbers of Hacknies or Hobblers, I could wiſh, that upon them you mount as many of the higheſt and nimbleſt Shot as you can, which may be ſent down to the Sea-ſide upon every Alarm, or to ſuch Streights and Places of Advantage, as to a diſcreet Leader ſhall ſeem convenient. The which Arguliteers ſhall ſtand you in as great Stead, as Horſe of better Account.

For, by the Means of them, Men will take great Courage to offer a proud Attempt upon the Enemy, being aſſured of their Succour, if any Occaſion or Appearance of Danger force them to retire.

It were conſiderable, that all the Youth of the Land were well prepared with Bows and Arrows. For in woody Places, or behind Banks, or in other Places theſe might annoy the Horſe and Men: Witneſs the brave Battles atchieved in *France*, by Bowmen; and theſe Arms would ſupply many Thouſands, which are not able to get better.

The old, old, very old Man*: Or, The Age and long Life of *Thomas Parr*, the Son of *John Parr*, of *Winnington*, in the Pariſh of *Alberbury*, in the County of *Salop* (or *Shropſhire*) who was born in the Reign of King *Edward the Fourth*, in the Year 1483. He lived one-hundred and fifty-two Years, nine Months, and odd Days, and departed this Life, at *Weſtminſter*, the Fifteenth of *November*, 1635, and is now buried in the Abbey at *Weſtminſter*. His Manner of Life and Converſation in ſo long a Pilgrimage; his Marriages, and his Bringing up to *London*, about the End of *September* laſt, 1635. Whereunto is added a Poſtſcript, ſhewing the many remarkable Accidents that happened in the Life of this old Man. Written by *John Taylor*. *London*, Printed for *Henry Goſſon*, at his Shop on *London-Bridge*, near to the Gate, 1635. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages.

* This is the 2360th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

To

To the High and Mighty Prince *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

OF Subjects, my dread Liege, 'tis manifeſt,
I've had the old'ſt, the greateſt, and the leaſt:
That, for an old, a great, and little Man,
No Kingdom, ſure, compare with Britain *can;*
One, for his extraordinary Stature,
Guards well your Gates, and by Inſtinct of Nature,
As he is ſtrong, is loyal, true and juſt,
Fit, and moſt able, for his Charge and Truſt.
The other's ſmall and well compoſed Feature
Deſerves the Title of a pretty Creature:
And doth, or may, retain as good a Mind
As greater Men, and be as well inclin'd:
He may be great in Spir't, though ſmall in Sight,
Whilſt all his beſt of Service is Delight.
The old'ſt your Subject was; but, for my Uſe,
I make him here the Subject of my Muſe:
And as his aged Perſon gain'd the Grace,
That where his Sovereign was, to be in Place,
And kiſs your royal Hand; I humbly crave,
His Life's Deſcription may Acceptance have.
And, as your Majeſty hath oft before
Look'd on my Poems, pray, read this one more.

Your Majeſty's

Moſt humble Subject

And Servant,

John Taylor.

The Occaſion of this old Man's being brought out of Shropſhire *to* London.

AS it is impoſſible for the Sun to be without Light, or Fire to have no Heat; ſo is it undeniable that true Honour is as inſeparably addicted to Virtue, as the Steel to the Loadſtone; and, without great Violence, neither the one or the other can be ſundered. Which manifeſtly appears in the Conveying out of the Country of this poor ancient Man; a Monument, I may ſay, and almoſt Miracle of Nature.

For the Right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, Earl Marſhal of *England*, *&c.* being lately in *Shropſhire* to viſit ſome Lands and Manors which his Lordſhip holds in that Country, or for ſome other Occaſions of Importance, which cauſed his Lordſhip to be there: The Report of this aged Man was certified to his Honour; who hearing of ſo remarkable a Piece of Antiquity, his Lordſhip was pleaſed to ſee him, and, in his innate Noble and Chriſtian Piety, he took him into his

charitable Tuition and Protection; commanding that a Litter and two Horſes (for the more eaſy Carriage of a Man ſo enfeebled and worn with Age) be provided for him; alſo, that a Daughter-in-law of his (named *Lucy*) ſhould likewiſe attend him, and have a Horſe for her own Riding with him; and (to chear up the old Man, and make him merry) there was an antick-faced Fellow, called *Jack*, or *John the Fool*, with a high and mighty no Beard, that had alſo a Horſe for his Carriage. Theſe all were to be brought out of the Country to *London* by eaſy Journies, the Charges being allowed by his Lordſhip, and likewiſe one of his Honour's own Servants, named *Brian Kelley*, to ride on Horſeback with them, and to attend and defray all Manner of Reckonings and Expences; all which was done accordingly, as follows:

Winnington is a Hamlet in the Pariſh of *Alberbury*, near a Place called the *Welch Pool*, eight Miles from *Shrewſbury*, from whence he was carried to *Wim*, a Town of the Earl's aforeſaid; and the next Day to *Shefnall* (a Manor Houſe of his Lordſhip's) where they likewiſe ſtaid one Night; from *Shefnall* they came to *Woolverhampton*, and the next Day to *Brimingham*, and from thence to *Coventry*; and, although Maſter *Kelley* had much to do to keep the People off that preſſed upon him in all Places where he came, yet at *Coventry* he was moſt oppreſſed; for they came in ſuch Multitudes to ſee the old Man, that thoſe that defended him were almoſt quite tired and ſpent, and the aged Man in Danger to have been ſtifled; and, in a Word, the Rabble were ſo unruly, that *Brian* was in Doubt he ſhould bring his Charge no further, ſo greedy are the Vulgar to hearken to, or gaze after Novelties. The Trouble being over, the next Day they paſſed to *Daventry*, to *Stoney Stratford*, to *Redburn*, and ſo to *London*, where he is well entertained and accommodated with all Things, having all the aforeſaid Attendants, at the ſole Charge and Coſt of his Lordſhip.

One remarkable Paſſage of the old Man's Policy muſt not be omitted or forgotten, which is thus:

His three Leaſes of ſixty-three Years being expired, he took his laſt Leaſe of his Landlord, one Maſter *John Porter*, for his Life, with which Leaſe he did live more than fifty Years, as is further hereafter declared; but this old Man would, for his Wife's Sake, renew his Leaſe for Years, which his Landlord would not conſent unto; wherefore old *Parr*, having been long blind, ſitting in his Chair by the Fire, his Wife looked out of the Window, and perceived Maſter *Edward Porter*, the Son of his Landlord, to come towards their Houſe, which ſhe told her Huſband, ſaying, Huſband, our young Landlord is coming hither: Is he ſo, ſaid old *Parr*; I prithee, Wife, lay a Pin on the Ground near my Foot, or at my Right-toe; which ſhe did; and when young Maſter *Porter*, yet forty Years old, was come into the Houſe, after Salutations between them, the old Man ſaid, Wife, is not that a Pin which lies at my Foot? Truly, Huſband, quoth ſhe, it is a Pin indeed; ſo ſhe took up the Pin, and Maſter *Porter* was half in Amaze that the old Man had recovered his Sight again; but it was quickly found to be a witty Conceit, thereby to have them to ſuppoſe him to be more lively than he was, becauſe he hoped to have his Leaſe renewed for his Wife's Sake, as aforeſaid.

He hath had two Children by his firſt Wife, a Son and a Daughter; the Boy's Name was *John*, and lived but ten Weeks; the Girl was named *Joan*, and ſhe lived but three Weeks. So that it appears he did out-live the moſt Part of the People that are living near there, three Times over.

The Life of Thomas Parr.

AN old Man's twice a Child, the Proverb ſays,
And many old Men ne'er ſaw half his Days
Of whom I write; for he at firſt had Life,
When *York* and *Lancaſter*'s Domeſtick Strife
In her own Blood had factious *England* drench'd,
Until ſweet Peace thoſe Civil Flames had quench'd.
Whenas *Fourth Edward*'s Reign to End drew nigh,
John Parr, a Man that lived by Huſbandry,
Begot this *Thomas Parr*, and born was he
The Year of fourteen-hundred eighty-three;
And as his Father's Living, and his Trade,
Was Plough, and Cart, Scithe, Sickle, Bill, and Spade,

The

The Harrow, Mattock, Flail, Rake, Fork, and Goad,
And Whip, and how to load, and to unload;
Old *Tom* hath ſhew'd himſelf the Son of *John*,
And from his Father's Function hath not gone.
Yet I have read of as mean Pedigrees
That have attain'd to noble Dignities:
Agathocles, a Potter's Son, and yet
The Kingdom of *Sicily* he did get.
Great *Tamerlane* a *Scythian* Shepherd was,
Yet, in his Time, all Princes did ſurpaſs.
Firſt *Ptolemy*, the King of *Egypt*'s Land,
A poor Man's Son of *Alexander*'s Band.
Diocleſian, Emp'ror, was a Scriv'ner's Son,
And *Proba* from a Gard'ner th' Empire won.
Pertinax was a Bondman's Son, and wan
The Empire; ſo did *Valentinian*,
Who was the Off-ſpring of a Rope-maker,
And *Maximinus* of a Mule-driver.
And, if I on the Truth do rightly glance,
Hugh Capet was a Butcher, King of *France*.
By this I have digreſs'd, I have expreſt
Promotion comes not from the Eaſt or Weſt.
So much for that, now to my Theme again:
This *Thomas Parr* did live th' expir'd Reigns
Of ten great Kings and Queens, th' eleventh now ſways
The Scepter, bleſs'd by th' Ancient of all Days.
He did ſurvive the *Edwards Fourth* and *Fifth*,
And the *Third Richard*, who made many a Shift
To place the Crown on his ambitious Head;
The *Seventh* and *Eighth* brave *Henries* both are dead,
Sixth Edward, *Mary*, *Philip*, *Eliſabeth*,
And bleſs'd remember'd *James* — all theſe by Death
Have changed Life, and almoſt 'leven Years ſince
The happy Reign of *Charles* our gracious Prince;
Tom Parr did live, as by Record appears,
Nine Months, one hundred fifty and two Years.
Amongſt the Learn'd, 'tis held in general,
That every ſeventh Year's Climacterical,
And dang'rous to Man's Life, and that may be
Moſt perilous at th' Age of Sixty-three,
Which is, nine Climactericals; but this Man
Of whom I write (ſince firſt his Life began)
Did live of Climactericals ſuch Plenty,
That he did almoſt out-live two and twenty.
For by Records, and true Certificate,
From *Shropſhire* late, Relations do relate,
That he liv'd 17 Years with *John* his Father,
And 18 with a Maſter, which I gather
To be full thirty-five; his Sire's Deceaſe
Left him four Years Poſſeſſion of a Leaſe;
Which paſt, *Lew's Porter*, Gentleman, did then
For twenty-one Years grant his Leaſe agen:
That Leaſe expir'd, the Son of *Lew's*, call'd *John*,
Let him the like Leaſe, and, that Time being gone,
Then *Hugh*, the Son of *John* (laſt nam'd before)
For one and twenty Years ſold one Leaſe more.
And laſtly, he hath held from *John*, *Hugh*'s Son,
A Leaſe for's Life theſe fifty Years out-run:
And, when old *Thomas Parr* to Earth again
Return'd, the laſt Leaſe did his own remain.
Thus having ſhew'd th'Extenſion of his Age,
I'll ſhew ſome Actions of his Pilgrimage.
A tedious Time a Batchelor he tarry'd,
Full eighty Years of Age before he marry'd:
His Continence to Queſtion I'll not call,
Man's Frailty's weak, and oft doth ſlip and fall.
No doubt but he in fourſcore Years might find,
In *Salop*'s County, Females fair and kind:
But what have I to do with that? Let paſs.
At th'Age aforeſaid he firſt marry'd was
To *Jane*, *John Taylor*'s Daughter; and 'tis ſaid,
That ſhe (before he had her) was a Maid.
With her he liv'd Years three Times ten and two,
And then ſhe dy'd, as all good Wives will do.
She dead, he ten Years did a Widower ſtay;
Then once more ventur'd in the wedlock Way:
And, in Affection to his firſt Wife *Jane*,
He took another of that Name again,
With whom he late did live; ſhe was a Widow
To one nam'd *Anthony*, and ſurnam'd *Adda*;
She was (as by Report it doth appear)
Of *Gillſel*'s Pariſh, in *Montgom'ryſhire*,
The Daughter of *John Lloyd*, corruptly *Flood*,
Of ancient Houſe, and gentle *Cambrian* Blood.
But hold, I had forgot, in's firſt Wife's Time,
He frailly, foully, fell into a Crime,
Which richer, poorer, older Men, and younger,
More baſe, more noble, weaker Men, and ſtronger,
Have fallen into.
The *Cytherean*, or the *Paphian* Game,
That thund'ring *Jupiter* did oft inflame;
Moſt cruel cut-throat *Mars* laid by his Arms,
And was a Slave to Love's inchanting Charms;
And many a Pagan God, and Semi-god,
The common Road of luſtful Love hath trod:
For, from the Emp'ror to the Ruſſet Clown,
All States, each Sex, from Cottage to the Crown,

Have,

Have, in all Ages ſince the firſt Creation,
Been foil'd, and overthrown with Love's Temptation:
So was old *Thomas*, for he chanc'd to ſpy
A Beauty, and Love enter'd at his Eye,
Whoſe pow'rful Motion drew on ſweet Conſent,
Conſent drew Action, Action drew Content;
But, when the Period of thoſe Joys were paſt,
Thoſe ſweet Delights were ſowrely ſauc'd at laſt.
The Fleſh retains what in the Bone is bred,
And one Colt's Tooth was then in old *Tom*'s Head:
It may be, he was gull'd as ſome have been,
And ſuffer'd Puniſhment for others Sin;
For Pleaſure's like a Trap, a Gin, or Snare,
Or, like a painted Harlot, ſeems moſt fair;
But, when ſhe goes away, and takes her Leave,
No ugly Beaſt ſo foul a Shape can have.
Fair *Catharine Milton* was this Beauty bright,
Fair like an Angel, but in Weight too light,
Whoſe fervent Features did inflame ſo far
The ardent Fervour of old *Thomas Parr*,
That, for Law's Satisfaction, 'twas thought meet,
He ſhould be purg'd, by ſtanding in a Sheet,
Which aged, he, one hundred and five Year,
In *Alberbury*'s Pariſh Church did wear.
Should all, that ſo offend, ſuch Penance do,
Oh, what a Price would Linnen riſe unto?
All would be turn'd to Sheets, our Shirts and Smocks,
Our Table-Linnen, very Porters Frocks,
Would hardly 'ſcape transforming; but all's one,
He ſuffer'd, and his Puniſhment is done.
But to proceed, more ſerious in Relation,
He is a Wonder, worthy Admiration;
He's, in theſe Times, fill'd with Iniquity,
No Antiquary, but Antiquity;
For his Longevity's of ſuch Extent,
That he's a living mortal Monument.
And as high Towers, that ſeem the Sky to ſhoulder,
By eating Time, conſume away, and moulder,
Until, at laſt, in Piece-meal they do fall,
Till they are buried in their Ruins all:
So this old Man his Limbs their Strength have left,
His Teeth all gone, but one, his Sight bereft,
His Sinews ſhrunk, his Blood moſt chill and cold,
Small Solace, Imperfections manifold:
Yet did his Sp'rits poſſeſs his mortal Trunk,
Nor were his Senſes in his Ruins ſhrunk:
But that with Hearing quick, and Stomach good,
He'd feed well, ſleep well, well digeſt his Food.
He would ſpeak heartily, laugh, and be merry,
Drink Alé, and now and then a Cup of Sherry;
Lov'd Company, and Underſtanding talk,
And, on both Sides held up, would ſometimes walk.
And, though old Age his Face with Wrinkles fill,
He hath been handſome, and was comely ſtill,
Well-fac'd, and, though his Beard not oft corrected,
Yet neat it grew, not like a Beard neglected;
From Head to Heel, his Body had all over
A Quick-ſet, Thick-ſet nat'ral hairy Cover.
And thus (as my dull weak Invention can)
I have anatomiz'd this poor old Man.
Though Age be incident to moſt tranſgreſſing,
Yet Time, well ſpent, makes Age to be a Bleſſing.
And, if our Studies would but deign to look,
And ſeriouſly to ponder Nature's Book,
We there may read, that Man, the nobleſt Creature,
By Riot and Exceſs, doth murder Nature.
This Man ne'er fed on dear compounded Diſhes,
Of metamorphos'd Beaſts, Fruits, Fowls, and Fiſhes.
The Earth, and Air, the boundleſs Ocean,
Were never rak'd nor forag'd for this Man;
Nor ever did Phyſician, to his Coſt,
Send purging Phyſick through his Guts in Poſt:
In all his Life-time he was never known,
That, drinking others Healths, he loſt his own.
The *Dutch*, the *French*, the *Greek*, and *Spaniſh* Grape
Upon his Reaſon never made a Rape;
For Riot is for *Troy* an Anagram,
And Riot waſted *Troy*, with Sword and Flame;
And ſurely that, which will a Kingdom ſpill,
Hath much more Power one ſilly Man to kill;
Whilſt Senſuality the Palate pleaſes,
The Body's fill'd with Surfeits and Diſeaſes;
By Riot, more than War, Men ſlaughter'd be,
From which Confuſion, this old Man was free.
He once was catch'd in the Venereal Sin,
And, being puniſh'd, did Experience win;
That careful Fear his Conſcience ſo did ſtrike,
He never would again attempt the like.

Which

Which to our Underſtandings may expreſs,
Men's Days are ſhorten'd through Laſciviouſneſs:
And that a competent contenting Diet
Makes Men live long, and ſoundly ſleep in Quiet.
Miſtake me not, I ſpeak not to debar
Good Fare of all Sorts, for all Creatures are
Made for Man's Uſe, and may by Man be us'd,
Not by voracious Guttony abus'd.
For he that dares to ſcandal or deprave
Good Houſekeeping; Oh! hang up ſuch a Knave:
Rather commend, what is not to be found,
Than injure that, which makes the World renown'd.
Bounty hath got a Spice of Lethargy,
And liberal noble Hoſpitality
Lies in Conſumption, almoſt pin'd to Death,
And Charity benumb'd, ne'er out of Breath.
May *England*'s few good Houſekeepers be bleſt,
With endleſs Glory, and eternal Reſt;
And may their Goods, Lands, and their happy Seed,
With Heav'n's beſt Bleſſings, multiply and breed.
'Tis Madneſs to build high, with Stone and Lime,
Great Houſes, that may ſeem the Clouds to clime;
With ſpacious Halls, large Galleries, brave Rooms,
Fit to receive a King, Peers, 'Squires, and Grooms;
Amongſt which Rooms, the Devil hath put a Witch in,
And made a ſmall Tobacco-box the Kitchin;
For Covetouſneſs the Mint of Miſchief is,
And Chriſtian Bounty the High-way to Bliſs.
To wear a Farm in Shoe-ſtrings edg'd with Gold,
And ſpangled Garters worth a Copy-hold:
A Hoſe and Doublet, which a Lordſhip coſt;
A gawdy Cloke, three Manors Price almoſt;
A Beaver, Band, and Feather for the Head,
Priz'd at the Church's Tythe, the poor Man's Bread;
For which the Wearers are fear'd, and abhorr'd,
Like *Jeroboam*'s golden Calves ador'd.
This double, treble-aged Man, I wot,
Knew and remember'd, when theſe Things were not.
Good wholſome Labour was his Exerciſe,
Down with the Lamb, and with the Lark would riſe;
In Mire and toiling Sweat he ſpent the Day,
And to his Team he whiſtled Time away:
The Cock his Night-Clock, and, till Day was done,
His Watch, and chief Sun-Dial, was the Sun.
He was of old *Pythagoras*' Opinion,
That green Cheeſe was moſt wholſome, with an Onion;
Coarſe Meſlin Bread, and for his daily Swig,
Milk, Butter-milk, and Water, Whey, and Whig:
Sometimes Metheglin, and by Fortune happy,
He ſometimes ſip'd a Cup of Ale moſt nappy,
Cyder, or Perry, when he did repair,
T'a *Whitſon* Ale, Wake, Wedding, or a Fair:
Or when in *Chriſtmas* Time he was a Gueſt,
At his good Landlord's Houſe amongſt the reſt:
Elſe he had little Leiſure-time to waſte,
Or, at the Alehouſe, huff-cap Ale to taſte;
Nor did he ever hunt a Tavern Fox,
Ne'er knew a Coach, Tobacco, or the Pox.
His Phyſick was good Butter, which the Soil
Of *Salop* yields, more ſweet than *Candy* Oil;
And Garlick he eſteem'd above the Rate
Of *Venice* Treacle, or beſt *Mithridate*.
He entertain'd no Gout, no Ach he felt,
The Air was good, and temp'rate, where he dwelt,
Whilſt Maviſſes, and ſweet tongu'd Nightingales,
Did chant him Roundelays, and Madrigals.
Thus Living within Bounds of Nature's Laws,
Of his long laſting Life, may be ſome Cauſe:
For, though th'Almighty all Man's Days doth meaſure,
And doth diſpoſe of Life and Death at Pleaſure,
Yet, Nature being wrong'd, Man's Days and Date
May be abridg'd, and God may tolerate.
But had the Father of this *Thomas Parr*,
His Grandfather, and his Great Grandfather;
Had their Lives Threads ſo long a Length been ſpun,
They by Succeſſion might, from Sire to Son,
Have been unwritten Chronicles, and by
Tradition ſhew Time's Mutability:
Then *Parr* might ſay, he heard his Father well
Say, that his Grand ſire heard his Father tell
The Death of famous *Edward the Confeſſor*,
Harold, and *William* Conq'ror, his Succeſſor;

How

How his Son *Robert* won *Jeruſalem*,
O'ercame the *Saracens*, and conquer'd them:
How *Rufus* reign'd, and's Brother *Henry* next,
And how uſurping *Stev'n* this Kingdom vext:
How *Maud* the Empreſs, the firſt *Henry*'s Daughter,
To gain her Right, fill'd *England* full of Slaughter:
Of *Second Henry*'s *Roſamond the Fair*,
Of *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, his brave Heir,
King *John*, and of the foul Suſpicion
Of *Arthur*'s Death, *John*'s elder Brother's Son.
Of the *Third Henry*'s long Reign, ſixty Years,
The Barons Wars, the Loſs of wrangling Peers,
How *Long-ſhanks* did the *Scots* and *French* convince,
Tam'd *Wales*, and made his hapleſs Son their Prince.
How *Second Edward* was *Caernarvon* call'd,
Beaten by *Scots*, and by his Queen enthrall'd.
How the *Third Edward* fifty Years did reign,
And th' honour'd Garter's Order did ordain.
Next how the *Second Richard* liv'd and dy'd,
And how *Fourth Henry*'s Faction did divide
The Realm with civil, moſt uncivil War,
'Twixt long contending *York* and *Lancaſter*.
How the *Fifth Henry* ſway'd, and how his Son,
Sixth Henry, a ſad Pilgrimage did run.
Then of *Fourth Edward*, and fair Miſtreſs *Shore*,
King *Edward*'s Concubine, Lord *Haſtings*——
Then how *Fifth Edward*, murther'd with a Trick
Of the *Third Richard*, and then how that *Dick*
Was by *Seventh Henry* ſlain at *Boſworth* Field,
How he and's Son, th' *Eighth Henry*, here did wield
The Scepter; how *Sixth Edward* ſway'd,
How *Mary* rul'd, and how that Royal Maid
Elizabeth did govern, beſt of Dames,
And Phœnix like expired; and how juſt *James*,
Another Phœnix, from her Aſhes claims,
The Right of *Britain*'s Scepter, as his own,
But, changing for a better, left the Crown,
Where now 'tis, with King *Charles*, and may it be
With him, and his moſt bleſs'd Poſterity,
Till Time ſhall end; be they on Earth renown'd
And after with Eternity be crown'd.
Thus, had *Parr* had good Breeding, without Reading,
He from his Sire, and Grand-ſire's Sire, proceeding,
By Word of Mouth had told moſt famous Things,
Done in the Reigns of all thoſe Queens and Kings.
But he in Huſbandry hath been brought up,
And ne'er did taſte the *Heliconian* Cup;
He ne'er knew Hiſtory, nor in Mind did keep
Aught, but the Price of Corn, Hay, Kine, or Sheep.
Day found him Work, and Night allow'd him Reſt,
Nor did Affairs of State his Brain moleſt:
His high'ſt Ambition was a Tree to lop,
Or at the furtheſt to a May-pole's Top;
His Recreation, and his Mirth's Diſcourſe,
Hath been the Piper, and the Hobby-horſe.
And in this ſimple Sort he did, with Pain,
From Childhood live to be a Child again.
'Tis ſtrange, a Man, that was in Years ſo grown,
Should not be rich; but to the World 'tis known,
That he that's born, in any Land, or Nation,
Under a Twelve-pence Planet's Domination,
By Working of that Planet's Influence,
Shall never live to be worth thirteen Pence;
Whereby, altho' his Learning did not ſhew it,
H'was rich enough to be, like me, a Poet.
But, e're I do conclude, I will relate
Of reverend Age's honourable State:
Where ſhall a young Man good Inſtructions have,
But from the Ancient, from Experience grave?
Roboam, Son and Heir to *Solomon*,
Rejecting ancient Counſel, was undone
Almoſt; for ten of the twelve Tribes fell
To *Jeroboam*, King of *Iſrael*;
And all wiſe Princes, and great Potentates,
Select and chuſe old Men as Magiſtrates,
Whoſe Wiſdom, and whoſe reverend Aſpect,
Knows how and when to puniſh, or protect.
The Patriarchs long Lives, before the Flood,
Were given them, as 'tis rightly underſtood,
To ſtore and multiply by Procreations,
That People ſhould inhabit and breed Nations;
That th'Ancients their Poſterities might ſhow
The Secrets deep of Nature, how to know
To ſcale the Sky with learn'd Aſtronomy,
And ſound the Ocean's deep Profundity;
But, chiefly, how to ſerve and to obey
God, who did make them out of Slime and Clay.
Should Men live now, as long as they did then,
The Earth could not ſuſtain the Breed of Men.

Each

Each Man had many Wives; which Bigamy
Was such Increase to their Posterity,
That one old Man might see, before he dy'd,
That his own only Offspring had supply'd
And peopled Kingdoms.
But now so brittle's the Estate of Man,
That, in Comparison, his Life's a Span;
Yet, since the Flood, it may be proved plain,
That many did a longer Life retain,
Than him I write of; for *Arphaxad* liv'd
Four-hundred thirty eight; *Salah* surviv'd
Four-hundred thirty-three Years; *Eber* more,
For he liv'd twice two-hundred sixty-four.
Two-hundered Years *Terah* was alive,
And *Abr'ham* liv'd one-hundred seventy-five.
Before *Job*'s Troubles, Holy Writ relates,
His Sons and Daughters were at Marriage-states;
And, after his Restoring, 'tis most clear,
That he surviv'd one-hundred forty Year.
John Buttadeus, if Report be true,
Is his Name, that is stil'd *The Wand'ring Jew*:
'Tis said, he saw our Saviour die, and how
He was a Man then, and is living now;
Whereof Relations you that will may read;
But pardon me, 'tis no Part of my Creed.
Upon a *German*'s Age 'tis written thus:
That one *Johannes de Temporibus*
Was Armour-bearer to brave *Charlemain*;
And that unto the Age he did attain
Of Years three-hundred sixty-one, and then
Old *John of Times* return'd to Earth again.
And noble *Nestor*, at the Siege of *Troy*,
Had liv'd three-hundred Years, both Man and Boy.
Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a most learned Knight,
Doth of an *Irish* Countess, *Desmond*, write,
Of sevenscore Years of Age, he with her spake;
The Lord *St. Albans* doth more Mention make,
That she was married in *Fourth-Edward*'s Reign;
Thrice shed her Teeth, which three Times came again.
The Highland *Scots* and the Wild *Irish* are
Long-liv'd with Labour hard and temp'rate Fare.
Amongst the barbarous *Indians*, some live strong
And lusty, near two-hundred Winters long:
So, as I said before, my Verse now says,
By wronging Nature Men cut off their Days.
Therefore, as Times are, he, I now write on,
The Age of all in *Britain* hath out-gone:
All those, that were alive when he had Birth,
Are turn'd again unto their Mother-earth:
If any of them live, and do reply,
I will be sorry, and confess I lye.
For, had he been a Merchant, then, perhaps,
Storms, Thunder-claps, or Fear of After-claps,
Sands, Rocks, or roving Pirates, Gusts and Storms
Had made him, long before, the Food of Worms:
Had he a Mercer, or a Silkman, been,
And trusted much, in Hope great Gain to win,
And late and early striv'd to get, or save;
Or had he been a Judge, or Magistrate,
Or of great Counsel in Affairs of State;
Then Days important Business, and Nights Cares,
Had long before interr'd his hoary Hairs;
But, as I writ before, no Cares oppress'd him,
Nor ever did Affairs of State molest him.
Some may object, That they will not believe
His Age to be so much; for none can give
Account thereof, Time being past so far,
And, at his Birth, there was no Register:
The Register was, ninety-seven Years since,
Giv'n by th' *Eighth Henry*, that illustrious Prince,
Th' Year Fifteen-hundred forty, wanting twain,
And in the thirtieth Year of that King's Reign;
So old *Parr* now was almost an old Man,
Near Sixty, e're the Register began.
I've writ as much, as Reason can require,
How Times did pass, how's Leases did expire;
And Gentlemen o' th' County did relate
T' our gracious King, by their Certificate,
His Age, and how Time with grey Hairs hath crown'd him;
And so I leave him older than I found him.

A POSTSCRIPT.

THE Changes of Manners, the Variations of Customs, the Mutability of Times, the Shiftings of Fashions, the Alterations of Religions, the Diversities of Sects, and the Intermixture of Accidents, which have happened since the Birth of this old *Thomas Parr*, in this Kingdom, although all of them are not to be held worthy of mentioning, yet many of them are worthy to be had in Memory:

In the ſixth Year of his Age, and in the ſecond Year of the Reign of King *Henry the Seventh*, one *Lambert Simnell*, the Son of a Baker, claimed the Crown, and was crowned King of *Ireland*, and proclaimed King of *England*, in the City of *Dublin*: This paltry Fellow did put the King to much Coſt and Trouble; for he landed with an Army at *Fawdrey* in *Lancaſhire*, and, at a Place called *Stoke*, the King met him, and, after a ſharp and ſhort Battle, overcame and took him, and, pardoning him his Life, gave him a Turn-broacher's Place in the Kitchen, and afterwards made him one of his Falconers, *Anno* 1487.

In the tenth Year of his Age, and the eighth of *Henry the Seventh*, another Youngſter claimed the Crown, whoſe Name was *Perkin Warbeck*, as ſome write, a Tinker's Son of *Tournay*; ſome ſay his Father was a *Jew*; notwithſtanding, he likewiſe put the King to much Charge and Trouble, for he was aſſiſted with Soldiers from *Scotland* and *France*; beſides, many joined with him in *England*, till at the laſt the King took him, and, on his true Confeſſion, pardoned him; he, falling again to his old Practice, was executed at *Tyburn*, 1499.

The ſame Year alſo, a Shoemaker's Son, dwelling in *Biſhopſgate ſtreet*, likewiſe claimed the Crown, under the Name of *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, the Son of *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward the Fourth*; but this young Shoemaker ended his Claim in a Halter at *Saint Thomas a Waterings*; which was a Warning for him, not to ſurpaſs *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*.

Another Counterfeit, the Son of a Miller, claimed the Crown, in the ſecond Year of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, ſaying that he was King *Edward the Sixth*; but, the Tenth of *May*, 1552, thoſe royal Opinions were whipped out of him for a While, till he fell to his old Claim again, and purchaſed a Hanging the Thirteenth of *March* following. So much for Impoſtures and Counterfeits.

For Religion, he hath known the Times of divers Sects and Changes, as the *Romiſh* Catholick Religion from his Birth, till the twenty-fourth Year of King *Henry the Eighth*, the Time of fifty Years: And then, the Twenty ſixth of his Reign, the King's Underſtanding being illuminated from above, he caſt the Pope's Authority out of this Kingdom, 1534, and reſtored the ancient and primitive Religion, which continued under the Title of *Proteſtants*, till the End of his Son King *Edward the Sixth*'s Reign, which was near about twenty Years; then was a bloody Alteration, or Return to Papiſtry, for more than five Years, all the Reign of Queen *Mary*; ſince whoſe Death, the Proteſtant Religion again was happily reſtored, continued, and maintained by the Defenders of the true, ancient, Catholick, and Apoſtolick Faith, theſe ſixty-ſix Years and more, under the bleſſed Governments of Queen *Eliſabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles*. All which Time, *Thomas Parr* hath not been troubled in Mind for either the Building or Throwing down of Abbies, and Religious Houſes; nor did he ever murmur at the Manner of Prayers, let them be *Latin* or *Engliſh*. He held it ſafeſt to be of the Religion of the King or Queen that were in being; for he knew that he came raw into the World, and accounted it no Point of Wiſdom to be broiled out of it: His Name was never queſtioned for Affirming or Denying the King's Supremacy: He hath known the Time when Men were ſo mad as to kneel down and pray before a Block, a Stock, a Stone, a Picture, or a Relick of a he or ſhe Saint departed; and he lived in a Time when mad Men would not bow their Knee at the Name of *Jeſus*; that are more afraid to ſee a white Surplice, than to wear a white Sheet; that deſpiſe the Croſs, in any thing but Money; that hold *Latin* to be the Language of the Beaſt, and hate it deadly, becauſe the Pope ſpeaks it; that would patch up a Religion with untempered Mortar, out of their own Brains, not grounded upon the true Corner-ſtone; who are furniſhed with a lazy idle Faith; that hold good Works a main Point of Popery; that hold their Religion trueſt, becauſe it is contrary to all Order and Diſcipline, both of Church and Commonwealth: Theſe are ſprung up ſince old *Tom. Parr* was born.

But he hath out-lived many Sectaries and Hereticks; For, in the thirty-ſecond Year of the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*, 1540, the Third of *May*, three Anabaptiſts were burnt in the High way, between *Southwark* and *Newington*. In the fourth Year of King *Edward the Sixth*, one *George* of *Paris*, a *Dutchman*, was burnt in *Smithfield*, for being an *Arian* Heretick, 1551; 1583, one *John Lewis* denied the Godhead of *Chriſt*, and was burnt at *Norwich*, in the twenty-ſixth Year of *Eliſabeth*.

ſabeth. Not long before that, there was one *Joan Butcher*, alias, *Joan* of *Kent*, burnt for the like.

In the third Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Reign, one *William Geffrey* affirmed one *John Moore* to be Chriſt; but they were both whipped out of that preſumptuous Opinion, 1561.

In the Seventeenth of Queen *Eliſabeth*, the Sect of the Family of Love began, 1575, but it took no deep Root.

In the Twenty-firſt of Queen *Eliſabeth*, one *Matthew Hamont*, was burned at *Norwich* for Denying Chriſt to be our Saviour.

In the Thirty-third of Queen *Eliſabeth*, one *William Hacket* was hanged for Profeſſing himſelf to be Chriſt, 1591.

In the ninth Year of King *James*, the Eleventh of *April*, 1611, one *Edward Wightman* was burned at *Litchfield* for *Arianiſm*.

So much have I written concerning Sects and Hereſies, which have been in this Kingdom in his Time; now I treat of ſome other Paſſages.

He hath out lived ſix great Plagues. He was born long before we had much Uſe of Printing: For it was brought into this Kingdom, 1472, and it was long after before it was in Uſe.

He was above eighty Years old before any Guns were made in *England*, 1535.

The Vintners ſold no other Sacks, Muſcadels, Malmſies, Baſtards, *Alicants*, nor any other Wines but White and Claret, till the thirty-third Year of King *Henry the Eighth*, 1543, and then was old *Parr* ſixty Years of Age: All thoſe ſweet Wines were ſold till that Time at the Apothecaries for no other Uſe, but for Medicines.

There was no Starch uſed in *England*, till a *Flanders* Woman, one Miſtreſs *Dinghen Vanden Plaſſe*, brought in the Uſe of Starch, 1564: And then was this Man near eighty Years old.

There were no Bands wore till King *Henry the Eighth*'s Time; for he was the firſt King that ever wore a Band in *England*, 1513.

Women's Maſks, Buſks, Muffs, Fans, Perriwigs, and Bodkins were invented by *Italian* Courtezans, and tranſported through *France* into *England*, in the Ninth of Queen *Eliſabeth*.

Tobacco was firſt brought into *England* by Sir *John Hawkins*, 1565, but it was firſt brought into Uſe by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* many Years after.

He was eighty-one Years old before there was any Coach in *England*: For the firſt, that ever was ſeen here, was brought out of the *Netherlands*, by one *William Boonen*, a *Dutchman*, who gave a Coach to Queen *Eliſabeth*, for ſhe had been ſeven Years a Queen before ſhe had any Coach; ſince when, they have increaſed, with a Miſchief, and ruined all the beſt Houſe-keeping, to the Undoing of the Watermen, by the Multitudes of hackney or hired Coaches: But they never ſwarmed ſo thick to peſter the Streets, as they do now, till the Year 1605, and then was the Gunpowder Treaſon hatched, and at that Time did the Coaches breed and multiply.

He hath out lived the Faſhion, at leaſt forty Times over and over.

He hath known many Changes of Scarcity, or Dearth, and Plenty: But I will ſpeak only of the Plenty.

In the Year 1499, the fifteenth of *Henry the Seventh*, Wheat was ſold for 4 *s.* the Quarter, or 6 *d.* the Buſhel, and Bay Salt at 4 *d.* and Wine at 40 Shillings the Ton, which is about three Farthings the Quart.

In the Firſt of Queen *Mary*, Beer was ſold for Sixpence the Barrel, the Caſk and all, and three great Loaves for one Penny.

In the Year 1557, the fifth of Queen *Mary*, the Penny wheaten Loaf was, in Weight, fifty-ſix Ounces, and in many Places People would change a Buſhel of Corn for a Pound of Candles.

So much ſhall ſuffice for the Declaring of ſome Changes and Alterations that have happened in his Time.

Now, for a Memorial of his Name, I will give a little Touch. I will not ſearch for the Antiquity of the Name of *Parr*, but I find it to be an honourable Name in the twelfth Year of King *Edward the Fourth*; the King ſent Sir *William Parr*, Knight, to ſeize upon the Archbiſhop of *York*'s Goods, at a Place called the *Moor* in *Hartfordſhire*, 1742: This Sir *William Parr* was Knight of the Right Honourable Order of the Garter.

In the twenty ſecond of *Edward the Fourth*, the ſame Sir *William Parr* went with an Army towards *Scotland*, with *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*.

In the Year 1543, the thirty fifth Year of King *Henry the Eighth*, *July* 22, the King was married to Lady *Catharine Parr*; and, the 24th of *December* following, the Queen's Brother,

ther, *William* Lord *Parr*, was created Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *William Parr*, their Uncle, was made Lord *Parr* of *Horton*, and Chamberlain to the Queen; and the Firſt of King *Edward the Sixth*, *William Parr*, Earl of *Eſſex*, was created Marquis of *Northampton*; and in the fourth Year of King *Edward*'s Reign, 1550, the ſaid Marquis was made Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, and on the Laſt of *April*, 1552, he, amongſt other Lords, muſtered one-hundred brave well appointed Horſemen of his own Charge before King *Edward*, in the Park at *Greenwich*, his Cogniſance or Creſt being the *Maidenhead*; in the Firſt of Queen *Mary*, he took Part with the Lady *Jane* againſt the Queen, for which he was taken and committed to the *Tower*, *July* 26, and, contrary to Expectation, releaſed again ſhortly after, *March* 24.

Alſo, the Firſt Queen *Eliſabeth*, *William Parr*, Marquis of *Northampton*, ſat, in *Weſtminſter* Hall, Lord High Steward, upon a Tryal of *William* Lord *Wentworth*, who came off moſt Honourably acquitted, *April* 22.

After the Death of King *Henry the Eighth*, Queen *Catharine Parr* was married to Sir *Thomas Seymor*, Lord High Admiral, and ſhe died, the Second of *September*, 1548.

And thus I lay down the Pen, leaving it to whomſoever can, or will, make more of this old Man, than I have done.

An Argument of Law, concerning the Bill of Attainder of High Treaſon of *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*: At a Conference in a Committee of both Houſes of Parliament. By Mr. *St. John*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor-General. Publiſhed by Order of the Commons Houſe. *London*, printed *Anno Domini*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing eighty Pages.

My Lords,

THE Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of Parliament have paſſed a Bill for the Attainting of *Thomas*, Earl of *Strafford*, of High Treaſon. The Bill hath been tranſmitted from them to your Lordſhips. It concerns not him alone, but your Lordſhips and the Commons too, though in different Reſpects.

It is to make him as miſerable a Man, as Man or Law can make him.

Not Loſs of Life alone, but with that of Honour, Name, Poſterity, and Eſtate; of all that is dear to all.

To uſe his own Expreſſion, an Eradication of him both Root and Branch, as an *Achan*, a Troubler of the State, as an execrable, as an accurſed Thing.

This Bill, as it concerns his Lordſhip the higheſt that can be in the penal Part, ſo doth it, on the other Side, as highly concern your Lordſhips and the Commons, in that which ought to be the tendereſt, the Judicatory within, that judge not them who judge him; and, in that which is moſt ſacred amongſt Men, the publick Juſtice of the Kingdom.

The Kingdom is to be accounted unto for the Loſs of the meaneſt Member, much more for one ſo near the Head.

The Commons are concerned in their Account for what is done, your Lordſhips in that which is to be done.

The Buſineſs, therefore, of the preſent Conference is to acquaint your Lordſhips with thoſe Things that ſatisfied the Commons in Paſſing of this Bill; ſuch of them as have come within my Capacity, and that I can remember, I am commanded from the Commons, at this Time, to preſent unto your Lordſhips.

My Lords, in Judgments of greateſt Moment, there are but two Ways for ſatisfying thoſe that are to give them, either the *Lex lata*, the Law already eſtabliſhed; Or elſe, the Uſe

of the ſame Power for making new Laws, whereby the old at firſt received Life.

In the firſt Conſideration of the ſettled Laws: In the Degrees of Puniſhment, the poſitive Law received by general Conſent, and for the common Good, is ſufficient to ſatisfy the Conſcience of the Judge, in giving Judgment according to them.

In ſeveral Countries, there is not the ſame Meaſure of Puniſhment for one and the ſame Offence. Wilful Murder in *Ireland* is Treaſon, and ſo is the wilful Burning of a Houſe, or Stack of Corn. In the Iſle of *Man*, it is Felony to ſteal a Hen, but not to ſteal a Horſe; and yet, the Judge in *Ireland* hath as juſt a Ground to give Judgment of High Treaſon, in thoſe Caſes, there, as here to give Judgment only of Felony; and in the Iſle of *Man*, of Felony for the Hen, as here of Petty Larceny.

My Lords, in the other Conſideration of uſing the ſupreme Power, the ſame Law gives Power to the Parliament to make new Laws, that inables the inferior Court to judge according to the old. The Rule that guides the Conſcience of the inferior Court is from without, the Preſcripts of the Parliament, and of the Common Law; in the other, the Rule is from within: That *ſalus populi* be concerned: That there be no wilful Oppreſſion of any the Fellow Members: That no more Blood be taken, than what is neceſſary for the Cure: The Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm as well inable the Exerciſe of this, as of the ordinary and judicial Power.

My Lords, what hath been ſaid, is, becauſe that this Proceeding of the Commons, by Way of Bill, implies the Uſe of the mere Legiſlative Power, in Reſpect new Laws are, for the moſt Part, paſſed by Bill.

This, my Lords, though juſt and legal, and, therefore, not wholly excluded, yet it was not the only Ground that put the Commons upon the Bill; they did not intend to make a new Treaſon, and to condemn my Lord of *Stafford* for it; they had in it other Conſiderations likewiſe, which were to this Effect:

Firſt, The Commons knew, that, in all former Ages, if Doubts of Law aroſe upon Caſes of great and general Concernment, the Parliament was uſually conſulted withal for Reſolution, which is the Reaſon, that many Acts of Parliament are only declarative of the old Law, not introductive of a new, as the great Charter of our Liberties; the Statute of 25, *Edw.* III, of Treaſons; the Statute of the Prerogative; and of late, the Petition of Right. If the Law was doubtful in this Caſe, they conceived the Parliament (where the old may be altered, and new Laws made) the fitteſt Judge to clear this Doubt.

Secondly, My Lords, they proceeded this Way to out thoſe Scruples and Delays, which, thro' Diſuſe of Proceedings of this Nature, might have riſen in the Manner and Way of Proceeding, ſince the Statute of 1, *Henry* VI. *Cap.* xvii. and more fully in the Roll, Number 144. The Proceedings in Parliament have uſually been upon an Indictment firſt found; though in Caſes of Treaſon, particularly mentioned in the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, which had not been done in this Caſe: Doubts likewiſe might riſe for Treaſons, not particularly mentioned in the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, Whether the declaratory Power of Parliament be taken away; and, if not taken away, in what Manner they were to be made, and by whom? They find not any Attainders of Treaſon in Parliament for near this two-hundred Years, but by this Way of Bill. And again, they knew that whatſoever could be done any other Way, it might be done by this.

Thirdly, In Reſpect of the Proofs and Depoſitions that have been made againſt him; for, Firſt, Although they knew not, but that the whole Evidence which hath been given at the Bar, in every Part of it, is ſufficiently comprehended within the Charge; yet, if therein they ſhould be miſtaken, if it ſhould prove otherwiſe, Uſe may juſtly be made of ſuch Evidence in this Way of Bill, wherein, ſo as Evidence be given in, it is no Way requiſite that there ſhould have been any Articles or Charge at all. And ſo in the Caſe of double Teſtimony, upon the Statute of 1. *Edw.* VI. Whether one direct Witneſs, with others, to Circumſtances, had been ſingle or double Teſtimony; and, although ſingle Teſtimony might be ſufficient to ſatisfy private Conſciences, yet how far it would have been ſatisfactory in a judicial Way, where Forms of Law are more to be ſtood upon, was not ſo clear; whereas, in this Way of Bill, private Satisfaction to each Man's Conſcience is ſufficient, although no Evidence had been given in at all.

My

My Lords, the Proceeding by Way of Bill, it was not to decline your Lordſhips Juſtice in the Judicial Way: In theſe Exigencies of the State and Kingdom, it was to huſband Time; by ſilencing thoſe Doubts, they conceived it the ſpeedieſt and the ſureſt Way.

My Lords, theſe are, in Effect, the Things the Commons took into their Conſideration, in Reſpect of the Manner and Way of Proceeding againſt the Earl. In the next Place, I am to declare unto your Lordſhips the Things they took into their Conſideration, in Reſpect of the Matter and Merits of the Cauſe; they are comprehended within theſe ſix Heads:

1. That there is a Treaſon within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, by Levying of War upon the Matter of the fifteenth Article.

2. If not by actual Levying of War, yet, by Adviſing and Declaring his Intention of War, and that by *Savill*'s Warrant, and the Advice of bringing over the *Iriſh* Army, upon the Matter of the twenty-third Article, the Intending of a War, if not within the Clauſe of Levying War in the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, yet, within the firſt Treaſon of Compaſſing the Death of the King.

3. If neither of theſe two ſingle Acts be within the Statute of 25. *Edw.* III, yet, upon Putting all together, which hath been proved againſt him, that there is a Treaſon within the firſt Clauſe of Compaſſing the Death of the King:

Et, ſi non proſunt ſingula, juncta juvant.

4. That he hath aſſeſſed and laid Soldiers upon the Subjects of *Ireland* againſt their Will, and at their Charge, within the *Iriſh* Statute of 18. *Hen.* VI. That both Perſon and Thing are within the Statute, that the Statute remains in Force to this Day, that the Parliament here hath Cogniſance of it, and that even in the ordinary Way of Judicature; that, if there be a Treaſon and a Traitor, that the Want of Juriſdiction, in the judicial Way, may juſtly be ſupplied by Bill.

5. That his Endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and, inſtead thereof, to introduce a tyrannical Government againſt Law, is Treaſon by the Common Law. That Treaſons at the Common Law are not taken away by the Statutes of 25 *Edw.* III. 1. *Hen.* IV. *Cap.* x. 1 *Mar. Cap.* i. nor any of them.

6. That, as this Caſe ſtands, it is juſt and neceſſary to reſort to the ſupreme Power in Parliament, in Caſe all the reſt ſhould fail.

Of theſe ſix, five of them are Treaſon, within the Compaſs of the Laws already eſtabliſhed; three within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, one within the *Iriſh* Statute, the other by the Common Law of *England*.

If but any one of theſe ſix Conſiderations hold, the Commons conceive that, upon the whole Matter, they had good Cauſe to paſs the Bill.

The Caſe, 1. My Lords, for the Firſt of Levying War, I ſhall make bold to read the Caſe to your Lordſhips before I ſpeak to it; it is thus:

The Earl did by Warrant under his Hand and Seal give Authority to *Robert Savill*, a Serjeant at Arms, and his Deputies, to ſeſs ſuch a Number of Soldiers, Horſe and Foot, of the Army in *Ireland* together with an Officer, as the Serjeant ſhould think fit, upon his Majeſty's Subjects of *Ireland* againſt their Will: This Warrant was granted by the Earl, to the End to compel the Subjects of *Ireland* to ſubmit to the unlawful Summons and Orders made by the Earl upon Paper Petitions exhibited unto him, in Caſe of private Intereſt between Party and Party; this Warrant was executed by *Savill* and his Deputies by Selling of Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot, upon divers of the Subjects of *Ireland* again their Will in a warlike Manner; and at divers Times the Soldiers continued upon the Parties upon whom they were ſeſſed, and waſted their Goods, until ſuch Time as they had ſubmitted themſelves unto thoſe Summons and Orders.

My Lords, this is a Levying of War within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. The Words of the Statute are, *If any Man do levy War againſt our Lord the King in his Realm*, this is declared to be Treaſon.

I ſhall endeavour in this to make it appear to your Lordſhips,

1. What ſhall be a Levying of War, in reſpect of the Motive or Cauſe of it.

2. What ſhall be ſaid a Levying of War, in reſpect of the Action or Thing done.

3. And, in the third Place, I ſhall apply them to the preſent Caſe.

It

It will be granted in this of Levying of War, that Forces may be raiſed, and likewiſe uſed, in a warlike Manner, and yet no Levying of War within the Statute, that is, when the Forces are raiſed and employed upon private Ends either of Revenge or Intereſt.

Before this Statute in *Edw.* I's Time, the Title of a Caſtle was in Difference between the Earls of *Hereford* and *Glouceſter*; for the Maintaining of the Poſſeſſion on the one Side, and Gaining of it on the other, Forces were raiſed on either Side of many hundred Men; they marched with Banners diſplayed one againſt the other. In the Parliament in the twentieth Year of *Edw.* I, this was adjudged only Treſpaſs, and either of the Earls fined a thouſand Marks a-piece.

After the Statute in *Hilary* Term, the fiftieth Year of *Edward the Third*, in the *King's-Bench*, *Rot.* 3. *Nicholas Huntercome*, in a warlike Manner, with forty Men armed, amongſt other Weapons, with Guns, ſo ancient as appears by that Record they were, did much Spoil in the Mannor of the Abbey of *Dorcheſter*, in the County of *Oxford*: This was no Treaſon: So it hath been held by the Judges, that, if one or more Townſhips, upon Pretence of ſaving their Commons, do, in a forcible and warlike Manner, throw in Incloſures; this is only a Riot, no Treaſon.

The Words of the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. clear this Point, that if any Man ride armed openly or ſecretly with Men at Arms againſt any other to kill and rob, or to detain him until he hath made Fine and Ranſom for his Deliverance; this is declared not to be Treaſon, but Felony or Treſpaſs, as the Caſe ſhall require; all the printed Statutes which have *it covertly or ſecretly* are miſprinted; for the Words in the Parliament Roll, as appears in Num. 17. are *Diſcovertment ou Secretement*, openly or ſecretly.

So that, my Lords, in this of Levying War, the Act is not ſo much to be conſidered, but, as in all other Treaſons and Felonies, *quo animo*, with what Intent and Purpoſe.

Object. My Lords, if the End be conſiderable in Levying War, it may be ſaid, that it cannot be a Treaſon War, unleſs againſt the King: For the Words of the Statute are, *If any Man levy War againſt the King.*

Anſw. That theſe Words extend further than to the Perſon of the King appears by the Words of the Statute, which in the Beginning declare it to be Treaſon to compaſs and imagine the King's Death, and, after other Treaſons, this is to be declared to be Treaſon, to levy War againſt the King. If the Levying of War extend no further than to the Perſon of the King, theſe Words of the Statute are to no Purpoſe, for then the firſt Treaſon of compaſſing the King's Death had fully included it before, becauſe that he, which levies War againſt the Perſon of the King, doth neceſſarily compaſs his Death.

It is a War againſt the King, when intended for Alteration of the Laws or Government in any Part of them, or to deſtroy any of the great Officers of the Kingdom. This is a Levying of War againſt the King.

1. Becauſe the King doth protect and maintain the Laws in every Part of them, and the great Officers to whoſe Care he hath in his own Stead delegated the Execution of them.

2. Becauſe they are the King's Laws. He is the Fountain from whence, in their ſeveral Channels, they are derived to the Subject; all our Indictments run thus, Treſpaſſes laid to be done, *Contra pacem Domini Regis*, the King's Peace, for exorbitant Offences, though not intended againſt the King's Perſon, againſt the King's Crown and Dignity.

My Lords, this Conſtruction is made good by divers Authorities of great Weight, ever ſince the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. downwards.

In *Richard the Second*'s Time, Sir *Thomas Talbot* conſpired the Death of the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Lancaſter*, and ſome other of the Peers; for the Effecting of it, he had cauſed divers People in the County of *Cheſter* to be armed in a warlike Manner, in Aſſemblies. In the Parliament held the ſeventeenth Year of *Richard the Second*, Number the 20th, Sir *Thomas Talbot* was accuſed of High Treaſon for this; it is there declared, that, inſomuch as one of them was Lord High Steward of *England*, and the other High Conſtable of *England*, that this was done in Deſtruction of the Eſtates of the Realm, and of the Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore adjudged Treaſon; and the Judgment ſent down into the *King's-Bench*, as appears, *Eaſter* Term in the ſeventh Year of *Richard the Second*, in the *King's-Bench*, *Rot.* 16. Theſe two Lords had appeared in the eleventh Year of *Richard the Second*, in Maintenance of the Act of Parliament made the Year before; one of them was of the Commiſſioners appointed by Parliament, and one of th e

the Appellors of thoſe that would have overthrown it: The Duke of *Lancaſter* likewiſe was one of the Lords that was to have been indicted of Treaſon for endeavouring the Maintenance of it, and therefore Conſpiring of their Deaths is ſaid to be in Deſtruction of the Laws; this is there declared to be a Treaſon that concerned the Perſon of the King and the Commonwealth.

In that great Inſurrection of the Villains and meaner People, in *Richard the Second*'s Time, they took an Oath, *Quod Regi & Communibus fidelitatem ſervarent*, to be true to the King and Commons, that they would take nothing but what they paid for, and puniſhed all Theft with Death; here is no Intendment againſt the Perſon of the King, the Intent was to aboliſh the Law of Villainage and Servitude, to burn all the Records, and to kill the Judges; this, in the Parliament of the fifth Year of *Richard the Second*, Numbers the one and thirtieth and two and thirtieth, the firſt Part, is declared to be Treaſon againſt the King and againſt the Law.

In the eleventh Year of *Richard the Second*, in Parliament, the Raiſing of Forces againſt the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament, the Year before, was adjudged Treaſon by all the Judges.

The Statute of 1 *Mar. Cap.* xii. enacts, that, if twelve or more ſhall endeavour by Force to alter any of the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, they ſhall, from ſuch a Time there limited, be adjudged only as Felons; this Act was to continue but to the next Parliament; it is expired; it ſhews by the Word *only*, that the Offence was higher before the Making of it.

My Lords, in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Time, *Grant* and divers Apprentices of *London*, to the Number of Two-hundred, roſe and aſſembled at *Tower-hill*, and carried a Cloke upon a Pole inſtead of a Banner; their Intent was to deliver divers Apprentices out of Priſon, that had been committed upon a Sentence in the *Star-Chamber* for Riots, to kill the Lord Mayor of *London*, and for Setting Prices on Victuals. In *Trinity Term*, 27 *Eliſ.* divers of the Judges were conſulted withal, and reſolved that this was a Levying of War againſt the Queen, being intended againſt the Government and Officers of the Queen, and thereupon *Grant* and others were executed as Traitors.

Afterwards, in that Queen's Time, divers of the County of *Oxford* conſulted together, to go from Houſe to Houſe in that County, and thence to *London*, and other Parts, to excite them to take Arms, for the Throwing in of all Incloſures throughout *England*; nothing was done, nor no Aſſembly: The Statute of 13 *Eliſ. Cap.* i. during the Queen's Life, made it Treaſon to intend or adviſe to levy War againſt the Queen.

In *Eaſter Term*, 39 *Eliſ.* all the Judges of *England* met about the Caſe: It was reſolved by them, that this was a War intended againſt the Queen: They agreed, that, if it had been of one Townſhip, or more, upon private Intereſt and Claim of Right of Common, it had not been Treaſon; but this was to throw in all Incloſures through the Kingdom, whereto theſe Parties could pretend no Claim; that it was againſt the Law, in Regard that the Statute of *Merton* gave Power of Incloſures in many Caſes. Upon this Reſolution, *Bradſhaw* and *Burton* were executed at *Ayneſtow-hill* in *Oxfordſhire*, the Place where they intended their firſt Meeting.

So that, my Lords, if the End of it be to overthrow any of the Statutes, any Part of the Law and ſettled Government, or any of the great Officers intruſted with the Execution of them; this is a War againſt the King.

My Lords, it will be further conſiderable, what ſhall be accounted a Levying of War in Reſpect of the Actions and Things done: There is a Deſign to alter ſome Part of the Laws and preſent Government; for the Effecting thereof People are provided with Arms, and gathered together into Troops, but afterwards march not with Banners diſplayed, nor do *Bellum percutere*: Whether the Arming themſelves and Gathering together upon this Deſign, whether this be a War, or ſuch Proſecution of the Deſign with Force, as makes it Treaſon within the Statute?

Firſt, If this be not a War, in Reſpect that it neceſſarily occaſions hoſtile Preparations on the other Side?

Secondly, From the Words of the Statute, ſhall levy War, and be thereof probably attainted of open Deed by People of their Condition, although the bare Conſpiring be not an open Deed, yet whether the Arming and Drawing Men together be not an open Declaration of War?

In

In Sir *Thomas Talbot*'s Caſe, before cited, in the ſeventeenth Year of *Richard the Second*, the Acts of Force are expreſſed in the Parliament Roll: That he cauſed divers of the People of the County of *Cheſter* to be armed in a warlike Manner in Aſſemblies; here is no Marching, no Banners diſplayed.

In the eighth Year of *Henry the Eighth*, *William Bell* and *Thomas Lacy* in *Com' Cant.* conſpired with *Thomas Cheney*, called the Hermit of the Queen of Fairies, to overthrow the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm; and, for the Effecting of it, they, with Two-hundred more, met together, and concluded upon a Courſe of raiſing greater Forces in the County of *Kent*, and the adjacent Shires; this was adjudged Treaſon, theſe were open Acts.

My Lords, for the Application of both theſe to the Caſe in Queſtion:

Firſt, in Reſpect of the End of it, here was a War againſt the King, it was to ſubvert the Laws; this being the Deſign, for the Effecting of it, he aſſumed to his own Perſon an Arbitrary Power over the Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of his Majeſty's Subjects, and determined Cauſes upon Paper Petitions at his own Will and Pleaſure, Obedience muſt be forced by the Army; this is declared by the Warrant.

My Lords, if it be ſaid, That the Warrant expreſſeth not any Intent of ſubverting the Laws, it expreſſeth fully one of the principal Means whereby this was to be done, that is, Obedience to his Arbitrary Orders upon Paper Petitions; this was done in Reference to the main Deſign.

In the Caſes of the Town of *Cambridge* and Sir *William Cogan*, that have formerly been cited to your Lordſhips, upon other Occaſions, the Things in themſelves were not Treaſon, they were not a Levying of War.

In that of *Cambridge*, the Town met together, and, in a forcible Manner, broke up the Univerſity Treaſury, and took out of it the Records and Evidence of the Liberties of the Univerſity over the Town.

In the other, they of *Bridgewater* marched to the Hoſpital, and compelled the Maſter of the Hoſpital to deliver unto them certain Evidences that concerned the Town, and forced him to enter into a Bond of two-hundred Pounds.

Theſe, if done upon theſe private Ends alone, had not been Treaſon, as appears by the very Words of the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III.

before-mentioned of marching openly or ſecretly.

But, my Lords, theſe of *Cambridge* and *Bridgewater*, they were of the Conſpiracy with the Villains, as appears in the Parliament Roll of the firſt Year of *Richard the Second*, Number the One and thirtieth, and Two and thirtieth, where the Towns of *Cambridge* and *Bridgewater* are expreſly excepted out of the general Pardon made to the Villains. This being done in Reference to that Deſign of the Villains, of altering the Laws; this was that which made it Treaſon.

If the Deſign went no further than the Forcing Obedience to theſe Paper Orders made by himſelf, it was ſufficient, it was to ſubvert one fundamental Part of the Laws; nay, in Effect the whole Law: What Uſe of Law, if he might order, and determine, of Men's Eſtates at his own Pleaſure? This was againſt the Law notoriouſly declared in *Ireland*.

In the Cloſe Roll in the *Tower*, in the Five and twentieth Year of *Edw.* I, a Writ went to the Juſtices in *Ireland* (that Kingdom at that Time was governed by Juſtices) declaring, that upon Petitions they were not to determine any Titles between Party and Party, upon any Pretence of Profit whatſoever to the King.

In the eight and twentieth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, the ſecond Chapter, Suits in Equity, not before the Deputy but in *Chancery*; Suits at Common Law, not before him, but in Caſes of Life in the *King*'s-*Bench*; for Title of Land or Goods, in the proper Courts of the *Common-Pleas* or *King*'s-*Bench*.

This declared in the Inſtructions for *Ireland* in the latter End of King *James*'s Time, and by the Proclamation in his Majeſty's Time, my Lord took Notice of them, and called the Commiſſioners narrow-hearted Commiſſioners.

The Law ſaid, he ſhould not thus proceed in Subverſion of it; he ſaith, he will, and will force Obedience by the Army. This is as much in Reſpect of the End, as to endeavour the Overthrow of the Statutes of Labourers, of Victuals, or of *Merton* for Incloſures. Here is a War againſt the King, in Reſpect of the End.

2. In Reſpect of the Actions, Whether there be either a Levying of War, or an open Deed, or both?

My Lords, there was an Army in *Ireland* at that Time of two-thouſand Horſe and Foot;

by this Warrant there is a full Deſignation of this whole Army, and an Aſſignment of it over unto *Savill* for this Purpoſe. The Warrant gives him Power, from Time to Time, to take as many Soldiers, Horſe and Foot, with an Officer, throughout the whole Army, as himſelf ſhall pleaſe; here is the Terror and Awe of the whole Army to force Obedience. My Lords, if the Earl had armed two-thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot, and formed them into Companies to this End, your Lordſhips would have conceived that this had been a War; it is as much as in the Caſe of Sir *Thomas Talbot*, who armed them in Aſſemblies.

This is the ſame with a Breach of Truſt added to it. That Army was firſt raiſed, and afterwards committed to his Truſt for Defence of the People, but is now deſtined by him to their Deſtruction. This Aſſignation of the Army, by his Warrant under his Hand and Seal, is an open Act.

My Lords, here is not only an open Act done, but a Levying of War; Soldiers both Horſe and Foot, with an Officer, in a warlike Manner ſeſſed upon the Subject, which killed their Cattle, conſumed and waſted their Goods.

Obj. O, but Five or Six were the moſt employed at any Time; a mighty War of ſix Men, ſcarce a Riot.

Anſw. Your Lordſhips obſerve a great Difference where ſix ſingle Men go upon a Deſign alone, and when ſent from an Army of ſix-hundred, all engaged in the ſame Service; ſo many were ſent as were ſufficient to execute the Command; if upon a poor Man fewer, more upon a Rich; if the Six had not been able, the whole Army muſt make it good: The Reaſon that the Sheriff goes alone, or but with one Bailiff, to do Execution, is, becauſe he hath the Command of the Law, the King's Writ, and the *Poſſe Comitatus* in Caſe of Reſiſtance; here is the Warrant of the General of an Army, here is the *Poſſe Exercitus*, the Power of the Army; under this Awe of the whole Army, Six may force more than Sixty without it; and although never above Six in one Place, yet in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom at the ſame Time might be above Sixty; for Seſſing of Soldiers was frequent, it was the ordinary Courſe for Execution of his Orders.

The Lord Lieutenant of a County in *England* hath a Deſign to alter the Laws and Government; nay, admit the Deſign goes not ſo high, he only declares thus much, that he will order the Freeholds and the Eſtates of the Inhabitants of the County at his own Will and Pleaſure, and doth accordingly proceed upon Paper Petitions, foreſeeing there will be Diſobedience; he grants out Warrants under his Hand and Seal to the Deputy-Lieutenants and Captains of the Train-bands, that upon Refuſal they ſhall take ſuch Numbers of the Train-bands through the County, with Officers, as they ſhall think good, and lay them upon the Lands and Houſes of the Refuſers; Soldiers in a warlike Manner are frequently ſeſſed upon them accordingly. Your Lordſhips do conceive that this is a Levying of War within the Statute.

The Caſe in Queſtion goes further in theſe two Reſpects:

1. That it is more againſt the declared Law in *Ireland*, not only againſt the Common Law, but likewiſe againſt the Statute of the eight and twentieth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, againſt the Acts of the Commiſſioners, againſt Proclamations in Purſuance of the Law, againſt that himſelf took Notice of, Narrow-hearted Commiſſioners.

2. In this that here was an Army, the Soldiers Soldiers by Profeſſion, Acts of Hoſtility, from them, of greater Terror than from Freeholders of the ſame County.

My Lords, I have now done with the Firſt, of Levying War.

The Second is the Machination, the Adviſing of a War: The Caſe in this reſts upon the Warrant to *Savill*, and the Advice in the twenty-third Article.

The Warrant ſhews a Reſolution of employing the old Army of *Ireland*, to the Oppreſſion of his Majeſty's Subjects and the Laws.

In the twenty-third Article having told his Majeſty, that he was looſed and abſolved from Rules of Government, and might do every Thing which Power might admit, he proceeded further in Speech to his Majeſty in theſe Words: You have an Army in *Ireland* you may employ to reduce this Kingdom.

My Lords, both being put together, there is a Machination, a Practice, an Advice to levy War, and by Force to oppreſs and deſtroy his Majeſty's Subjects.

Obj. It hath been ſaid the Statute of the twenty-fifth of *Edward the Third* is a Penal Law, and cannot be taken by Equity and Conſtruction, there muſt be an actual War: The

Statute makes it Treaſon to counterfeit the Coin; the Conſpiring, the Raiſing of Furnaces, is no Treaſon, unleſs he doth *nummum percutere*, actually coin.

Anſw. My Lords, this is only ſaid, not proved; the Law is otherwiſe, 19 *Hen.* VI. *Fol.* 47. there adjudged, That the Conſpiring and Aiding to counterfeit Coin was Treaſon; and Juſtice *Stamford*, *Fol.* 3, and 44, is of Opinion, That this or Conſpiring to counterfeit the Great Seal is Treaſon. The Statute is, If any ſhall counterfeit the Great Seal, conſpiring to do it by the Book, it is Treaſon; if a Man take the Broad Seal from one Patent, and put it to another, here is he counterfeiting, it is *Tantamount*, and therefore Treaſon, as is adjudged in 2 *Hen.* IV. *Fol.* 25. and by the Opinion of *Stamford*.

If Machination, or Plotting a War, be not within that Clauſe of the Statute of levying War, yet it is within the firſt of compaſſing the Death of the King, as that which neceſſarily tends to the Deſtruction both of the King and of the People, upon whoſe Safety and Protection he is to engage himſelf: That this is Treaſon, hath been adjudged both after the Statutes of the firſt of 1 *Hen.* IV. *Cap.* x, and 1 *Mary*, *Cap.* i, ſo much inſiſted upon on the other Side. In the third Year of King *Henry the Fourth*, one *Balſhall*, coming from *London*, found one *Bernard* at Plough, in the Pariſh of *Offley*, in the County of *Hertford*. *Bernard* asked *Balſhall*, What News? He told him the News was, That King *Richard the Second* was alive in *Scotland* (which was falſe, for he was then dead) and that by *Midſummer* next he would come into *England*, *Bernard* asked him, What was beſt to be done? *Balſhall* anſwered, Get Men, and go to King *Richard*. In *Michaelmas* Term, in the third Year of *Henry the Fourth*, in the *King's-Bench*, *Rot.* 4. this Advice of War was adjudged Treaſon.

In Queen *Mary*'s Time, Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* conſpired with Sir *Thomas Wyat*, to levy War within this Realm for Alteration in Religion; he joined not with him in the Execution. This Conſpiracy alone was declared to be Treaſon by the Judges. This was after the Statute of the firſt of Queen *Mary*, ſo much inſiſted upon. That Parliament ended in *October*, this Opinion was delivered the *Eaſter*-Term after, and is reported by Juſtice *Dyer*, *Fol.* 98. It is true, Sir *Thomas Wyat* afterwards did levy War, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* he only [illegible]ed, this was adjudged Treaſon.

Story, in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Time, practiſed with Foreigners to levy War within the Kingdom; nothing was done in Purſuance of the Practice. The Intent, without any Adhering to Enemies of the Queen, or other Cauſe, was adjudged to be Treaſon, and he executed thereupon. It is true, my Lords, that Year, 13 *Eliſabeth*, by Act of Parliament, it is made Treaſon to intend the Levying of War; this Caſe was adjudged before the Parliament. The Caſe was adjudged in *Hilary* Term, the Parliament began not until the *April* following: This, my Lords, is a Caſe adjudged in Point, that the Practiſing to levy War, though nothing be done in Execution of it, is Treaſon.

Object. 3. It may be objected, that, in theſe Caſes, the Conſpiring being againſt the whole Kingdom included the Queen, and was a Compaſſing her Deſtruction, as well as of the Kingdom's; here the Advice was to the King.

Anſw. 1. The Anſwer is, firſt, that the Warrant was unknown to his Majeſty, that there was a Machination of War againſt the People and Laws, wherein his Majeſty's Perſon was engaged for Protection.

2. That the Advice was to his Majeſty, aggravates the Offence; it was an Attempt not only upon the Kingdom, but upon the ſacred Perſon, and his Office too; himſelf was *hoſtis patriæ*, he would have made the Father of it ſo too; nothing more unnatural; more dangerous; to offer the King Poiſon to drink, telling him, that it is a Cordial, is a Compaſſing of his Death. The Poiſon was repelled, there was an Antidote within, the Malice of the Giver beyond Expreſſion. The Perſuading of Foreigners to invade the Kingdom holds no Proportion with this: Machination of War againſt the Laws, or Kingdom, is againſt the King, they cannot be ſevered.

The third general Head.

My Lords, if no actual War within, the Statute, if the Counſelling of a War, if neither of theſe ſingle Acts be Treaſon within Statute; the Commons, in the next Place, have taken it into their Conſideration, what the Addition of his other Words, Counſels, and Actions, do operate in the Caſe, and have conceived, that, with this Addition, all being put together, that he is brought within the Statute of 25 *Edward* III.

The Words of the Statute are, If any Man ſhall compaſs or imagine the Death of the King; the Words are not, If any Man ſhall plot or conſult the Death of the King; no my

Lords, they go further than to ſuch Things as are intended immediately, directly, and determinatively againſt the Life and Perſon of the King, they are of larger Extent; to compaſs is to do by Circuit, to conſult or practiſe another Thing directly, which, being done, may neceſſarily produce this Effect.

However it be in the other Treaſons within this Statute, yet in this, by the very Words, there is Room left for Conſtructions, for neceſſary Inferences and Conſequences.

What hath been the Judgment and Practice of former Times concerning theſe Words, of compaſſing the King's Death, will appear to your Lordſhips by ſome Caſes of Attainders upon theſe Words.

One *Owen*, in King *James*'s Time, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, at *Sandwich* in *Kent*, ſpoke theſe Words: 'That 'King *James*, being excommunicated by the 'Pope, may be killed by any Man; which 'Killing is no Murder.' Being aſked, by thoſe he ſpoke to, How he durſt maintain ſo bloody an Aſſertion? He anſwered, That the Matter was not ſo heinous as was ſuppoſed; for the King, who is the Leſſer, is concluded by the Pope, who is the Greater; and, as a Malefactor, being condemned before a Temporal Judge, may be delivered over to be executed, ſo the King, ſtanding convicted by the Pope's Sentence of Excommunication, may juſtly be ſlaughtered without Fault, for the Killing of the King is the Execution of the Pope's ſupreme Sentence, as the other is the Execution of the Law. For this, Judgment of High-treaſon was given againſt him, and Execution done.

My Lords, here is no clear Intent appearing, that *Owen* deſired the Thing ſhould be done, only Arguments, that it might be done: This is a Compaſſing; there is a clear Endeavour to corrupt the Judgment, to take off the Bonds of Conſcience, the greateſt Security of the King's Life. God forbid, ſaith one of better Judgment than he, that I ſhould ſtretch out my Hand againſt the Lord's Anointed. No, ſaith he, the Lord doth not forbid it; you may, for theſe Reaſons, lawfully kill the King.

He, that denies the Title to the Crown, and plots the Means of ſetting it upon another Head, may do this without any direct or immediate Deſiring the Death of him that then wears it; yet this is Treaſon, as was adjudged, in 10 *Hen.* VII. in the Caſe of *Burton*; and in the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Caſe, 13 *Eliſ.*

This is a Compaſſing of his Death, for there can no more be two Kings in one Kingdom, than two Suns in the Firmament; he, that conceives a Title, counts it worth Venturing for, though it coſt him his Life; he, that is in Poſſeſſion, thinks it as well worth the Keeping. *John Sparhawke*, in King *Henry the Fourth*'s Time, meeting two Men upon the Way, among other Talk, ſaid, That the King was not rightful King; but the Earl of *March*; and that the Pope would grant Indulgences to all that would aſſiſt the Earl's Title; and that, within Half a Year, there would be no Liveries, nor Cogniſances of the King; that the King had not kept Promiſe with the People, but had laid Taxes upon them. In *Eaſter* Term, in the third Year of *Henry the Fourth*, in the *King*'s-*Bench*, Rot. 12. this was adjudged Treaſon. This Denying the Title with Motives, though but implicitly, of Action againſt it, was adjudged Treaſon; this is a Compaſſing the King's Death.

How this was a Compaſſing the King's Death is declared in the Reaſons of the Judgment: That the Words were ſpoken with an Intent to withdraw the Affections of the People from the King, and to excite them againſt the King, that in the End they might riſe up againſt him, *in Mortem & Deſtructionem* of the King.

My Lords, in this Judgment, and others, which I ſhall cite to your Lordſhips, it appears, that it is a Compaſſing the King's Death by Words, to endeavour to draw the People's Hearts from the King, to ſet Diſcord between the King and them, whereby the People ſhould leave the King, and ſhould riſe up againſt him, to the Death and Deſtruction of the King.

The Caſes, that I ſhall cite, prove not only that this is Treaſon, but what is ſufficient Evidence to make this good.

Upon a Commiſſion held the eighteenth Year of *Edward the Fourth*, in *Kent*, before the Marquis of *Dorſet*, and others, an Indictment was preferred againſt *John Atwater*, of High Treaſon, in the Form beforementioned, for Words which are entered in the Indictment, *ſub hâc formâ*, That he had been Servant to the Earl of *Warwick*; that, though he was dead, the Earl of *Oxford* was alive, and ſhould have the Government of Part of the Country; that *Edward*, whom you call King of *England*, was

a falſe Man, and had, by Art and Subtlety, ſlain the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, without any Cauſe, who, before, had been both of them attainted of High Treaſon.

My Lords, this Indictment was returned into the *King*'s-*Bench* in *Trinity Term*, in the eighteenth Year of *Edward the Fourth*; and in *Eaſter Term*, in the twenty-ſecond Year of *Edward the Fourth*, he was outlawed; by the Stay of the Outlawry ſo long, it ſeems, the Judges had well adviſed before, whether it was Treaſon or not.

At the ſame Seſſion, *Thomas Heber* was indicted of Treaſon for theſe Words, That the laſt Parliament was the moſt ſimple and inſufficient Parliament that ever had been in *England*: That the King was gone to live in *Kent*, becauſe that, for the Preſent, he had not the Love of the Citizens of *London*, nor ſhould he have it for the Future: That, if the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* was dead, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being Cardinal of *England*, would immediately loſe his Head. This Indictment was returned into the *King*'s-*Bench* in *Trinity Term*, in the eighteenth Year of *Edward the Fourth*. Afterwards, there came a Privy-Seal to the Judges to reſpite the Proceedings, which, as it ſhould ſeem, was, to the Intent, the Judges might adviſe of the Caſe, for afterwards he is outlawed of High Treaſon upon this Indictment.

Theſe Words were thought ſufficient Evidence to prove theſe ſeveral Indictments, That they were ſpoken to withdraw the People's Affection from the King, to excite them againſt him, to cauſe Riſings againſt him by the People, in *mortem & deſtructionem* of the King.

Your Lordſhips are pleaſed to conſider, that, in all theſe Caſes, the Treaſon was for Words only, Words by private Perſons, and, in a more private Manner, but once ſpoken and no more, only amongſt the People, to excite them againſt the King.

My Lords, here are Words, Counſels more than Words, and Actions too, not only to diſaffect the People to the King, but the King likewiſe towards the People; not once, but often; not in private, but in Places moſt publick; not by a private Perſon, but by a Counſellor of State, a Lord Lieutenant, a Lord Preſident, a Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

1. To his Majeſty, 'That the Parliament had 'denied to ſupply him;' a Slander upon all the Commons of *England*, in their Affections to the King and Kingdom, in Refuſing to yield timely Supplies for the Neceſſities of the King and Kingdom.

2. From thence, 'That the King was looſed 'and abſolved from Rules of Government, and 'was to do every Thing that Power would ad-'mit.' My Lords, more cannot be ſaid, they cannot be aggravated, whatever I ſhould ſay would be in Diminution.

3. Thence, 'You have an Army in *Ire-'land* you may employ to reduce this King-'dom.'

To counſel a King not to love his People, is very unnatural; it goes higher to hate them, to malice them in his Heart; the higheſt Expreſſions of Malice, to deſtroy them by War: Theſe Coals they were caſt upon his Majeſty, they were blown, they could not kindle in that Breaſt.

Thence, my Lords, having done the utmoſt to the King, he goes to the People. At *York*, the Country being met together for Juſtice, at the open Aſſizes upon the Bench, he tells them, ſpeaking of the Juſtices of the Peace, 'That they were all for Law, nothing but 'Law, but they ſhould find, that the King's 'little Finger ſhould be heavier than the Loins 'of the Law.'

They ſhall find, My Lords, who ſpeaks this to the People? A Privy-Counſellor: This muſt be either to traduce his Majeſty to the People, as ſpoken from him, or from himſelf, who was Lord Lieutenant of the Country, and Preſident, intruſted with the Forces, and Juſtice of thoſe Parts, that he would employ both this Way; add, my Lords, to his Words there, the Exerciſing of an arbitrary and vaſt Juriſdiction, before he had ſo much as Inſtructions, or Colour of Warrant.

Thence, we carry him into *Ireland*; there he repreſented, by his Place, the ſacred Perſon of his Majeſty.

1. There, at *Dublin*, the principal City of that Kingdom, whither the Subjects of that Country came for Juſtice, in an Aſſembly of Peers, and others of greateſt Rank, upon Occaſion of a Speech of the Recorder of that City, touching their Franchiſes and legal Rights, he tells them, 'That *Ireland* was a conquered Na-'tion, and that the King might do with them 'what he pleaſed.'

2. Not

2. Not long after, in the Parliament of 10 *Car.* in the Chair of State, in full Parliament, again, 'That they were a conquered Nation, 'and that they were to expect Laws as from a 'Conqueror; *before*, the King might do with 'them what he would; *now*, they were to ex-'pect it, that he would put this Power of a 'Conqueror in Execution.' The Circumstances are very considerable, in full Parliament, from himself in *Cathedrâ*, to the Representative Body of the whole Kingdom.

The Occasion adds much, when they desire the Benefit of the Laws, and that their Causes and Suits might be determined according to Law, and not by himself, at his Will and Pleasure, upon Paper Petitions.

3. Upon like Occasion of pressing the Laws and Statutes, 'That he would make an Act of 'Council-board, in that Kingdom, as binding 'as an Act of Parliament.'

4. He made his Words good by his Actions, assumed and exercised a boundless and lawless Jurisdiction over the Lives, Persons, and Estates of his Majesty's Subjects; procured Judgment of Death against a Peer of that Realm, and commanded another to be hanged; this was accordingly executed, both in Times of high Peace, without any Process, or Colour of Law.

5. By Force, for a long Time, he seized the Yarn and Flax of the Subjects, to the Starving and Undoing of many Thousands; besides the Tobacco Business, and many Monopolies and unlawful Taxes, he forced a new Oath not to dispute his Majesty's Royal Commands, determined Men's Estates at his own Will and Pleasure upon Paper Petitions to himself, and forced Obedience to these, not only by Fines and Imprisonment, but likewise by the Army, assessing Soldiers upon the Refusers in a hostile Manner.

6. Was an Incendiary of the War between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*.

My Lords, we shall leave it to your Lordships Judgments, Whether these Words, Counsels, and Actions, would not have been a sufficient Evidence to have proved an Indictment drawn up against him, as those beforementioned, and many others are; that they were spoken, and done, to the Intent to withdraw the King's Heart from the People, and the Affections of the People from the King, that they might leave the King, and afterwards rise up in Judgment against him to the Destruction of the King? If so, here is a Compassing of the King's Death within the Words of the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, and that warranted by many former Judgments.

The Fourth general Head.

My Lords, I have now done with the three Treasons within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. I proceed to the *Fourth*, upon the Statute of 18 *Hen.* VI, *Cap.* 3, in *Ireland*; I shall make bold to read the Words to your Lordships:

'That no Lord, nor any other, of what 'Condition soever he be, shall bring, or lead 'Hoblers, Kerves, or hooded Men, nor any 'other People, nor Horses, to lie on Horse-'back, or on Foot, upon the King's Subjects, 'without their Good-will and Consent, but 'upon their own Costs, and without doing 'Hurt to the Commons; and, if any so do, he 'shall be judged as a Traitor.'

1. The Argument that hath been made concerning the Person, That it extends not to the King, and therefore not to him, weighs Nothing with your Lordships. *Rex non habet in regno parem*; from the Greatness of his Office to argue himself into the same Impossibility with his Sacred Majesty of being incapable of High Treason, it is an Offence, no Reason; the Words in the Statute, *No Lord, nor any other, of what Condition soever he be*, includes every Subject.

In *Trinity Term*, in the thirty-third Year of *Henry the Eighth*, in the *King's-Bench*, *Leonard* Lord *Gray*, having immediately before been Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, is attainted of High Treason, and Judgment given against him, for Letting divers Rebels out of the Castle of *Dublin*, Discharging *Irish* Hostages and Pledges that had been given for Securing the Peace, and for not Punishing one that said the King was an Heretick. I have read the whole Record, there is not one Thing laid to his Charge, but was done by him as Lord Lieutenant; he had the same Plea with my Lord of *Strafford*, that these Things were no Adhering to the King's Enemies, but were done for Reasons of State: That he was not within those Words of the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, himself being Lord Lieutenant there; but they cost his Life.

Obj. 2. It hath been said, That the Soldiers, assessed upon the Subjects by him, were not such Persons as are intended by that Statute, Hob-

lers, Kerves, and hooded Men, theſe raſcally People.

Anſw. My Lords, they were the Names given to the Soldiery of thoſe Times, Hoblers, Horſemen, the other the Foot; but the Words of the Statute go further, *Nor any other People, neither Horſe nor Foot*; his Lordſhip aſſeſſed upon them both Horſe and Foot.

Obj. 3. The Statute extends only to them that lead or bring; *Savill* led them, my Lord only gave the Warrant.

Anſw. To that I ſhall ſay only thus, *Plus peccat author quam actor*; by the Rule of Law, *agentes & conſentientes pari plectuntur pœnâ*; if Conſent, much more a Command to do it, makes the Commander a Traitor. If there be any Treaſon within this Statute, my Lord of *Strafford* is guilty.

Obj. 4. It hath been therefore ſaid, That this Statute, like *Goliah*'s Sword, hath been wrapped up in a Cloth, and laid behind the Door; that it hath never been put in Execution.

Anſw. My Lords, if the Clerk of the Crown in *Ireland* had certified your Lordſhips, that, upon Search of the Judgments of Attainders in *Ireland*, he could not find, that any Man had had been attainted upon the Statute, your Lordſhips had had ſome Ground to believe it, yet it is only my Lord of *Strafford*'s Affirmation. Beſides, your Lordſhips know that an Act of Parliament binds, until it be repealed.

It hath been therefore ſaid, that this Statute is repealed by the Statutes, 8 *Edw.* IV, the the firſt Chapter; and 10 *Hen.* VII, the twenty-ſecond Chapter; becauſe, by theſe two Statutes, the *Engliſh* Statutes are brought into *Ireland*.

The Argument, if I miſtook it not, ſtood thus: That the Statute, 1 *Hen.* IV, the tenth Chapter, ſaith, That, in no Time to come, Treaſon ſhall be adjudged otherwiſe, than it was ordained by the Statute 25 *Edw.* III: That the Treaſon mentioned, 18 *Hen.* VI, in the *Iriſh* Statute, is not contained in the Statute, 25 *Edw.* III, and therefore, being contrary to the Statute 1 *Hen.* IV, it muſt needs be void.

My Lords, the Difference of the Times, wherein the Statute, 1 *Hen.* IV, and that of 18 *Hen.* VI, were made, clears the Point, as is humbly conceived; that of *Henry the Sixth* was made forty Years after the other.

The Statute, 8 *Edw.* IV, and 10 *Hen.* VII, bringing in the *Engliſh* Statutes in Order and Series of Time, as they were made one after another, as afterwards is proved, they did, it cannot be that the Statute, 1 *Hen.* IV, made forty Years before, ſhould repeal or make void the Statute, 18 *Hen.* VI, made ſo long after. The Rule of Law is that, *Leges poſteriores priores abrogant*, that latter Laws repeal former; but, by this Conſtruction, a former Law ſhould repeal and make void a *Non ens*, a Statute that then was not.

If this were Law, then all the Statutes that made any new Treaſon, after the firſt Year of *Henry the Fourth*, were void in the very Fabrick, and at the Time when they were made; hence likewiſe it would follow, that the Parliament now, upon what Occaſion ſoever, hath no Power to make any Thing Treaſon, not declared to be ſo, in the Statute, 25 *Edw.* III. This, your Lordſhips eaſily ſee, would make much for my Lord of *Strafford*'s Advantage; but, why the Law ſhould be ſo, your Lordſhips, as yet, have only heard an Affirmation of it, no Reaſon.

But ſome Touch was given that this Statute, 10 *Hen.* VII, in Words makes all the *Iriſh* Statutes void, which are contrary to the *Engliſh*. The Anſwer to this is a Denial, that there are any ſuch Words in the Statute: This Statute declares, that the *Engliſh* Statutes ſhall be effectual and confirmed in *Ireland*, and that all Statutes, before Time, made to the contrary, ſhall be revoked; this repeals only the *Iriſh* Statutes, 10 *Hen.* IV, and 29 *Hen.* VI, which ſay, that the *Engliſh* Statutes ſhall not be in Force in *Ireland*, unleſs particularly received in Parliament; it makes all the *Iriſh* Statutes void, which ſay that the *Engliſh* Statutes ſhall not be in Force there.

It is uſual, when a Statute ſaith, that ſuch a Thing ſhall be done or not done, to add further, that all Statutes, to the contrary, ſhall be void.

It is not likely, that this Statute intended to take away any Statute of Treaſon; when, but in the Chapter next before this, Murder there is made Treaſon, as if done upon the King's Perſon.

That this Statute, 18 *Hen.* VI, remains on Foot, and not repealed, either by the Statute 8 *Edw.* IV, or this, 10 *Hen.* VII, appears expreſly by two ſeveral Acts of Parliament, made at the ſame Parliament of the tenth Year of *Henry the Seventh*,

By

By an Act of Parliament, in *Henry the Sixth*'s Time, in *Ireland* it was made Treaſon for any Man to procure a Privy Seal, or any other Command whatſoever, for Apprehending any Perſon in *Ireland*, for Treaſon done without that Kingdom, and to put any ſuch Command in Execution; divers had been attainted of Treaſon for Executing ſuch Commands: Here is a Treaſon, ſo made by Act of Parliament, in *Henry the Sixth*'s Time: In the third Chapter of this Parliament of the tenth of *Henry the Seventh*, an Act is paſſed for no other End, than to repeal this Statute of *Henry the Sixth* of Treaſon.

If this Statute of *Henry the Sixth* of Treaſon had been formerly repealed by the Statute of 8 *Edw.* IV, or then by the two and twentieth Chapter of this Parliament of 10 *Hen.* VII, by Bringing in the *Engliſh* Statutes, the Lawmakers were much miſtaken now to make a particular Act of Parliament to repeal it, it being likewiſe ſo unreaſonable an Act as it was.

In the eighth Chapter of this Parliament, of the Tenth of *Henry the Seventh*, it is enacted, That the Statutes of *Kilkenny*, and all other Statutes made in *Ireland*, two only excepted, whereof this of the eighteenth of *Henry the Sixth* is none, for the Commonwealth ſhall be enquired of, and executed. My Lord of *Strafford* ſaith, that the Bringing in of the *Engliſh* Statutes hath repealed this Statute, 18 *Hen.* VI; the Act of Parliament, made the ſame Time, ſaith no; it ſaith that all the *Iriſh* Statutes, excepting two, whereof this is none, ſhall ſtill be in Force.

Object. Oh! but, however it was in the Tenth of *Henry the Seventh*, yet it appeareth by Judgment in Parliament afterwards, That this Statute of 18 *Hen.* VI. is repealed, and that is, by the Parliament of the eleventh Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*, the ſeventh Chapter: That, by this Parliament, it is enacted, That if any Man, without Licenſe from the Lord Deputy, lay any Soldiers upon the King's Subjects; if he be a Peer of the Realm, he ſhall forfeit one-hundred Pounds; if under the Degree of a Peer, a hundred Marks. This Statute, as is alledged, declares the Penalty of laying Soldiers upon the Subjects, to be only a hundred Pounds, and therefore it is not Treaſon.

Anſw. My Lords, if the Offence, for which this Penalty of one-hundred Pounds is laid upon the Offender, be for Laying Soldiers, or Leading them to do any Acts offenſive, or invaſive upon the King's People, the Argument hath ſome Force; but that the Offence is not for Laying Soldiers, upon the true Subjects, that this is not the Offence intended in the Statute, will appear to your Lordſhips, *ex abſurdo*, from the Words of it.

The Words are, That, if any Man ſhall aſſemble the People of the County together, to conclude of Peace or War, or ſhall carry thoſe People to do any Acts offenſive or invaſive, then he ſhall forfeit one-hundred Pounds. If Concluding of War, and Carrying the People to Acts invaſive, be againſt the King's Subjects, this is High Treaſon, within the Words of the Statute, 25 *Edw.* III; for if any Subject ſhall aſſemble the People, and conclude a War, and accordingly ſhall lead them to invade the Subject; this is a Levying of War within the Words of that Statute, and then the Statutes, 25 *Edw.* III, 1 *Hen.* IV, and 1 *Mary*, which the Earl of *Strafford*, in his Anſwer, deſires to be tried by, are as well repealed in this Point, as the Statute of 18 *Hen.* VI; he might then, without Fear of Treaſon, have done what he pleaſed with the *Iriſh* Army; for all the Statutes of Levying War, by this Statute 11 *Eliz.* were taken out of his Way.

In *Ireland* a Subject gathers Forces, concludes a War againſt the King's People, and actually invades them; Blood-ſhed, Burning of Houſes, and Depredations enſue; two of thoſe, that is, Murder and Burning of Houſes, are Treaſon, and there the other Felony; by this Conſtruction, the Puniſhment of Treaſon and Felony is turned only into a Fine of one-hundred Pounds, from Loſs of Life, Lands, and all his Goods, only to Loſs of Part of his Goods.

The third Abſurdity, a War is concluded, three ſeveral Inroads are made upon the Subjects in the Firſt, a hundred Pounds Damage; in the Second, five-thouſand Pounds Damage; in the Third, ten-thouſand Pounds Damage is done to the Subjects; the Penalty for the laſt Inroad is no more than for the firſt, only one-hundred Pounds. This Statute, by this Conſtruction, tells any Man how to get his Living without long Labour.

Two Parts of the hundred Pounds are given to the King, a third Part to the Informer; here is no Damage to the Subject, that is robbed and deſtroyed.

My

My Lords, the Statute will free itſelf, and the Makers of it, from theſe Abſurdities.

The Meaning of this Statute is, That if any Captain ſhall, of his own Head, conclude of Peace or War againſt the King's Enemies or Rebels, or ſhall upon his own Head invade them, without Warrant from the King or the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, that then he ſhall forfeit a hundred Pounds.

The Offence is not for Laying of Soldiers upon the King's People, but Making of War againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, without Warrant; the Offence is not in the Matter, but in the Manner, for Doing a Thing lawful, but without Miſſion.

1. This will appear by the general Scope of the Statute, all the Parts being put together.

2. By particular Clauſes in the Statute: And,

3. By the Condition of that Kingdom, at the Time of the making of that Statute.

For the *Firſt*, the Preamble recites, That in Time of Declination of Juſtice, under Pretext of Defending the Country, and themſelves, divers great Men arrogated to themſelves regal Authority under the Names of Captains; that they acquired to themſelves that Government, which belonged to the Crown; for Preventing of this, it is enacted, That no Man, dwelling within the Shire-Grounds, ſhall thenceforth aſſume or take upon himſelf the Authority or Name of a Captain, within thoſe Shire-grounds, without Letters Patents from the Crown; nor ſhall, under Co- of his Captainſhip, make any Demand of ple of any Exaction, nor, as a Captain, the People of the Shire-grounds; nor, ſhall lead thoſe People to do any or invaſive, without Warrant eal of *England*, or of the Penalty that, if he do any t Act, then the Offender d Pounds.

Rebels had been out; the arce ſat, for Defence of ers uſurped the Place of d of War againſt the Re- them without Warrant; Invading the Rebels, without Authority, is the Crime.

This appears further, by particular Clauſes in the Statute, None ſhall exerciſe any Captainſhip, within the Shire-grounds, nor aſſemble the Men of the Shire-grounds to conclude of War, or lead them to any Invaſion.

That that had anciently been ſo continued to this Time, that is, the *Iriſh* and the *Engliſh* Pale; they within the Shire-grounds were within the *Engliſh* Pale, and *ad fidem & legem Angliæ*; the *Iriſh*, that were without the Pale, were Enemies always either in open Act of Hoſtility, or upon Leagues, and Hoſtages given for Securing the Peace; and therefore, as here in *England*, we had our Marches upon the Frontiers in *Scotland* and *Wales*, ſo were there Marches between the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Pale, where the Inhabitants held their Lands by this Tenure, to defend the Country againſt the *Iriſh*, as appears in the Cloſe Rolls of the *Tower*, in the twentieth Year of *Edward the Third*, *Membrana* 15, on the Backſide; and, in an *Iriſh* Parliament held the forty-ſecond Year of *Edward the Third*, it is declared, that the *Engliſh* Pale was almoſt deſtroyed by the *Iriſh* Enemies, and that there was no Way to prevent the Danger, but only that the Owners reſide upon their Lands for Defence, and that Abſence ſhould be a Forfeiture; this Act of Parliament, in a great Council here, was affirmed, as appears in the Cloſe Roll, the twenty-ſecond Year of *Edward the Third*, *Membrana* 20 *Dorſo*.

Afterwards, as appears in the Statute of the eight and twentieth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, in *Ireland*, this Hoſtility continued between the *Engliſh* Marches and the *Iriſh* Enemies, who, by Reaſon there was no Difference between the *Engliſh* Marches and them, in their Apparel, did daily, not being known to the *Engliſh*, deſtroy the *Engliſh*, within the Pale: Therefore it is enacted, that every *Engliſhman* ſhall ſhave the Hair of his upper Lip, for Diſtinction Sake. This Hoſtility continued, till the tenth Year of *Henry the Seventh*, as appears by the Statute of the Tenth of *Henry the Seventh*, the ſeventeenth Chapter, and ſo ſucceſſively downwards, till the making of this very Statute of the eleventh Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*, as appears fully in the ninth Chapter.

Nay, immediately before, and at the Time of the Making of this Statute, there was not only Enmity between thoſe of the Shire grounds, that is, the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Pale, but open War and Acts of Hoſtility, as appears by Hiſtory of no leſs Authority, than that Statute itſelf; for, in the firſt Chapter of this Statute, is the Attainder of *Shane O Neale*, who had made open War, and was ſlain in open War. It is there declared, that he had gotten by Force all the *North* of *Ireland*, for an hundred and twenty Miles in Length, and above a Hundred in Breadth; that he had maſtered divers Places within the *Engliſh* Pale; when the Flame of this War, by his Death immediately before this Statute, was ſpent, yet the Firebrands were not all quenched, for the Rebellion was continued by *John Fitz-Gerard*, called the *White Knight*, and *Thomas Queverford*; this appears by the Statute of 13 *Eliſ.* in *Ireland*, but two Years after this, of 11 *Eliſ.* where they are attainted of High Treaſon, for Levying War this eleventh Year, wherein this Statute was made.

So that, my Lords, immediately before, and at the Time of the Making of this Statute, there being War between thoſe of the Shire grounds, mentioned in this Statute, and the *Iriſh*, the Concluding of War and Acts offenſive and invaſive, there mentioned, can be intended againſt no others, but the *Iriſh* Enemies.

Again, The Words of the Statute are, *No Captain ſhall aſſemble the People of the Shire-grounds to conclude of Peace or War:* Is it to be preſumed, that thoſe of the Shire grounds will conclude of War againſt themſelves? *Nor*, ſaith the Statute, *ſhall carry thoſe of the Shire-grounds to do any Acts invaſive:* By the Conſtruction which is made on the other Side, they muſt be carried to fight againſt themſelves.

Laſtly, The Words are, *as a Captain: None ſhall aſſume the Name, or Authority, of a Captain*; *or*, as a Captain, *ſhall gather the People together*; *or*, as a Captain, *lead them.* The Offence is not in the Matter, but in the Manner: If the Acts offenſive were againſt the King's good Subjects, thoſe that went under Command were puniſhable, as well as the Commanders; but, in Reſpect the Soldiers knew the Service to be good in itſelf, being againſt the Enemies, and that it was not for them to diſpute the Authority of their Commanders, the Penalty of a hundred Pounds is laid only upon him, that, as Captain, ſhall aſſume this Power without Warrant; the People commanded are not within the Statute.

My Lords, the Logick, whereupon this Argument hath been framed, ſtands thus: Becauſe the Statute of the eleventh Year of Queen *Eliſabeth* inflicts a Penalty of an hundred Pounds, and no more, upon any Man, that, as a Captain without Warrant, and upon his own Head, ſhall conclude of, or make War againſt the King's Enemies; therefore the Statute of the eighteenth Year of *Hen.* VI. is repealed, which makes it Treaſon to lay Soldiers upon, or to levy War againſt the King's good People.

But, my Lords, Obſervation hath been made upon other Words of this Statute, that is, that, without Licence of the Deputy, theſe Things cannot be done. This ſhews, that the Deputy is within none of theſe Statutes.

My Lords, this Argument ſtands upon the ſame Reaſon with the former: Becauſe he hath the Ordering of the Army of *Ireland*, for the Defence of the People, and may give Warrant to the Officers of the Army, upon eminent Occaſions of Invaſion, to reſiſt or proſecute the Enemy, becauſe of the Danger that elſe might enſue forthwith, by ſtaying for a Warrant from his Majeſty out of *England*; therefore it is no Treaſon in the Deputy to employ the Army in *Ireland*, whenſoever he pleaſeth, for the Subverſion of the King's good People, and of the Laws.

My Lords, the Statute of the tenth Year of *Hen.* VII, *Cap.* xvii, touched upon for this Purpoſe, clears the Buſineſs in both Points; for there it is declared, that none ought to make War upon the *Iriſh* Rebels and Enemies, without Warrant from the Lieutenant; the Forfeiture a hundred Pounds, as here; the Statute is the ſame with this, and might as well h[ave] been cited for Repealing the Statute [of] eighteenth Year of *Henry* VI, as th[at] eleventh Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*: [If] had been inſiſted upon it, it w[ould] pounded the other two clea[r]

Object. My Lords, it h[ath] although the Statute be [not] be a Treaſon within it, [yet] hath no Juriſdiction; the[y] mitted in *Ireland*, therefo[re]

Anſw. My Lords, Sir [John] Predeceſſor, in the twe[nty] Queen *Eliſabeth*, was t[ried]

Bench for Treaſon done in *Ireland*, when he was Deputy, and *Orucke*, in the thirty-third Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*, judged here for Treaſon done in *Ireland*.

Object. But it will be ſaid, theſe Trials were after the Statute of the four and thirtieth Year of *Henry* VIII. which enacts, that Treaſons beyond Sea may be tried in *England*.

Anſw. My Lords, his Predeceſſor, my Lord *Gray*, was tried and adjudged here in the *King*'s *Bench*, that was in *Trinity*-Term, in the three and thirtieth Year of *Henry the Eighth*; this was before the Making of that Statute.

Object. To this again will be ſaid, That it was for Treaſon by the Laws and Statutes of *England*; but this is not for any Thing that is Treaſon by the Law of *England*, but by an *Iriſh* Statute.

So that the Queſtion is only, Whether your Lordſhips in Parliament here have Cogniſance of an Offence made Treaſon by an *Iriſh* Statute, in the ordinary Way of Judicature without Bill? For ſo is the preſent Queſtion.

For the Clearing of this, I ſhall propound two Things to your Lordſhips Conſideration:

1. Whether the Rule for Expounding the *Iriſh* Statutes and Cuſtoms be one and the ſame in *England* as in *Ireland*?

2. That being admitted, Whether the Parliaments in *England* have Cogniſance or Juriſdiction of Things there done in reſpect of the Place, becauſe the King's Writ runs not there.

For the firſt, if, in reſpect of the Place, the Parliament here hath Cogniſance there, and, ſecondly, if the Rules for Expounding the *Iriſh* Statutes and Cuſtoms be the ſame here as there, this Exception, as I humbly conceive, muſt fall away.

[redacted] *England* there is the Common Law, the [redacted], the Acts of Parliament, and Cuſtoms [redacted] to certain Places differing from the [redacted] Law; if any Queſtion ariſe concern[redacted] ſtom or an Act of Parliament, [redacted] of *England*, the firſt, the [redacted] general Law, is the [redacted] them, and of their ſe[redacted] here, it is ſo in *Ireland*; [redacted] of *England* is the Common [redacted] wiſe; the ſame here and [redacted] of it.

[redacted] into *Ireland* by King [redacted] by King *Henry the Third*, [redacted], held in *England*, as appears by the Patent Rolls of King *Henry the Third*, the firſt *Membrana*. The Words are, *Quia pro communi utilitate terræ Hiberniæ, & unitate terrarum Regis, Rex vult, & de communi conſilio Regis proviſum eſt, quod omnes leges & conſuetudines, quæ in regno Angliæ tenentur, in Hibernia teneantur, & eadem terra eiſdem legibus ſubjaceat & per eaſdem regatur, ſicut Dominus Johannes Rex, cum ultimo eſſet in Hibernia, ſtatuit, & fieri mandavit. Quia, &c. Rex vult quod omnia brevia de communi jure quæ currunt in Anglia ſimiliter currant in Hibernia ſub novo ſigillo Regis, mandatum eſt Archiepiſcopis, &c. quod, pro pace & tranquilitate ejuſdem terræ, per eaſdem leges eos regi & deduci permittant, & eas in omnibus ſequantur. In cujus, &c. Teſte Rege, apud Woodſtock, decimo nono die Septembris.*

Here is an Union of both Kingdoms, and that by Act of Parliament, and the ſame Laws to be uſed here as there, *in omnibus*.

My Lords, That nothing might be left here for an Exception, that is, that in Treaſons, Felonies, and other capital Offences concerning Life, the *Iriſh* Laws are not the ſame as here; therefore it is enacted, in a Parliament held in *England*, in the fourteenth Year of *Edward* II. (it is not in Print neither, but is in the Parliament Book) That the Laws concerning Life and Member ſhall be the ſame in *Ireland* as in *England*.

And, that no Exception might yet remain in *England*, the fifth Year of *Edward* III, it is enacted, *Quod una & eadem Lex fiat tam Hibernicis quam Anglicis.* This Act is inrolled in the Patent Rolls of the fifth Year of *Edward* III, *Part* 1, *Memb.* 25.

The *Iriſh* therefore receiving their Laws from hence, they ſend their Students at Law to the Inns of Courts in *England*, where they receive their Degree; and of them, and of the Common Lawyers of this Kingdom, are the Judges made.

The Petitions have been many from *Ireland*, to ſend from hence ſome Judges more learned in the Laws than thoſe they had there.

It hath been frequent, in Caſes of Difficulty there, to ſend ſometimes to the Parliament here, ſometimes to the King, by Advice from the Judges here, to ſend them Reſolutions of their Doubts: Amongſt many, I will cite your Lordſhips only one, becauſe it is in a Caſe of Treaſon upon an *Iriſh* Statute, and therefore full to this Point.

By

By a Statute there made in the fifth Year of *Edward* IV, there is Proviſion made for ſuch as upon Suggeſtions are committed to Priſon for Treaſon, that the Party committed, if he can procure twenty-four Compurgators, ſhall be bailed, and let out of Priſon.

Two Citizens of *Dublin* were by a Grand Jury preſented, to have committed Treaſon; they deſired the Benefit of this Statute, that they might be let out of Priſon upon Tender of their Compurgators. The Words of the Statute, of the fifth Year of *Edward* IV. in *Ireland*, being obſcure, the Judges there, not being ſatisfied what to do, ſent the Caſe over to the Queen, and deſired the Opinion of the Judges here; which was done accordingly: The Judges here ſent over their Opinion, which I have out of the Book of Juſtice *Anderſon*, one of the Judges, conſulted withal. The Judges here delivered their Opinion upon an *Iriſh* Statute, in Caſe of Treaſon.

If it be objected, That in this Caſe the Judges here did not judge upon the Party, their Opinions were only *ad informandam conſcientiam* of the Judges in *Ireland*; that the Judgment belonged to the Judges there.

My Lords, with Submiſſion, this and the other Authorities prove that for which they were cited, that is, That no Abſurdity, no Failure of Juſtice would enſue, if this great Judicatory ſhould judge of Treaſon ſo made by an *Iriſh* Statute.

The Common Law, the Rule of judging upon an *Iriſh* Statute, the Pleas of the Crown for Things of Life and Death, are the ſame here and there. This is all that hath yet been offered.

For the ſecond Point, That *England* hath no Power of Judicature for Things done in *Ireland*; my Lords, the conſtant Practice of all Ages proves the contrary.

Writs of Error in Pleas of the Crown, as well as in Civil Cauſes, have in all Kings Reigns been brought here, even in the inferior Courts of *Weſtminſter-hall*, upon Judgments given in the Courts of *Ireland*: The Practice is ſo frequent, and ſo well known, that I ſhall cite none of them to your Lordſhips: No Precedent will, I believe, be produced to your Lordſhips, that ever the Caſe was remanded back again into *Ireland*, becauſe the Queſtion roſe upon an *Iriſh* Statute or Cuſtom.

Object. But it will be ſaid, That Writs of Error are only upon a Failure of Juſtice in *Ireland*; and that Suits cannot originally be commenced here for Things done in *Ireland*, becauſe the King's Writ runs not in *Ireland*.

Anſw. This might be a good Plea in the *King's-Bench*, and inferior Courts at *Weſtminſter-hall*; the Queſtion is, Whether it be ſo in Parliament? The King's Writ runs not within the Counties Palatine of *Cheſter* and *Durham*, nor within the *Cinque* Ports; neither did it in *Wales*, before the Union in *Henry the Eighth*'s Time; after the Laws of *England* were brought into *Wales*, in King *Edward the Firſt*'s Time, Suits were not originally commenced in *Weſtminſter-hall*, for Things done in them, yet this never excluded the Parliament. Suits for Life, Lands, and Goods, within thoſe Juriſdictions, are determinable in Parliament, as well as in any other Parts of the Realm.

Ireland, as appears by the Statute of the thirtieth Year of *Henry the Third* beforementioned, is united to the Crown of *England*.

By the Statute of the twenty-eighth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, in *Ireland*, it is declared in theſe Words: That *Ireland* is the proper Dominion of *England*, and united to the Crown of *England*; which Crown of *England* is of itſelf, and by itſelf, fully, wholly, and intirely endowed with all Power and Authority ſufficient to yield to the Subjects of the ſame full and plenary Remedy, in all Debates and Suits whatſoever.

By the Statute of the twenty-third Year of *Henry the Eighth*, the firſt Chapter, when the Kings of *England* firſt aſſumed the Title of King of *Ireland*, it is there enacted, That *Ireland* ſtill is to be held, as a Crown annexed and united to the Crown of *England*.

So that, by the ſame Reaſon, from this, That the King's Writ runs not in *Ireland*, it might as well be held, That the Parli[illegible] cannot originally hold Plea of Thing[illegible] within the Counties Palatine of *Ch[illegible]* *Durham*, nor within the *Cinqu[illegible]* *Wales*; *Ireland* is Part of the [illegible] *land*, as appears by thoſe S[illegible] any of them.

This is made good by [illegible] all the Parliament-rolls, f[illegible] laſt, there are Receivers [illegible] tions appointed for *Irelan[illegible]* come ſo far with their [illegible] and the Parliament not [illegible] when from Time to Tim[illegible]

Beginning of the Parliament, appointed Receivers and Triers of them, is a Thing not to be presumed.

An Appeal in *Ireland*, brought by *William* Lord *Vesey* against *John Fitz-Thomas*, for treasonable Words there spoken, before any Judgment given in the Case there, was removed into the Parliament in *England*, and there the Defendant acquitted, as appears in the Parliament-pleas of the twenty-second Year of *Edward the First*.

The Suits for Lands, Offices, and Goods, originally begun here, are many; and, if a Question grew upon Matter of Fact, a Jury was usually ordered to try it, and the Verdict returned into Parliament, as in the Case of one *Balliben*, in the Parliament of the thirty-fifth Year of *Edward the First*. If Doubt arose upon a Matter triable by Record, a Writ went to the Officers, in whose Custody the Record remained, to certify the Record, as was in the Case of *Robert Bagot*, the same Parliament of the thirty-fifth Year of *Edward the First*, where the Writs went to the Treasurer and Barons of the *Exchequer*.

Sometimes they gave Judgment here in Parliament, and commanded the Judges there in *Ireland* to do Execution, as in the great Case of Partition between the Copartners of the Earl-Marshal, in the Parliament of the thirty-third Year of *Edward the First*, where the Writ was awarded to the Treasurer of *Ireland*.

My Lords, The Laws of *Ireland* were introduced by the Parliaments of *England*, as appears by three Acts of Parliament before-cited.

It is of higher Jurisdiction *dare Leges*, than to judge by them.

The Parliaments of *England* do bind in *Ireland*, if *Ireland* be particularly mentioned, as is resolved in the Book-case of the first Year of *Henry the Seventh*, *Coke*'s seventh Report, *Calvin*'s Case, and by the Judges in *Trinity* Term, in the thirty-third Year of Queen *Elisabeth*. The Statute of the eighth Year of *Edward the Fourth*, the first Chapter, in *Ireland*, recites, That it was doubted amongst the Judges, whether all the *English* Statutes, though not naming *Ireland*, were in Force there; if named, no Doubt.

From King *Henry the Third*'s Time, downward, to the eighth Year of Queen *Elisabeth* (by which Statute it is made Felony to carry Sheep from *Ireland* beyond Seas) in almost all these Kings Reigns there are Statutes made concerning *Ireland*.

The Exercising of the Legislative Power there, over their Lives and Estates, is higher than of the Judicial in Question. Until the twenty-ninth Year of *Edward the Third*, erroneous Judgments, given in *Ireland*, were determinable no-where but in *England*; no, not in the Parliaments of *Ireland*, as it appears in the Close Rolls in the *Tower*, in the twenty-ninth Year of *Edward the Third*, *Memb.* 12. Power to examine and reverse erroneous Judgments in the Parliaments of *Ireland* is granted from hence: Writs of Error lie in the Parliament here upon erroneous Judgments after the Time given in the Parliaments of *Ireland*, as appears in the Parliament-rolls of the eighth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, Numb. 70, in the Case of the Prior of *Lenthan*. It is true, the Case is not determined there, for it is the last Thing that came into the Parliament, and could not be determined, for Want of Time; but no Exception at all is taken to the Jurisdiction.

The Acts of Parliament made in *Ireland* have been confirmed in the Parliaments of *England*, as appears by the Close Rolls in the *Tower*, in the forty-second Year of *Edward the Third*, *Memb.* 20. *Dorso*; where the Parliament of *Ireland*, for the Preservation of the Country from the *Irish*, who had almost destroyed it, made an Act, That all the Land-owners, that were *English*, should reside upon their Lands, or else they were to be forfeited: This was here confirmed.

In the Parliament of the fourth Year of *Henry the Fifth*, Chap. vi. Acts of Parliament in *Ireland* are confirmed, and some Privileges of the Peers in the Parliaments there are regulated.

Power to repeal *Irish* Statutes, Power to confirm them, cannot be by the Parliament here, if it hath not Cognisance of their Parliaments, unless it be said, That the Parliament may do it knows not what.

Guernsey and *Jersey* are under the King's Subjection, but are not Parcels of the Crown of *England*, but of the Duchy of *Normandy*; they are not governed by the Laws of *England*, as *Ireland* is, and yet Parliaments in *England* have usually held Plea of, and determined all Causes concerning Lands, or Goods, In the Parliament of 33 *Edw.* I. there are *Placita de Insula Jernesey*; and so in the Parliament of 14 *Edw.* II; and so for *Normandy*

and *Gascoigne*; and always, as long as any Part of *France* was in Subjection to the Crown of *England*, there were, at the Beginning of the Parliaments, Receivers and Triers of Petitions for those Parts appointed.

My Lords, I believe your Lordships will have no Cases shewed of any Plea to the Jurisdiction of the Parliaments of *England*, in any Things done in any Parts wheresoever in Subjection to the Crown of *England*.

The last Thing, I shall offer to your Lordships, is the Case of 19 *Eliz.* in my Lord *Dyer*, 306, and Judge *Crompton's* Book of the Jurisdiction of Courts, *Fol.* 23. The Opinion of both these Books is, That an *Irish* Peer is not triable here. It is true, a *Scotch* or *French* Nobleman is triable here, as a common Person; the Law takes no Notice of their Nobility, because those Countries are not governed by the Laws of *England*; but, *Ireland* being governed by the same Laws, the Peers there are triable, according to the Law of *England*, only *per Pares*.

My Lords, By the same Reason, the Earl of *Strafford*, not being a Peer of *Ireland*, is not triable by the Peers of *Ireland*; so that, if he be not triable here, he is triable no-where.

My Lords, In Case there be a Treason and a Traitor within the Statute, and he be not triable here for it in the ordinary Way of Judicature, if that Jurisdiction fails, this by Way of Bill doth not; Attainders of Treason in Parliament are as legal, as usual, by Act of Parliament, as by Judgment.

I have now done with the Statutes of 25 *Edw.* III. and 18 *Hen.* VI. my Lord of *Strafford* hath offended against both the Kingdoms, and is guilty of High Treason by the Laws of both.

5. My Lords, in the fifth Place I am come to the Treasons at the Common Law, the Endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government.

In this I shall not at all labour to prove, that the Endeavouring by Words, Counsels, and Actions, to subvert the Laws, is Treason at the Common Law, if there be any Common Law Treasons at all left: Nothing is Treason, if not this, to make a Kingdom no Kingdom: Take the Polity and Government away, *England* is but a Piece of Earth, wherein so many Men have their Commorancy and Abode, without Ranks or Distinction of Men, without Property in any Thing further than Possession; no Law to punish the Murthering or or Robbing one another.

That of 33 *Hen.* VIII, of introducing the Imperial Law, sticks not with your Lordships; it was in Case of an Appeal to *Rome*: These Appeals, in Cases of Marriages, and other Causes counted Ecclesiastical, had been frequent, had in most Kings Reigns been tolerated: Some, in Times of Popery, put a Conscience upon them; the Statutes had limited the Penalty to a *Præmunire* only: Neither was that a total Subversion, only an Appeal from the Ecclesiastical Court here in a single Cause, to the Court at *Rome*; and, if Treason or not, that Case proves not: A Treason may be punished as a Felony, a Felony as a Trespass, if his Majesty so please; the greater includes the lesser. In the Case of *Præmunire* in the *Irish* Reports, that, which is there declared to be Treason, was proceeded upon only as a *Præmunire*.

The Thing most considerable in this, is, Whether the Treasons at Common Law be taken away by the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. 1 *Hen.* IV. or 1 Queen *Mary*, or any of them?

My Lords, to say they are taken away by the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. is to speak against both the direct Words and Scope of that Statute.

In it there is this Clause, 'That, because 'many other like Cases of Treason might fall 'out, which are not there declared, there- 'fore it is enacted, That, if any such Case 'come before the Judges, they shall not pro- 'ceed to Judgment till the Case be declared in 'Parliament, whether it ought to be adjudged 'Treason, or not.'

These Words and the whole Scope of that Statute shew, that it was not the Meaning to take away any Treasons that were so before, but only to regulate the Jurisdiction and Manner of Trial. Those that were single and certain Acts, as Conspiring the King's Death, Levying War, Counterfeiting the Money, or Great Seal, Killing a Judge; these are left to the ordinary Courts of Justice: The others not depending upon single Acts, but upon Constructions and necessary Inferences, they thought it not fit to give the inferior Courts so great a Latitude here, as too dangerous to the Subject; those they strained to the Parliament.

This

This Statute was the great Security of the Subject, made with ſuch Wiſdom as all the ſucceeding Ages have approved it: It hath often paſſed through the Furnace, but, like Gold, hath loſt little or nothing.

The Statute of 1 *Hen.* IV. *cap.* x. is in theſe Words, 'Whereas, in the Parliament 'held the Twenty-firſt Year of *Richard the* '*Second*, divers Pains of Treaſons were or-'dained, inſomuch that no Man did know 'how to behave himſelf, to do, ſay, or ſpeak: 'It is accorded, that, in no Time to come, 'any Treaſon be adjudged otherwiſe than it 'was ordained by the Statute of 2 *Edw.* III.'

It hath been ſaid, To what End is this Statute made, if it takes not away the Common Law Treaſons remaining after the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III.?

There are two main Things which this Statute doth: *Firſt*, It takes away for the Future all the Treaſons made by any Statute ſince 25 *Edw.* III. to 1 *Hen.* IV. even to that Time: For, my Lords, in Reſpect that, by another Act in that Parliament, the Statute of 21 *Rich.* II. was repealed, it will not be denied, but that this Statute repeals more Treaſons than theſe of 21 *Rich.* II. it repeals all Statute Treaſons but thoſe in 25 *Edw.* III.

Secondly, It not only takes away the Statute Treaſons, but likewiſe the declared Treaſons in Parliament after 25 *Edw.* III. as to the Future. After Declaration in Parliament, the inferior Courts might judge theſe Treaſons; for the Declaration of a Treaſon in Parliament, after it was made, was ſent to the inferior Courts, that, *toties quoties* the like Caſe fell out, they might proceed therein: The Subject for the Future was ſecured againſt theſe; ſo that this Statute was of great Uſe.

By the very Words of it, it ſtill refers all Treaſons to the Proviſion of 25 *Edw.* III. it leaves that intire, and upon its old Bottom.

The Statute of 1 Q. *M. Cap.* i. ſaith, 'That 'no Offences made Treaſon by any Act of 'Parliament, ſhall thenceforth be taken or 'adjudged to be Treaſon, but only ſuch as 'be declared and expreſſed to be Treaſon by 'the Statute of 25 *Ed.* III. concerning Trea-'ſon, or the Declaration of Treaſon, and no 'others:' And further provides, 'That no 'Pains of Death, Penalty, or Forfeiture, in 'any Wiſe ſhall enſue for Committing any 'Treaſon, other than ſuch as be in the Sta-'tute of 25 *Ed.* III. ordained and provided; 'any Acts of Parliament, or any Declaration, 'or Matter to the Contrary in any Wiſe not-'withſtanding.'

By the firſt Part of this Statute, only Offences made Treaſon by Act of Parliament are taken away, the Common Law Treaſons are no Way touched. The Words *(and no others)* refer ſtill to Offences made Treaſon by Act of Parliament, they reſtrain not to the Treaſons only particularly mentioned in the Statute of 25 *Ed.* III. but leave that Statute intire as to the Common Law Treaſon, as appears by the Words immediately foregoing, or the Declaration of Treaſon.

By the ſecond Part, for the Pains and Forfeitures of Treaſons, if it intend only the Puniſhment of Treaſon, or if it intend both Treaſon and Puniſhment, yet all is referred to the Proviſion and Ordinance of 25 *Edw.* III, any Act of Parliament, or other Declaration, or Thing notwithſtanding.

It ſaith not, other than ſuch Penalties or Treaſons as are expreſſed and declared in the Statute of 25 *Ed.* III. that might perhaps have reſtrained it to thoſe that are particularly mentioned: No, it refers all Treaſons to the general Ordination and Proviſion of that Statute, wherein the Common Law Treaſons are expreſly kept on Foot.

If it be aſked, What Good this Statute doth, if it take not away the Common Law Treaſons?

1. It takes away all the Treaſons made by Act of Parliament, not only ſince the firſt of *Hen.* IV. which were many, but all before 1 *Hen.* IV. even until 25 *Edw.* III. by expreſs Words.

2. By expreſs Words it takes away all declared Treaſons, if any ſuch had been made in Parliament: Theſe for the Future are likewiſe taken away; ſo that, whereas it might have been doubted, whether the Statute of 1 *Hen.* IV. took away any Treaſons but thoſe of 21 and 22 *Rich.* II, this clears it both for Treaſons made by Parliament, or declared in Parliament, even to the Time of making the Statute.

This is of great Uſe, of great Security to the Subject; ſo that, as to what ſhall be Treaſon, and what not, the Statute of 25 *Ed.* III. remains intire, and ſo by Conſequence the Treaſons at the Common Law.

Only, my Lords, it may be doubted whether the Manner of the Parliamentary Pro-

ceedings be not altered by the Statute of 1 *Hen.* IV. *Cap.* xvii, and more fully in the Parliament Roll, Number 144; that is, whether ſince that Statute the Parliamentary Power of Declaration of Treaſons, whereby the inferior Courts received Juriſdiction, be not taken away and reſtrained only to Bill, that ſo it might operate no further than to that Particular contained in the Bill; that ſo the Parliamentary Declarations for After-times ſhould be kept within the Parliament itſelf, and be extended no further. Since 1 *Hen.* IV. we have not found any ſuch Declaration made, but all Attainders of Treaſon have been by Bill.

If this be ſo, yet, the Common Law Treaſons ſtill remaining, there is one and the ſame Ground of Reaſon and Equity ſince 1 *Hen.* IV. for Paſſing of a Bill of Treaſon, as was before for Declaring of it without Bill.

Herein the Legiſlative Power is not uſed againſt my Lord of *Strafford* in the Bill, it is only the Juriſdiction of the Parliament.

But, my Lords, becauſe that either through my Miſtaking of the true Grounds and Reaſons of the Commons, or my not Preſſing of them with apt Arguments and Precedents of former Times, or that perchance your Lordſhips from ſome other Reaſons and Authorities, more ſwaying with your Lordſhips Judgements, than theſe from them, may poſſibly be of a contrary or dubious Opinion concerning theſe Treaſons, either upon the Statutes of 25 *Ed.* III. and 18 *Hen.* VI. or at the Common Law:

My Lords, if all theſe five ſhould fail, they have therefore given me further in Command to declare to your Lordſhips ſome of their Reaſons, why they conceive that in this Caſe the mere Legiſlative Power may be exerciſed.

Their Reaſons are taken from theſe three Grounds:

1. From the Nature and Quality of the Offence.

2. From the Frame and Conſtitution of the Parliament wherein this Law is made.

3. From Practices and Uſages of former Times.

My Lords, the Horridneſs of the Offence, in endeavouring the Overthrowing the Laws and preſent Government, hath been fully opened to your Lordſhips heretofore.

The Parliament is the Repreſentation of the whole Kingdom, wherein the King as Head, your Lordſhips as the more Noble, and the Commons the other Members, are knit together into one Body Politick: This diſſolves the Arteries and Ligaments that hold the Body together, the Laws: He, that takes away the Laws, takes not away the Allegiance of one Subject alone, but of the whole Kingdom.

It was made Treaſon by the Statute of 13 *Eliſ.* for her Time, to affirm, That the Laws of the Realm do not bind the Deſcent of the Crown; no Law, no Deſcent at all.

No Laws, no Peerage, no Ranks or Degrees of Men; the ſame Condition to all.

It is Treaſon to kill a Judge upon the Bench; this kills not *Judicem, ſed Judicium:* He that borrowed *Apelles*, and gave Bond to return again *Apelles* the Painter, ſent him Home after he had cut off his Right-hand; his Bond was broken, *Apelles* was ſent, but not the Painter. There be twelve Men, but no Law; there is never a Judge amongſt them.

It is Felony to embezzle any one of the Judicial Records of the Kingdom; this at once ſweeps them all away, and from all.

It is Treaſon to counterfeit a Twenty-ſhilling Piece; here is a Counterfeiting of the Law; we can call neither the counterfeit nor true Coin our own.

It is Treaſon to counterfeit the Great Seal for an Acre of Land; no Property hereby is left to any Land at all. Nothing Treaſon now either againſt King or Kingdom, no Law to puniſh it.

My Lords, if the Queſtion were aſked in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, Whether this were a Crime puniſhable in the *Star-Chamber*, or in the *King's-Bench*, by Fine or Impriſonment? They would ſay, It went higher: If whether Felony? They would ſay, That is for an Offence only againſt the Life or Goods of ſome one, or few Perſons: It would, I believe, be anſwered by the Judges, as it was by the Chief Juſtice *Thirning*, in 21 *Rich.* II. That, though he could not judge the Caſe Treaſon there before him, yet, if he were a Peer in Parliament, he would ſo adjudge it.

My Lords, if it be too big for thoſe Courts, we hope it is in the right Way here.

2. The ſecond Conſideration is from the Frame and Conſtitution of the Parliament; the Parliament

ment is the great Body politick, it comprehends all from the King to the Beggar: If ſo, my Lords, as the natural, ſo this Body, it hath Power over itſelf, and every one of the Members, for the Preſervation of the Whole. It is both the Phyſician and the Patient: If the Body be diſtempered, it hath Power to open a Vein to let out the corrupt Blood for Curing of itſelf; if one Member be poiſoned or gangrened, it hath Power to cut it off for the Preſervation of the reſt.

But, my Lords, it hath been often inculcated, that Law-makers ſhould imitate the ſupreme Lawgiver, who commonly warns before he ſtrikes; the Law was promulged before the Judgment of Death, for Gathering the Sticks; no Law, no Tranſgreſſion.

My Lords, to this the Rule of Law is, *Fruſtra legis auxilium invocat, qui in legem committit*; from the *lex Talionis*, he that would not have had others to have Law, Why ſhould he have any himſelf? Why ſhould not that be done to him, that himſelf would have done to others?

It is true, we give Law to Hares and Deers, becauſe they are Beaſts of Chace; it was never accounted either Cruelty or foul Play to knock Foxes and Wolves on the Head, as they can be found, becauſe theſe be Beaſts of Prey: The Warrener ſets Traps for Powlcats and other Vermin, for Preſervation of the Warren.

Further, my Lords, moſt dangerous Diſeaſes, if not taken in Time, they kill: Errors in great Things, as War and Marriage, they allow no Time for Repentance; it would have been too late to make a Law, when there had been no Law.

My Lords, for further Anſwer to this Objection, he hath offended a Law, a Law within. The Endeavouring to ſubvert the Laws and Policy of the State wherein he lived, which had ſo long, and with ſuch Faithfulneſs, protected his Anceſtry, himſelf, and his whole Family; it was not *malum, quia prohibitum*, it was *malum in ſe*, againſt the Dictates of the dulleſt Conſcience, againſt the Light of Nature; they, not having the Law, were a Law to themſelves.

Beſides this, he knew a Law without, that the Parliament in Caſes of this Nature had *poteſtatem vitæ & necis*.

Nay, he well knew, that he offended the promulged and ordinary Rules of Law: Crimes againſt Law have been proved, have been confeſſed, ſo that the Queſtion is not *de culpa, ſed de pœna*, what Degree of Puniſhment thoſe Faults deſerve; we muſt differ from him in Opinion, that twenty Felonies cannot make a Treaſon, if it be meant of Equality in the Uſe of the Legiſlative Power: For he, that deſerves Death for one of theſe Felonies alone, deſerves a Death more painful and more ignominious for all together.

Every Felony is puniſhed with Loſs of Life, Lands, and Goods; a Felony may be aggravated with thoſe Circumſtances, as that the Parliament with good Reaſon may add to the Circumſtances of Puniſhment, as was done in the Caſe of *John Hall*, in the Parliament of 1 *Hen.* IV. who, for a barbarous Murder committed upon the Duke of *Glouceſter*, ſtiffling him between two Feather-beds at *Calais*, was adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Batteries by Law are puniſhable only by Fine and ſingle Damages to the Party wounded.

In the Parliament held in 1 *Hen.* IV. *Cap.* vi. one *Savadge* committed a Battery upon one *Chedder*, Servant to Sir *John Brooke*, a Knight of the Parliament for *Somerſetſhire*; it is there enacted, that he ſhall pay double Damages, and ſtand convicted, if he render not himſelf by ſuch a Time: The Manner of Proceedings quickened, the Penalty doubled, the Circumſtances were conſidered, it concerned the Commonwealth, it was Battery with Breach of Privilege of Parliament.

This made a perpetual Act, no Warning to the Firſt Offender; and in the *King*'s *Bench*, as appears by the Book Caſe of 9. *Hen.* IV, the firſt Leaf, double Damages were recovered.

My Lords, in this of the Bill the Offence is high and general, againſt all, and the beſt of all.

If every Felony be Loſs of Life, Lands, and Goods, What is Miſuſe of the Legiſlative Power, by Addition of Ignominy in the Death and Diſpoſal of the Lands to the Crown, the publick Patrimony of the Kingdom?

But it was hoped that your Lordſhips had no more Skill in the Art of killing of Men, than your worthy Anceſtors.

My Lords, this Appeal, from your ſelves to your Anceſtors, we admit of, although we do not admit of that from your Lordſhips to the Peers of *Ireland*.

He hath appealed to them: Your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to hear what Judgment they have already given in the Caſe; that is, the ſeveral Attainders

tainders of Treaſon in Parliament, after the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. for Treaſons not mentioned, nor within that Statute, and thoſe upon the firſt Offenders without Warning given them.

By the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. it is Treaſon to levy War againſt the King: *Gomines* and *Weſton* afterwards in Parliament in 1 *R.* II. Numb. 38. 39. were adjudged Traitors for ſurrendering two ſeveral Caſtles in *France* only out of Fear, without any Compliance with the Enemy; this is not within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III.

My Lords, in 3 *Rich.* II. *John Imperial*, that came into *England* upon Letters of ſafe Conduct, as an Agent for the State of *Genoa*, ſitting in the Evening before his Door in *Bread-ſtreet*, as the Words of the Records are, *paulo ante ignitegium*; *John Kirby* and another Citizen coming that Way, caſually *Kirby* trod upon his Toe: It being Twilight, this grew to a Quarrel, and the Ambaſſador was ſlain; *Kirby* was indicted of High Treaſon, the Indictment finds all this, and that it was only done *ſe defendendo*, and without Malice.

The Judges, it being out of the Statute of 24 *Edw.* III, could not proceed; the Parliament declared it Treaſon, and Judgment afterwards of High Treaſon there; nothing can bring this within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. but it concerns the Honour of the Nation, that the publick Faith ſhould be ſtrictly kept: It might endanger the Traffick of the Kingdom; they made not a Law firſt, they made the firſt Man an Example. This is in the Parliament Roll, 3 *Rich.* II. Numb. 18. and *Hilary* Term, 3 *Rich.* II. *Rot.* 31. in the *King's-Bench*, where Judgment is given againſt him.

In 11 *Rich.* II. *Treſilian* and others were attainted of Treaſon for delivering Opinions in the Subverſion of the Law, and ſome others for Plotting the like: My Lords, the Caſe hath upon another Occaſion been opened to your Lordſhips; only this is obſervable, That in the Parliament of the firſt Year of *Henry the Third*, where all Treaſons are again reduced to the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, theſe Attainders were by a particular Act confirmed and made good, that the Memory thereof might be tranſmitted to ſucceeding Ages: They ſtand good unto this Day; the Offences there, as here, were Endeavouring the Subverſion of the Laws.

My Lords, after 1 *Hen.* IV. Sir *John Mortimer*, being committed to the *Tower* upon Suſpicion of Treaſon, broke Priſon, and made an Eſcape: This is no Way within any Statute or any former Judgment at Common Law; for this, that is, for Breaking the Priſon only, and no other Cauſe, in the Parliament held the ſecond Year of *Henry the Sixth*, he was attainted of High Treaſon by Bill.

My Lords, Poiſoning is only Murder; yet one *Richard Coke* having put Poiſon into a Pot of Pottage in the Kitchen of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, whereof two Perſons died, he is attainted of Treaſon, and it was enacted, that he ſhould be boiled to Death by the Statute of 22 *Hen.* VIII. *Cap.* ix.

By the Statute of 25 *Hen.* VIII. *Eliſabeth Barton*, the holy Maid of *Kent*, for Pretending Revelations from God, that God was highly diſpleaſed with the King for being divorced from the Lady *Catharine*, and that, in Caſe he perſiſted in the Separation, and ſhould marry another, that he would not continue King above one Month after; becauſe this tended to the Depriving of the lawful Succeſſion to the Crown, ſhe was attainted of Treaſon.

In the Parliament 2. and 3 *Edw.* VI. *Cap.* xvi, the Lord Admiral of *England* was attainted of Treaſon for Procuring the King's Letters to both Houſes of Parliament, to be good to the ſaid Earl in ſuch Matters as he ſhould declare unto them; for Saying that he would make the Parliament the blackeſt Parliament that ever was in *England*, Endeavouring to marry the Lady *Eliſabeth* the King's Siſter, Taking a Bribe of *Sherrington*, accuſed of Treaſon, and thereupon Conſulting with Council for him, and ſome other Crimes, none of them Treaſon, ſo clearly within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. or any other Statute, as is the Caſe in Queſtion.

My Lords, all theſe Attainders, for aught I know, are in Force at this Day; the Statutes of the firſt Year of *Henry the Fourth*, and the Firſt of Queen *Mary*, although they were willing to make the Statute of the five and twentieth Year of *Edward the Third* the Rule to the inferior Courts, yet they left the Attainders in Parliament precedent to themſelves untouched, wherein the Legiſlative Power had been exerciſed. There is nothing in them whence it can be gathered, but that they intended to leave it as free for the Future.

My

My Lords, in theſe Attainders, there were Crimes and Offences againſt the Law; they thought it not unjuſt, Circumſtances conſidered, to heighten and add to the Degrees of Puniſhment, and that upon the firſt Offender.

My Lords, we receive, as juſt, the other Laws and Statutes made by theſe our Anceſtors: They are the Rules we go by in other Caſes: Why ſhould we differ from them in this alone?

Theſe, my Lords, are in Part thoſe Things which have ſatisfied the Commons in paſſing of the Bill: It is now left to the Judgment and Juſtice of your Lordſhips.

A Narrative of unheard of Popiſh Cruelties towards Proteſtants beyond Seas: Or a new Account of the bloody *Spaniſh* Inquiſition. Publiſhed as a Caveat to *Proteſtants*. By Mr. *Dugdale*. *London*, Printed for *John Hancock*, at the three Bibles in *Pope's-Head* Alley over-againſt the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*, 1680. *Folio*, containing thirty-two Pages.

To the moſt excellent Prince *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, &c.

I *Have often wondered that the Cruelties as well as Villainies of the* Romiſh *Church have not long before this provoked Almighty God to avenge upon her all the Blood of his Saints, which ſhe hath every where, as ſo much Water, ſpilt upon the Face of the whole Earth; but reflecting upon the many Sins of God's own People, which certainly have been the only Cauſe of the Withholding of his moſt juſt and expected Judgments from being poured forth upon her from the fulleſt Vials of his Wrath, I have again conſidered of the Juſtice as well as Goodneſs of God herein; Juſtice to be revealed from Heaven upon her, when the Fulneſs of her Abominations ſhall be accompliſhed; and his Goodneſs and Mercy to his People, in purging them by theſe his Chaſtiſements from the Droſs and Tin of their Iniquities. Here we have a Revelation of the great God in two of his greateſt and moſt glorious Attributes, his Mercy and his Judgment, according to their reſpective Objects. The holy King and Prophet* David *wondered no leſs than he grieved at this Matter, till he went into the Sanctuary of God, where he* underſtood the End of wicked Men, and that verily there is a Reward for the Righteous, and a God that judgeth in the Earth.

With what Antichriſtian, *no leſs than inhuman, Cruelty ſhe hath behaved herſelf towards the Saints and Servants of God, whom ſhe calls* Hereticks, *this ſmall Hiſtory will ſufficiently acquaint your Grace, and will, I hope, prove a ſufficient Alarm to the Nation, to rouſe her up as one Man, to prevent and hinder the Rooting or Springing of her vile Superſtitions here for the Time to come. No, Sir, the People of* England *are doubtleſs ſufficiently cautioned and fortified againſt any ſuch Attempt; however, it may not perhaps be unſeaſonable to remind them, and fully ſet before them the barbarous Cruelties and unchriſtian Severities, wherewith the Holy Inquiſition, for ſo they falſly ſtile it, is to the Shame and Sorrow of the beſt amongſt them in foreign Countries, where it is ſuffered in the higheſt Pitch of Rigour to be managed; no, we hope ſo great is the Goodneſs*

of

of God, both towards our Prince and People, that it is paſt not only the Strength, but Malice of our Romiſh *Adverſaries to hurt either his ſacred Perſon or the Government. May the Good-will of him that dwelt in the Buſh preſerve and ever keep your Grace from any of their wicked Attempts upon your Excellency's Perſon, from dividing you from your Prince's Favour, or, which can never be, our moſt ſacred and ever dread Sovereign from his good Subjects and People; and let all true-hearted* Engliſhmen *ſay* Amen.

Your Grace's moſt humble Servant,

And daily Orator,

RICH. DUGDALE.

WHEN King *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* had expelled the *Turks* out of the City and Territories of *Granada*, and other Places of *Spain*, who had lived there ſeven-hundred and ſeventy-eight Years, they ſet upon the Reformation of Religion, and gave the conquered *Moors* Liberty to ſtay, and to enjoy all their Goods, provided they would turn Chriſtians; and, whereas alſo there were many *Jews*, who had continued there ſince *Titus* conquered *Jeruſalem*, they gave them Leave to ſtay, upon the ſame Condition; but all ſuch, as refuſed, were commanded preſently to depart out of *Spain*: Yet afterwards, finding that thoſe Perſons were Chriſtians only in Name, and had ſubmitted only to ſave their Eſtates, inſtead of providing godly Miniſters with Meekneſs to inſtruct them, and to reprove them for their Errors, by the Advice of the *Dominican* Friars, they erected the Inquiſition; wherein the poor Wretches, inſtead of Inſtruction, were robbed of all their Eſtates, and either put to moſt cruel Deaths, or elſe ſuffered moſt intolerable Torments, by Whipping, *&c.* and led the reſt of their Lives in Ignominy and Poverty. Neither was this inflicted only upon ſuch as blaſphemed Chriſt, but for the Obſervation of the leaſt *Jewiſh* or *Mooriſh* Ceremony, or the ſmalleſt Error in the Chriſtian Religion. But this Inquiſition, at firſt erected againſt *Jews* and *Moors*, was afterwards turned againſt the faithful Servants of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and for the Suppreſſing of the Goſpel and the Profeſſion of it.

As ſoon as Information is given in againſt any one, though but for a very ſmall Matter, they do not preſently cite the Perſon to appear before them; but they ſuborn one of their own Officers, called a *Familiar*, to inſinuate himſelf into his Company; who, taking Occaſion to meet the Party thus accuſed, uſes thus to greet him: 'Sir, I was Yeſterday, by 'Accident, at my Lords Inquiſitors, who 'ſaid, that they had Occaſion to ſpeak with 'you about certain of their Affairs; and 'therefore they commanded me to ſummon 'you to appear before them To-morrow, at 'ſuch an Hour.' The Party, daring not to refuſe, goes to the Place, and ſends in Word, That he is come to attend on them; and ſo, when he is called in, they aſk him, What Suit he hath to them? And, when he anſwers, that he comes upon Summons, they enquire his Name; for, ſay they, we know not, whether you are the ſame Man, or not, but, ſince you are come in, if you have any Thing to inform this Court of, either concerning yourſelf, or any other, you may let us hear it, for the Diſcharge of your own Conſcience. The Party's ſafeſt Way is conſtantly to deny that he hath any Thing to declare to them; but if, through Simplicity, he doth accuſe himſelf, or any other, they rejoice, as having attained their Deſires, and ſo preſently commit him to Priſon. If nothing be confeſſed, they diſmiſs him, pretending that, for the Preſent, they know not whether he be the Party, or no: After his Departure, they let him alone for ſome Space, and then ſend for him again, exhorting him, that, if he know, or hath heard any Thing, that concerns their holy Court, he diſcloſe it to them; for, ſay they, we know that you have had Dealings with ſome Perſon ſuſpected in Religion; and therefore remember yourſelf well: If you confeſs, you ſhall fare the better, and you ſhall but do therein,

therein, as a good Chriſtian ought to do. If ſtill he refuſe, they threaten, and ſo diſmiſs him.

Yet they have always one or other to keep him Company, to creep into his Boſom, and grope into his Conſcience; who, under the Colour of Friendſhip, ſhall viſit him daily, and have an Eye to all his Dealings; obſerve what Company he keepeth, with whom he confers, &c. ſo that, without God's ſpecial Aſſiſtance, it is not poſſible to eſcape their Snares. The Inquiſitors alſo, if they meet him, ſpeak courteouſly to him, promiſe to befriend him, &c. and all to make him more careleſs of himſelf, that they may undo him before he be aware: But, if the Party be a Stranger, or one that is like to make an Eſcape, or from whom they hope to gain any Thing by his Confeſſion, they preſently clap him up in Priſon; in which Priſon great Numbers die, either ſtarved with Hunger, or by Extremity of Racking of them, &c.

If any one, that is accuſed, chance to make an Eſcape, they have many Devices to find and fetch him in again: They have Store of Searchers, to whom, beſides the common Signs, they give his lively Picture, whereby they may eaſily know him. An *Italian*, at *Rome*, having wounded an Apparitor, fled to *Seville*; the Familiars were ſent to ſeek him, and, when they had found him, though they had his Counterfeit, yet, by Reaſon that he had altered his Habit, they were doubtful whether it was he, or no; the rather, becauſe he had changed his Name; whereupon, they followed him only upon Suſpicion; but one Day, as he was walking, and earneſtly talking with ſome Gentlemen, two of thoſe Familiars ſuddenly called him by his old Name: The Party, earneſt in Talk, and not minding it, looked behind him, and made Anſwer; whereupon they preſently apprehended him, clapped him in Irons for a long Time, then whipped him, and condemned him to the Gallies, during his Life. So ſoon as any is arreſted by the Familiars, they take from him all the Keys of his Locks or Cheſts whatſoever; and then they take an Inventory of all his Goods, leaving them to ſome Man that will undertake to be accountable for them; but, in the Sequeſtering, or Rifling the Houſes, if they have any Gold, Silver, or Jewels, theſe Familiars (which are uſually Bawds, Thieves, Shifters, and the vileſt of People) will be ſure to filch ſome of it; and the Reaſon of this Sequeſtration is, That, if the Party be condemned, the holy Inquiſition may enjoy his whole Eſtate.

As ſoon as the Priſoner is entered within the firſt Gate of the Priſon, the Gaoler aſketh him, If he hath a Knife about him, or Money, or Rings, or Jewels? And, if a Woman, Whether ſhe hath Knives, Rings, Chains, Bracelets, or other Ornaments? And all theſe the Gaoler ſtrips them of, as his Fee; and this is done, that the poor Priſoners may have nothing to relieve themſelves with, during their Impriſonment; they ſearch them alſo, to ſee whether they have any Writing, or Book about them, which likewiſe they take from them; then they ſhut them up in a Cabin, like to a *Little-Eaſe*, where they have little Room for Cleanlineſs, and but little Light.

Some are thus kept all alone for two or three Months, ſome as long as they live; others have Company, as the Lords Inquiſitors pleaſe. When the Party hath been in Priſon a Week or two, the Gaoler perſuades him to petition for a Day of Hearing, telling him, The ſooner the better; and that it will much further his Cauſe, and bring it to ſome good Effect, &c. whereas it were far better for him to ſtay till he be called for; for then he hath Nothing to do but to anſwer their Objections. But the poor Priſoner, not knowing this Myſtery, is uſually ruled by his Keeper, intreating him to ſtand his Friend to procure him a Day of Hearing; whoſe Suit is eaſily heard, and the Priſoner is brought into the Conſiſtory: Then the Inquiſitors aſk him, What is his Requeſt? The Priſoner anſwereth, That he would gladly have his Matter heard: Then they labour, by threatening him with worſe Uſage, if he conceal the Truth, to cauſe him to confeſs the Thing whereof he is accuſed; and, if they can but draw him to this, they have their Deſires; for uſually they draw more from him than they could have proved againſt him. Then they adviſe him to let him come from himſelf; promiſing, that, if he acknowledge his Faults, he ſhall preſently be releaſed and ſent Home; if yet he ſtands mute, they then charge him to diſburden his Conſcience, and, in the mean Time, to return to his Priſon, till he hath better bethought himſelf, and then he may ſue for a new Day of Hearing, and ſo they diſmiſs him. And, ſome Days after, they call for him again; aſking him, Whether he be yet determined to tell aught?

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aught? But whether he plead his Innocency, or confeſs ſome little, they ſtill urge him to diſburden his Conſcience, and perſuading him, That they adviſe him for the beſt, and in Love and Compaſſion to him; but, if he now refuſe the Favour proffered, he ſhall find them afterwards ſharp Juſtices, *&c.* and ſo ſend him back again to Priſon.

The third Time he is called for, they uſe the like Subtlety, to draw him to Confeſſion; telling him, That, if he refuſe, they muſt uſe Extremity, and do what they can by Law; by which Word, they mean extreme Tormenting and Mangling of him. Then, if the Party confeſs any Thing, Nay, ſay they, we are not yet ſatisfied, we have not all you can ſay, you keep back ſomething on Purpoſe; and ſo they remand him to Priſon.

Having thus excruciated him Day by Day, if they can yet get Nothing out of him, they then require an Oath of him, and hold a Crucifix, or Croſs, before him, whereby the poor Chriſtian muſt at laſt needs ſhew himſelf; for knowing, that he ought to ſwear by God alone, who hath reſerved this Honour to himſelf, he muſt refuſe the Oath; which, if he do, then they read a large Indictment againſt him, wherein they lay to his Charge Things that never any Man accuſed him of, and which, it may be, himſelf never thought of; and this they do to amaze him, and ſo to try if he will confeſs any of theſe Miſdemeanors; or, if they can trip him in his Anſwers, and ſo catch him in their Net. Then they put him to anſwer to every Article, particularly, *ex tempore*, without any Time of Deliberation; then they give him Pen, Ink, and Paper, requiring him to ſet down his Anſwer in Writing, to ſee if they can find any Difference betwixt his former Anſwer, and this: And, if the Party chance to confeſs aught, then they enquire of whom he learned it, and whether he hath ſpoken of it before others, and who they are, and hereby many are brought into Trouble; for, whether they liked it or not, they are ſure to be queſtioned, becauſe they did not come and declare it to the Fathers Inquiſitors. Then, pretending to ſhew him Favour, they appoint him an Advocate, to blind the People's Eyes, as if they proceeded according to the Rules of Juſtice; but this Advocate dares not tell his Client any Point of Law that may do him Good, for Fear of angering the Inquiſitors; neither may he ſpeak privately with his Client, but either before an Inquiſitor or a Notary.

Two or three Days after the Party hath had the Copy of his Accuſation, he is called into the Court, where his Advocate is, as if he intended to defend his Cauſe; but, indeed, he dares ſay Nothing to the Purpoſe, for Fear of angering the Inquiſitors; only he chears up his Client, and bids him tell the Truth in any Caſe, as the only Way to prevail in that Court, and then is the Priſoner ſent back again; who hopes that now his Caſe will be heard, and his Buſineſs diſpatched; whereas, uſually, theſe good Fathers let him lie two, or three, or four Years in Priſon, without ever Calling for him again: And if, through Loathſomeneſs and Intolerableneſs of the Priſon, any ſuit to come to Hearing, it may be, with much ado, he obtains it; but, uſually, that Favour is denied them; yet at length, when they pleaſe, they call for him to hear the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes againſt him, which yet is not done, till the poor Priſoner, by his grievous Impriſonment, is brought ſo low, as that they think he will rather chuſe Death, than ſuch a Life, and therefore will be willing to tell all, that ſo he may be rid out of his Miſery; then, between Rebuking and a gentle Admonition, they tell him, That though he hath ſtood out ſo long, yet at length they would have him wiſer, to confeſs the Truth; but, if he yet refuſe to be his own Accuſer, then the *Fiſcal* produceth the Depoſitions, which are delivered to the Priſoner; but they are drawn up ſo intricately and ambiguouſly, that he knows not what to make of them; and this they do to conceal the Witneſſes, leſt he ſhould except againſt them, and ſo to ſet him on Gueſſing, that ſo, if he chance to reckon up any others, to whom he ſpoke any Thing about any of thoſe Matters, they may, thereby, get more Grift to their Mill; for they preſently outlaw ſuch Perſons, as Favourers of Heretickes, for ſuffering an Heretick to ſow ſuch peſtilent Seed among them, without Complaining thereof to the Inquiſitors.

The Keeper of the Priſon alſo is examined what he hath ſeen and obſerved of him in the Priſon; and his Teſtimony is as good as two Teſtimonies to take away the Priſoner's Life.

They have alſo Promoters to bring in Accuſations, who are admitted, though frantick *Bedlams*, or the veriеſt Varlets that be; and if, in their Informations, they chance to want Words of Weight, the Inquiſitors will help them out, and

and prompt them Word by Word. Then, after three or four Days, the Priſoner is called again, to put in his Anſwer to the Depoſitions: But, in the Interim, his Advocate never comes at him, to aſſiſt or direct him, but he is left to himſelf, without any Help, ſave of God alone. His Anſwer being viewed, he is remanded to Priſon again with this *Item*, that, if he confeſs not the Truth, they will extort it out of him by Extremity.

After two or three Months more, he is called for once again, and required to ſpeak what he hath for himſelf, or elſe they muſt draw to an End; and, if he ſtill ſhrinks not, but ſtands firm in his Juſtification, they proceed to other Dealings, in Compariſon of which, all their former Dealings are not only ſufferable, but ſeem reaſonable and full of Gentleneſs; for their future Actions far exceed all Barbarouſneſs, the Devil himſelf being not able to go beyond them in their monſtrous Cruelty and Tyranny: For, not long after, the Priſoner is called in before the Inquiſitors, who tell him, they have deeply conſidered his whole Caſe, and found out that he doth not declare the whole Truth, and therefore they are reſolved that he ſhall be racked, that by Force they may draw from him, what by fair Means he will not acknowledge; and therefore they adviſe him, rather to do it voluntarily, and thereby to avoid the Pain and Peril that yet attends him: Yet whether he confeſs, or not confeſs, all is one, to the Rack he muſt go: Then is he led into the Place where the Rack ſtandeth, which is a deep and dark Dungeon, under Ground, with many Doors to paſs through, before a Man comes to it; becauſe the Shrieks and Cries of the tormented ſhould not be heard. Then the Inquiſitors ſeat themſelves upon a Scaffold, hard by the Rack: and, the Torches being lighted, the Executioner comes in, all arrayed from Top to Toe, in a Suit of black Canvas; his Head is covered with a long black Hood, that covereth all his Face, having only two Peep-holes for his Eyes; which Sight doth more affright the poor Soul, to ſee one in the Likeneſs of a Devil, to be his Tormentor. The Lords being ſet in their Places, they begin again to exhort him to ſpeak the Truth freely and voluntarily; then, with ſharp Words, they command him to be ſtripped ſtark naked; yea, though the modeſteſt Maid, the chaſteſt Matron in the City; whoſe Grief, in Regard to the Rack, is not ſo great, as to be ſeen naked in the Preſence of ſuch Manner of Perſons: For thoſe wicked Villains, without any Regard of Modeſty, will not, by any Prayers of godly Matrons, or chaſte Maidens, forbear one Jot of that barbarous Impudence; as if a Shirt or Smock could hinder the Violence of the Rack from ſufficiently tormenting them.

The Party being thus ſtripped, the Inquiſitors ſignify to the Tormentor, how they would have him or her ordered. The firſt Kind of Torment is the Gibbet or Pulley; but firſt one comes behind him, and binds his Hands with a Cord, eight or ten Times about; the Inquiſitors calling upon him to ſtrain each harder than the other: They cauſe alſo his Thumbs to be bound extreme hard, with a ſmall Line; and ſo both Hands and Thumbs are faſtened to a Pulley, which hangs on the Gibbet; then they put great and heavy Bolts on his Heels, and hang upon thoſe Bolts between his Feet certain Weights of Iron, and ſo hoiſt him or her up from the Ground; and, while the poor Wretch hangs in this Plight, they begin to exhort him again to accuſe himſelf and as many others as he knows of; then they command him to be hoiſted up higher, to the very Beam, till his Head touch the Pulley; having hung thus a good While, they command him to be let down, and twice ſo much Weight to be faſtened to his Heels, and ſo hoiſted up again, and one Inch higher, if it may be; then they command the Hangman to let him up and down, that the Weights of the Irons, hanging at his Heels, may rent every Joint in his Body aſunder; with which intolerable Pains, if the Party ſhriek or cry out, they roar out aloud to him, to confeſs the Truth, or elſe he ſhall come down with a Vengeance: Then they bid the Hangman ſuddenly to ſlip the Rope, that he may fall down with a Sway, and in the Midway to ſtop; thus they give him the Strappado, which being as ſoon done, it rends all his Body out of Joint; Arms, Shoulders, Back, Legs, &c. by Reaſon of the ſudden Jerk, and the Weights hanging at his Heels: If yet he remain conſtant, they add more Weight to his Heels the third Time; and the poor Wretch, already half-dead, is hoiſted up the third Time; and, to increaſe his Miſery, they rail at him, calling him Dog and Heretick, telling him that there he is like to make his End: If the poor Creature in his Pangs calls upon Chriſt, intreating

treating that he would vouchſafe to aid and aſſiſt him, thus miſerably tormented for his Sake; then they fall to Mocking and Deriding him, ſaying, Why calleſt thou on *Jeſus Chriſt?* Let *Jeſus* alone, and tell us the Truth; What a Crying out upon Chriſt makeſt thou? *&c.* But if the Party deſire to be let down, promiſing to tell ſomewhat, that is the ready Way to make him be worſe uſed; for now they think that he begins only to broach the Matter, for, when he hath done, they command him to be hauled up again, and to be let down as before; ſo that uſually theſe Torments are exerciſed upon him, for three Hours together; then they ask the Gaoler, if his other Torments are ready, to affright the poor Soul; The Gaoler anſwereth, that they are ready, but he hath not brought them with him: Then the Inquiſitors bid him to bring them againſt the Morrow, for, ſay they, we will try other Ways to get the Truth out of this Fellow: And ſo, turning to him that lies in miſerable Pain, having all his Joints out: How now, Sirrah, ſay they, how like you this Geer? Have you enough of it yet? Well, ſee that you call your Wits To-morrow, or look to die then, for what you have felt is but a Flea-biting, in Compariſon of what is behind. And ſo they depart.

Then the Gaoler plays the Bone-ſetter, as well as he can, ſetting his Joints, and ſo carries him back again to Priſon, or drags him by the Arms or Legs moſt pitifully: And, if they mean to rack him no more, after two or three Days they ſend for him again, and cauſe him to be brought by the Rack; where the Hangman ſtands in the Likeneſs of a Devil, as before, the more to affright him: When he comes before the Inquiſitors, they fall to perſuading him to confeſs the Truth at laſt; and, if he confeſs any Thing, he may chance to go to the Rack again, whereby they hope to extort more; and, when indeed they intend to rack the Party again, then, at three Days End, when the Ach in his Joints is moſt grievous and painful to him, they ſend for him, requiring him to declare all his Hereſies, and to impeach all ſuch as he hath had Conference with about them, and all ſuch as he knows to be of that Mind, or elſe he muſt prepare himſelf for the Rack; and, if he continue conſtant, he is again ſtripped of his Clothes, and hoiſted up with Weights at his Heels, as before: Beſides which, as he hangs at the Pulley, they bind his Thighs together, and Legs about the Calf, with a ſmall ſtrong Cord, and with a ſhort Piece of Wood they twiſt the Cord, till it be ſhrunk ſo deep in the Fleſh that it is paſt Sight, which is extreme and terrible Torment, worſe than any he hath yet endured; and in this Plight they let the poor Soul lie two or three Hours, the Inquiſitors, in the mean Time, not ceaſing to exhort, perſuade, threaten, and ſcoff at him.

Yea, ſometimes they proceed to another Kind of Torture, called the *Aſelli*, which is after this Manner: There is a Piece of Timber ſomewhat hollowed on the Top, like a Trough, about the Middle whereof there is a ſharp Bar going a-croſs, whereon a Man's Back reſteth, that it cannot go to the Bottom; it is alſo placed ſo, that his Heels ſhall lie higher than his Head; then is the naked Party laid thereon, his Arms, Thighs, and Legs bound with ſtrong ſmall Cords, and wreſted with ſhort Truncheons, till the Cords pierce almoſt to the very Bone; then they take a thick fine Lawn Cloth, laying it over the Party's Mouth, as he lies upright on his Back, ſo that it may ſtop his Noſtrils alſo; then, taking a Quantity of Water, they pour it in a long Stream, like a Thread, which, falling from on high, drives the Cloth down into his Throat, which puts the poor Wretch into as great an Agony as any endure in the Pains of Death; for in this Torture he hath not Liberty to draw his Breath, the Water ſtopping his Mouth, and the Cloth his Noſtrils; ſo that, when the Cloth is drawn out of the Bottom of his Throat, it draws forth Blood with it, and a Man would think that it tore out his very Bowels; this is iterated as often as the Inquiſitors pleaſe, and yet they threaten him with worſe Torments, if he confeſs not; and ſo he is returned to Priſon again: Yet many Times, after he hath lain there a Month or two, he is brought again to the Rack, and uſed as before; yea ſometimes five or ſix Times, even as often as they pleaſe; for their Luſt is their Law; and yet they have another Torment with Fire, which is no Whit inferior to the former: They take a Pan of burning Charcoal, and ſet it juſt overagainſt the Soles of the Party's Feet, juſt before he goes to the Rack; and, that the Fire may have the more Force upon them, they baſte them with Lard or Bacon: But, if all Extremity of Torments will not force him to confeſs what they deſire, nor to deny the Truth,

Truth, they uſe other Means, by ſubtle Interrogatories, and frequent Queſtionings, to draw him into ſome Snare or other: Yea, if yet they cannot prevail, then ſome one of the Inquiſitors comes to him in private, and ſhews himſelf much affected with his Miſery; weeps with him, comforts him, gives him Advice, and ſeems to impart ſuch a Secret to him, as he would ſcarce impart to his Father, or deareſt Friend alive; and this they uſe moſt with Women; whereas they are but fair Baits upon deadly Hooks, whereby they ſeek to deſtroy them; whereof we have this Example:

At *Seville* there were apprehended a godly Matron, two of her Daughters and her Niece, who all of them underwent the fore-mentioned Torments with manly Courage, and Chriſtian Conſtancy, becauſe they would not betray each other, nor other godly Perſons in that City. Then one of the Inquiſitors ſent for the youngeſt Maid often to his Chamber, pretended much Compaſſion towards her, ſpoke much to comfort her, told her what a Grief it was to him to ſee her Torments, and then he uſed familiar and pleaſant Communication to her; and told her he would adviſe her the beſt Way to free herſelf, Mother, and Siſter, from theſe Troubles, that he would undertake the Ordering of their Buſineſs, and then perſuaded her to tell the whole Truth to him, and he bound himſelf with an Oath, that he would ſtop all further Proceedings againſt them, and procure their Diſmiſſion; having thus outwitted the poor Maid, who gave too much Credit to him, ſhe told him of ſome Points of Religion which they had wont to confer of amongſt themſelves; and ſo, when he had gotten out of her what poſſibly he could, like a perfidious Villain, contrary to his Vows, Promiſes, and Oath, he cauſed her to be racked again, to get more out of her; yea, they put her alſo to the intolerable Pain of the Trough, and, through Extremity of Pangs and Torments, they at laſt extorted from her a betraying of her own Mother, Siſter, and divers others, who were immediately apprehended, tortured, and at laſt burnt with Fire. But, when they were brought with great Pomp upon the Scaffold, and had the Sentence of Death paſſed upon them, this Maid went to her Aunt, who had inſtructed her in the Principles of Religion, and boldly, without Change of Countenance, gave her hearty Thanks for the great Benefit which ſhe had received by her Means, entreating her to pardon her for what ſhe had offended her at any Time, for that ſhe was now to depart out of this Life; her Aunt comforted her ſtoutly, and bid her be of good Cheer, for that now ere long they ſhould be with Chriſt: This Woman was openly whipped, and kept in Priſon during her Life; the reſt were all preſently burned.

Another Device they have is this: When they think that Priſoners, which are together, do talk together of Religion, exhorting and comforting one another, as they have Occaſion or Opportunity; the Inquiſitors commit to Priſon, under a Colour, a crafty Knave, whom they call a *Fly*, who, after two or three Days, will cunningly inſinuate himſelf into the Boſom of the other Priſoners, and then, pretending a great deal of Zeal to Religion, he will proffer Diſcourſe to them, and by Degrees get out of their Mouths ſomething whereof he may accuſe them: Then doth he move for a Day of Hearing, and ſo, getting into the Inquiſitors, impeaches the Priſoners, who ſhall be ſure afterwards to hear of it to their Smart; yea, theſe *Flies* as ſoon as they are out of one Priſon, for the Hope of Gain, will be content preſently to be put into another, and then into a third, where they will lie in Chains, as the other Priſoners do, enduring Hunger, Cold, Stink, and the Loathſomeneſs of the Priſon, and all to betray others; and this Man's Accuſation is as ſtrong and valid as the Teſtimony of any other Witneſs whatſoever. Other *Flies* alſo there are that ſerve the holy Inquiſition abroad, ſlily inſinuating themſelves into the Company of the common People, who are ſuſpected to be *Lutherans*, and, when they can pump any Thing out of them, they preſently betray them. They have yet this other Advice, when they can catch any Man that is noted for Religion, or a Miniſter that hath inſtructed others, after he hath been in Priſon a While, they give it out, that he, upon the Rack, hath diſcovered all his Diſciples and Acquaintance, and they ſuborn others to aver, that they heard it: And this they do to draw the ſimple People to come of their own Accord, and to confeſs their Faults to the Inquiſitors, and to crave Pardon; whereupon they promiſe them Favour.

The Inquiſitors and their Officers uſe to call their Priſoners Dogs and Hereticks, and indeed they uſe them much worſe than moſt Men do their Dogs; for, firſt, the Place where uſually each

each of them is laid, by Reaſon of the Streightneſs, ill Air, and Dampneſs of the Earth, is liker a Grave than a Priſon; and if it be aloft, in the hot Weather, it is like a hot Oven or Furnace; and in each of theſe Holes uſually two or three are thronged together, ſo that they have no more Room than to lie down in. In one Corner is a Stool of Eaſement, and a Pitcher of Water to quench their Thirſt; in theſe Cells they have no Light, but what comes in at the Key-hole, or ſome ſmall Cranney; others there are much worſe, not being long enough for a Man to lie in; ſo that ſuch, as are put into them, never likely come out till they be half rotted away, or die of a Conſumption.

Their Diet is anſwerable to their Lodging; the Rich pay large Fees to the holy Houſe, and every Priſoner is rated as the Inquiſitors pleaſe; but ſuch as are poor the King allows Threepence a Day, out of which the Steward, Landreſs, and ſome other neceſſary Charges are deducted, ſo that not one Half of it comes to the Priſoner's Share; and, if any be moved with Compaſſion to relieve them, it is counted ſuch an heinous Offence, that it will coſt him a Scourging till Blood come, at leaſt. It once happened that there was a Keeper appointed for their Priſon in the Caſtle of *Triana* in *Seville*, that was of a courteous Diſpoſition by Nature, who uſed the Priſoners well, and cloſely, for Fear of the Inquiſitors, ſhewed them ſome Favour; at which Time there were a godly Matron, and her two Daughters, committed to Priſon, who, being put into ſeveral Rooms, had a great Deſire to ſee each other for their mutual Comfort in their Diſtreſs; whereupon they beſought the Keeper to ſuffer them to come together, if it were but for one Quarter of an Hour; the Keeper yielded, and ſo they were together about half an Hour, and then returned to their former Priſons; within a few Days after, theſe Women being racked in a terrible Manner, the Keeper fearing, leſt they would confeſs that little Favour which he had ſhewed them, of his own Accord went to the Inquiſitors, confeſſed his Fact, and craved Pardon; but they deemed this ſo heinous an Offence, that they preſently commanded him to be hauled to Priſon, where, by Reaſon of the Extremity ſhewed him, he fell mad; yet this procured him no Favour; for, after he had been a whole Year in a vile Priſon, they brought him upon their triumphant Stage, with a *Sambenito* upon him, and a Rope about his Neck, and there they cenſured him to be whipped about the City, and to have two-hundred Stripes, and then to ſerve in the Gallies for ſix Years. The next Day, one of his mad Fits coming upon him, as he was ſet on an Aſs's Back to be ſcourged, he threw himſelf off, ſnatched a Sword out of the Officer's Hand, and had ſlain him, if the People had not immediately laid Hold on him; whereupon he was bound faſter on the Aſs's Back, had his two-hundred Stripes, and was for this Offence condemned four Years longer to the Gallies.

Another Keeper, at another Time, had a Maid, who, ſeeing how miſerably the Priſoners were uſed, pitying their diſtreſſed Condition, who were Hunger-ſtarved and almoſt pined, ſhe would ſometimes ſpeak to them at the Grate, exhort and comfort them as well as ſhe could, and ſometimes would help them to ſome good and wholeſome Food; yea, by her Means the Priſoners came to underſtand one another's Condition, which was a great Comfort to them; but, this, at laſt, coming to the Inquiſitors Ears, they enjoined her to wear the *Sambenito*, to be whipped about the Streets, to receive two-hundred Stripes, and to be baniſhed the City for ten Years, with this Writing on her Head, *A Favourer and Aider of Hereticks*. And, whereas all other Sorts of Perſons in Priſon and Bondage are allowed to recreate and refreſh themſelves with Singing at their Pleaſure, theſe poor Souls are forbidden this ſmall Solace, in their great Miſery; for, if any of them ſing a Pſalm, or openly recite any Portion of Scripture, the Inquiſitors take it very heinouſly and preſently ſend to them, requiring them to be ſilent upon the Pain of Excommunication; and, if the Priſoner make light of this Warning, he ſhall have a Bit ſet on his Tongue to teach him Obedience; and this they do both to deprive the poor Souls of all Kinds of Solace, and to keep other Priſoners from knowing how their Friends do; ſo that it often falls out, that a Man and his Friend, the Father and Son, yea, the Huſband and Wife, ſhall be in one Priſon-houſe two or three Years together, and not know of each other's being there, till they meet upon the Scaffold, upon the great Day of Triumph.

By Reaſon of this cruel Uſage, many of the Priſoners die; ſome of their Torments, others of the Stink of the Priſon, and others of Diſeaſes contracted by Hunger and Cold, ill

ill Diet, *&c.* They have alſo an Hoſpital, unto which they remove ſuch as fall ſick in their Priſons, where yet they are not dealt more gently with in any Thing, ſave that they have Phyſick allowed them for their Health's Sake; but none are ſuffered to come to them, but the Phyſician and the Servants of the Hoſpital; and, aſſoon as the Patient is on the mending Hand, he is carried back to the Place from whence he came.

If the Priſoner be half naked, or want ſomething to lie on, and thereupon pray the Inquiſitors that his Neceſſity may be conſidered; the Anſwer which he receives is this: Well, now the Weather is warm, you may live full well, without either Cloaths or Couch; and, if it be the Winter-time, his Anſwer is, True, it hath been a great Froſt of late, but now the Cold is come down again, and it will be more ſeaſonable Weather; care you for the Garments wherewithal you ſhould cloath your Soul, which conſiſteth in uttering the Truth, and diſcharging your Conſcience before this holy Houſe; and, if the Priſoner deſire to have ſome good Book, or the Holy Bible, to inable him to paſs that troubleſome and careful Time to ſome Profit, the Inquiſitors anſwer him, that the true Book is to ſpeak the Truth, and to diſcharge his Conſcience to that holy Court, and that he ought to be occupied in laying open his Wounds to their Lordſhips, who are ready to give him a Plaiſter; whereby it appears that all their Care and Deſire is, that the poor Priſoner may have nothing to look on, or think on, but his preſent miſerable State, that the Grief thereof, grating upon him, may force him to ſatisfy their Requeſt.

The laſt Act of the Tragedy remaineth, wherein both Parties are pleaſed, and have their Deſire; the Inquiſitors in obtaining their Prey, the Priſoners in finding ſome End of their miſerable Uſage: But, two or three Days before the Solemnity, they uſe ſeverally to call before them all ſuch whoſe Eſtates are confiſcated, examining them what Lands or Goods they have; where they lie, charging them upon great Penalties, not to conceal one Jot; telling them, that, if any Thing be afterwards found, Felony ſhall be laid to their Charge, and he with whom it is found ſhall pay ſoundly for it; and, when all is confeſſed, they are returned to Priſon again.

The Night before the Feſtival, they cauſe all the Priſoners to be brought into a large Room, where they are informed of the ſeveral Times of Penances that they are to do the next Day: The next Morning, very early, the Familars come, and attire the Priſoners in their ſeveral Habits, in which they are to appear before the People: Some in *Sambenitoes*, which is a long Garment painted all over with ugly Devils, on his Head he hath a high crown'd Hat, whereon a Man is painted Burning in the Fire, with many Devils about him, plying him with Fire and Faggots; beſides, their Tongues have a cleft Piece of Wood, put upon them, which nips and pincheth them that they cannot ſpeak,; they have alſo about their Necks Cords, and their Hands faſt bound behind them. On this Sort come theſe conſtant Martyrs diſguiſed firſt to the Stage, and then to the Stake; and in the like Sort do all the reſt come forth arrayed as the others, and ſet forthwith the like Notes of Infamy, either more or leſs, as the Inquiſitors pleaſe to diſgrace them in the Sight of the People; on each Hand of every Priſoner, goeth a Familiar all armed to guard him; as alſo two Friars, with every one that is to die, who perſuade him, Tooth and Nail, to deny that Doctrine that formerly he hath profeſſed, now at the going out of this World; which wicked Importunity is a Grief to the poor Servants of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Inquiſitors alſo paſs in great Pomp from the Caſtle of *Triana* to their Scaffold; and, when all are ſet in their Places, a Sermon begins, framed on Purpoſe in Commendation of the holy Houſe, and in Confutation of ſuch Hereticks as are preſently to ſuffer; but the greateſt Part is ſpent in ſlanderous Reproaches, wherewith they viliſy and diſgrace the Truth, and the Profeſſion of it. The Sermon being ended, the Sentences againſt the Priſoners are read; firſt againſt ſuch as have eaſieſt Puniſhment, and ſo in order to the greater; which Sentences are commonly theſe, Death without Mercy, Whipping in ſuch Extremity, that the Perſons ſeldom eſcape with their Lives, Condemnation to the Gallies, Forfeiture of all their Eſtates, *&c.*

Then doth the chief Inquiſitor abſolve all ſuch as have forſaken *Chriſt*, and are come home to the Church of *Rome*, from all the Errors for which they ſhewed themſelves penitent; but, though hereby they are abſolved from the Fault, yet not from the Puniſhment, for, notwithſtanding their Recantation, they muſt abide the Puniſhment without Mercy.

And

And, whereas Multitudes of People reſort to this Spectacle, ſome coming twenty Leagues to ſee it, the Inquiſitors have this Trick to uphold their Kingdom: They cauſe all the People preſent to take an Oath to live and die in the Service of the Church of *Rome*, hazarding both Lives and Goods againſt any that ſhall oppoſe it, as alſo, to their Power, to uphold and maintain the holy Inquiſition, and to defend all the Officers thereof, *&c.*

Then, if there be any amongſt the Priſoners to be degraded, they proceed after this Manner: Firſt they apparel him in his Maſſing Robes, then they deſpoil him again of every Part thereof; then are his Hands, Lips, and the Crown of his Head ſcraped with a Piece of Glaſs, or ſharp Knife, till they bleed again, to ſcrape off the holy Oil wherewith he was anointed at his Ordination. In the End of their Sentence, which is pronounced upon ſuch as are to be burned, they uſe this abominable Hypocriſy: They bequeath him to the Secular Power, with this humble Requeſt to them, to ſhew the Priſoner as much Favour as may be, and neither to break any Bone, nor pierce the Skin of the Body; this ſhews their great Impudence, that, having already given Sentence on him to be burned, they yet ſhould pretend ſuch Mercy and Clemency towards him, whom all along themſelves have uſed with ſuch extreme Cruelty.

They uſe alſo this Trick further, that, in reading the Crimes, for which he is condemned, they do not only miſreport ſuch Things as he confeſſed upon his Examination, but they deviliſhly father upon him ſuch Things as he never ſpoke, or thought of, in all his Life; and this they do diſgrace him, and to make him and his Opinions more abhorred of all Men; and to increaſe their own Eſtimation and Credit, as being neceſſary Officers to rid the World of ſuch peſtilent Perſons; and all this while the Priſoners Tongue hath a cleft Piece of Wood upon it, to his intolerable Pain and Grief, that he cannot anſwer for himſelf, nor gainſay that they charge him with.

All theſe Things being finiſhed, the Magiſtrate takes them into his Hand, and conveys them preſently to the Place of Execution, with divers Inſtruments of Satan about them, calling and crying to them, to forſake the Truth; and, when they cannot prevail, after the Priſoner is tied to the Stake, they break his Neck in a Trice, and then they report amongſt the common People, that they recanted their Hereſies at the laſt Hour, and ſo came Home to the Church of *Rome*, and therefore they felt no Pain in the Fire at all.

Such as are not condemned to die are carried back, and the next Day brought up to be whipped; after which ſome of them are ſent to the Gallies; others kept in Priſon all their Life-time. But all have this ſpecial Charge given them, that they never ſpeak of any Thing that they have heard, ſeen, or felt, during their Impriſonment in the Inquiſition; for, if the contrary be ever proved againſt them, and that they utter any of their Secrets, they ſhall be taken for Perſons relapſed, and be puniſhed with greateſt Severity, their Judgment being Death without Redemption; and hereby they keep in all their Knavery and Tyranny cloſe and ſecret to themſelves: And if any of them be releaſed, becauſe their Faults were but ſmall; they are yet ſo careful, leſt their Cruelty ſhould come to Light, that they inhibit him the Company and Conference with any other, than ſuch as they ſhall appoint and allow him: Neither will ther ſuffer him to write to any Friends, except they firſt have the peruſing of the Letters.

Sometimes alſo, after they have impriſoned Men in ſuch a miſerable State for a Year or two, and can extort nothing out of them by their Torments, nor prove any Thing againſt them by Witneſs, ſo that they muſt neceſſarily diſmiſs them, they then call them into the Court, begin to flatter them, and tell them what a good Opinion they have of them; and that they are reſolved to ſend them Home; for the which fatherly Favour extended toward them, in ſaving their Lives and Goods, they are to account themſelves much beholden to their Lordſhips, *&c.* and ſo at laſt they diſmiſs him with ſpecial Charge of Silence; and, when he is gone, they have ſpecial Spies Abroad, to ſee how he takes the Matter; and, if they find that he complains of his Puniſhments, or diſcloſes their Secrets, they preſently commence a new Suit againſt him.

On a Time, the Inquiſitors at *Seville* apprehended a noble Lady; the Cauſe was, for that a Siſter of hers, a very virtuous Virgin, who afterwards was burned for Religion, had confeſſed in the Extremity of her Torments, that ſhe had ſometimes had Conference with this her Siſter about Matters of Religion: This Lady, when ſhe was firſt apprehended, was gone with Child about ſix Months, in reſpect whereof

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they did not ſhut her up ſo cloſe at, nor deal ſo ſeverely with her, as they did with others; but, within four Days after ſhe was brought to Bed, they took the Child from her, and the ſeventh Day after they ſhut her up in cloſe Priſon, and uſed her in all Things as they did other Priſoners; the only worldly Comfort ſhe had in her Miſery was, that they lodged her with a virtuous Maiden, that was her Fellow-Priſoner for a Time, but afterwards burned at the Stake: This Maid, whilſt they were together, was carried to the Rack, and ſo ſore ſtrained and tore thereon, that ſhe was almoſt pulled in Pieces; then was ſhe brought back and thrown upon a Bed of Flags, that ſerved both to lie on: The good Lady was not able to help her, yet ſhewed ſingular Tokens of Love and Compaſſion towards her.

The Maid was ſcarce recovered, when the Lady was carried out to be ſerved with the ſame Sauce, and was ſo terribly tormented in the Trough, that, by Reaſon of the ſtreight Straining of the Strings, piercing to the very Bones of her Arms, Thighs, and Shins, ſhe was brought back half-dead to her Priſon, the Blood guſhing out of her Mouth abundantly, which ſhewed that ſomething was broken within her; but after eight Days the Lord delivered her from theſe cruel Tygers, by taking her mercifully to himſelf.

Upon one of their Days of Triumph, there was brought out one *John Pontio*, of a noble Family, a zealous Profeſſor of the Truth, and one of an holy and blameleſs Life, and well learned; he was eminent alſo in Works of Charity, in which he had ſpent a great Part of his Eſtate; being apprehended for the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, he was caſt into Priſon, where he manfully maintained the Truth, in the Midſt of all their cruel Dealings with him; at laſt they caſt into Priſon to him one of their Flies, who by his Subtlety and Craft ſo wrought upon him, that he drew from him a Promiſe to yield Obedience to the *Romiſh* Church. But, though God ſuffered him to fall a While, to ſhew him his Frailty, yet afterwards in much Mercy he raiſed him up again with double Strength, to that which he had before, and before his Execution he manfully defended the Truth againſt a ſubtle Friar. The Things, which he was condemned for, were theſe: That he ſhould ſay, that from his Heart he abhorred the Idolatry, which was committed in Worſhiping the Hoſt; that he removed his Houſhold from Place to Place, that he might ſhun Coming to Maſs; that the Juſtification of a Chriſtian reſteth only in the Merits of *Jeſus Chriſt* apprehended by Faith, *&c.* that there was no Purgatory; that the Pope's Pardons were of no Value: And for myſelf, ſaith he, I am not only willing, but deſirous to die, and ready to ſuffer any Puniſhment, for the Truth which I have profeſſed: I eſteem not of this World, nor of the Treaſures of it, more than for my neceſſary Uſe; and the reſt to beſtow in the Propagation and Maintenance of the Goſpel; and I beſeech God daily upon my Knees, for my Wife and Children, that they may always continue in this Quarrel even unto Death; and, when he came to his Execution, he patiently and comfortably ſlept in the Lord.

At the ſame Time, there was alſo brought forth one *John Gonſalvo*, formerly a Prieſt; but, by his diligent Study of the Scripture, it pleaſed God to reveal his Truth to him, ſo that he became a zealous Preacher of it, labouring in all his Sermons to beat into Men's Minds, that the Truth and Means of our Juſtification conſiſt in Chriſt alone, and in ſtedfaſt Faith in him; for which he was apprehended and caſt into Priſon, where he endured all their Cruelty with Chriſtian Courage: At laſt with two of his Siſters he was condemned; his Mother alſo and one of his Brothers were impriſoned with him for the Truth, and executed ſhortly after; when he with his Siſters went out at the Caſtle-Gate, having his Tongue at Liberty, he began to ſing the 6vith *Pſalm* before all the People, who had often heard him make many godly Sermons; he condemned all Hypocrites as the worſt of People; whereupon they ſtocked his Tongue. Upon the Stage he never changed Countenance, nor was at all daunted: When they all came to the Stake, they had their Tongues looſed, and were commanded to ſay their Creed, which they did carefully: When they came to thoſe Words, *the Holy Catholick Church*, they were commanded to add, of *Rome*, but that they all refuſed; whereupon their Necks were broken in a Trice, and then it was noiſed abroad, that they added thoſe Words and died, confeſſing the Church of *Rome* to be the true *Catholick* Church.

There was in *Seville*, a private Congregation of God's People, moſt of which the Inquiſitors conſumed in the Fire, as they could diſcover any of them: Amongſt others that were apprehended,

prehended, they took four Women, famous above the reſt, for their holy and godly Converſation, but eſpecially the youngeſt of them, who was not above one and twenty Years old; who, by her diligent and frequent Reading of the Scriptures, and by Conference with godly and learned Men, had attained to a very great Meaſure of Knowledge, ſo that, whilſt ſhe was in Priſon, ſhe nonpluſſed and put to Shame many of thoſe Friars that came to ſeduce her.

Another of theſe Women was a grave Matron, whoſe Houſe was a School of Virtue, and a Place where the Saints uſed to meet and ſerve God Day and Night: But, the Time being come wherein they were ripe for God, they together with other of their Neighbours were apprehended and caſt into Priſon; where they were kept in dark Dungeons, and forced to endure all the cruel and extreme Torments before mentioned; at laſt they were condemned, and brought forth to the Scaffold amongſt other Priſoners: The young Maid eſpecially came with a merry and chearful Countenance, as it were triumphing over the Inquiſitors; and, having her Tongue at Liberty, ſhe began to ſing Pſalms to God, whereupon the Inquiſitors cauſed her Tongue to be nipped, by ſetting a Barnacle upon it: After Sentence was read, they were carried to the Place of Execution, where, with much Conſtancy and Courage, they ended their Lives; yet the Inquiſitors, not ſatisfied herewith, cauſed the Houſe of the Matron, where the Church uſed to meet, to be pulled down, and the Ground to be laid waſte, and a Pillar to be erected upon it, with an Inſcription ſhewing the Cauſe.

There was alſo apprehended another worthy Member of the ſame Congregation, called *Ferdinando*; he was of a fervent Spirit, and very zealous in doing Good; a young Man, but for his Integrity of Life very famous: He had ſpent eight Years in Educating of Youth, and had endeavoured to ſow the Seed of Piety in the Hearts of his Scholars, as much as lay in him to do in a Time of ſo great Perſecution, and Tyranny; being at laſt apprehended for a *Lutheran*, he was caſt into Priſon, and terribly tormented upon the Gibbet, and in the Trough, whereby he was ſo ſhaken in every Joint, that, when he was taken down, he was not able to move any Part of his Body; yet did thoſe cruel Tormentors drag him by the Heels into his Priſon, as if he had been a dead Dog; but, notwithſtanding all his Torments, he anſwered the Inquiſitors very ſtoutly, and would not yield to them one Jot. During his Impriſonment, God uſed him as an Inſtrument, to recall and confirm a Monk, who had been caſt into Priſon, for Confeſſing the Goſpel openly: But, by Means of the Inquiſitors Flatteries and fair Promiſes, he had ſomewhat relented: God's Providence ſo ordering it, that *Ferdinando* was caſt into the ſame Priſon, and finding the Monk wavering, he rebuked him ſharply; and afterwards having drawn him to a Sight of, and Sorrow for his Sin, he at laſt ſtrengthened him in the Promiſe of free Grace and Mercy. Hereupon the Monk deſired a Day of Hearing, where before the Inquiſitors he ſolemnly renounced his Recantation, deſiring that his former Confeſſion might ſtand, Whereupon a Sentence of Death paſſed upon them both; after which the Inquiſitors aſked *Ferdinando*, Whether he would revolt from his former Hereſies? To which he anſwered, That he had profeſſed nothing but what was agreeable to the pure and perfect Word of God, and ought to be profeſſed of every Chriſtian Man, and therefore he would ſtick to it to his Death; then they did clap a Barnacle upon his Tongue, and ſo they were burned together.

There was alſo one *Juliano* called the *Little*, becauſe he was of a ſmall and weak Body; who, going into *Germany*, was there converſant with divers learned and godly Men, by which Means he attained to the Knowledge of the Truth, and became a zealous Profeſſor of it; and earneſtly longing after the Salvation of his Country-Men, he undertook a very dangerous Work, which was to convey two great dry Fats, full of Bibles printed in *Spaniſh*, into his own Country: In the Attempt he had much Cauſe of Fear, the Inquiſitors had ſo ſtopped every Port, and kept ſuch ſtrict Watch to prevent the Coming in of all ſuch Commodities; but through God's mighty Protection, he brought his Burden ſafely thither, and, which was alſo miraculous, he conveyed them ſafe into *Seville*, notwithſtanding the buſy Searchers, and Catchpoles that watched in every Corner; theſe Bibles, being diſperſed, were moſt joyfully and thankfully received; and through God's Bleſſing wrought wonderfully amongſt God's People, to ripen them againſt the Time of Harveſt: But at laſt the Matter broke out by the Means of a falſe Brother, who going to the

Inquiſitors

Inquiſitors played the *Judas*, and betrayed the whole Church to them; ſo that there were taken at *Seville*, at one Time, eight-hundred Chriſtians, whereof twenty of them were afterwards roaſted at one Fire.

Amongſt theſe, this *Juliano* was one of the Firſt that was apprehended and ſent to Priſon, where he lay without any Company, loaden with Irons above three Years; yet was his Conſtancy ſo great and wonderful, that the Tormentors themſelves were ſooner wearied in inflicting, than he in ſuffering Torments; and, notwithſtanding his weak and wearyiſh Body, yet he remained undaunted in Mind, in the undergoing of all their Tyrannies, ſo that he departed from the Rack leſs dejected than he came to it; neither Threatenings, nor Pains, nor Torments made him ſhrink or yield one Jot to them; but, when he was drawn back to his Priſon, he would tell his Fellows how he had conquered and confounded his Enemies, ſaying they depart vanquiſhed; the Wolves fly with Shame, they fly with Shame.

In the Day of their Triumph, when he was brought out apparelled, with his other Fellow-Priſoners, in all their ſhameful Habits, he exhorted them with a chearful Countenance, ſaying, *My Brethren, be of good Chear; this is the Hour wherein we muſt be faithful Witneſſes unto God and his Truth before Men, as becomes the true Servants and Soldiers of* Jeſus Chriſt, *and before long we ſhall have him to witneſs with us again; and within a few Hours we ſhall triumph with him in Heaven for ever*; but hereupon they preſently clapped a Barnacle upon his Tongue, that he ſhould ſpeak no more, and ſo he was led to his Execution; but, though he could not ſpeak, yet, by his Countenance and Geſtures, he ſhewed his chearful and quiet Mind; then, kneeling down, he kiſſed the Step whereon he ſtood, and being tied to the Stake, he endeavoured by his Looks and Geſtures to encourage his Fellow Martyrs in their Sufferings, and ſo they quietly and patiently reſigned up their Spirits unto God.

There was alſo one *John Leon*, a Taylor by Trade, who, out of a blind Devotion to ſerve God, reſolved to enter into a Monaſtery; but by God's Providence it ſo fell out that he entered into a Cloiſter at *Seville*, wherein moſt of the Monks were well affected to the true Religion, amongſt whom in two or three Years Space he was ſo grounded in the Principles of Religion, that he reſolved to leave that Kind of Life, which accordingly he did, and went into the Country; yet, after a Time, he had a great Mind to conſer with his former Schoolmaſters; but, when he came back to the Cloiſter, he found that they were all fled into *Germany*; hereupon he reſolved to follow them, and through many Dangers and Perils it pleaſed God at laſt, after a long and tedious Journey, to bring him ſafe to *Frankfort*, where he met with ſome of his old Acquaintance, and with them he travelled to *Geneva*. About this Time Queen *Mary* ſuddenly dying, and Queen *Eliſabeth* of bleſſed Memory ſucceeding her, the *Engliſh* Exiles, who lived in thoſe Parts, were called Home; whereupon divers *Spaniards* that ſojourned at *Geneva*, thinking *England* a fitter Place for their Congregation, reſolved to accompany the *Engliſhmen*, and for this End they diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral Companies, that they might travel with the more Safety. The Inquiſitors took the Departure of theſe *Monks* ſo ill, that, not ſparing any Coſt, they ſent Flies abroad to apprehend them, who waylaid them, eſpecially at *Cologne*, *Frankfort*, *Antwerp*, and in all the Ways that led from *Geneva*: This *John Leon* had gotten him a Companion, with whom he travelled towards *England*, who, being diſcovered at *Argentine*, were dogged into *Zealand*, and, as they were ready to take Ship, they were apprehended. *John Leon* took his Arreſt very compoſedly, never changing Countenance at it: They were preſently carried back into the Town, where they were miſerably racked to diſcover their Fellows, and not long after were ſhipped for *Spain*; having great Irons wrought like a Net that covered both Head and Feet, within which alſo was another Piece of Iron made like a Tongue, which being thruſt into their Mouths took away their Speech; they were alſo loaden with other Engines and Fetters of Iron, wherewith they were bound Hand and Foot, and in theſe continual Pains and Torments they lay a Shipboard till they came into *Spain*; and then *John Leon* was ſent to *Seville*, and his Companion to *Valladolid*, where afterwards in Defence of the Truth he ſuffered Martyrdom; but *John* remained long in Priſon, where he taſted of the Inquiſitors Tyranny, ſuffering both Hunger and Cold, and enduring all their Torments one after another, and at laſt was brought out in their ſolemn Shew, arrayed after the uſual Manner: It was a ſad Sight to ſee ſuch a Ghoſt as he was; his Hair ſo grown, his Body ſo

lean, that he had nothing but Skin and Bones left on him, and his Pain much increaſed by having a Barnacle upon his Tongue. After Sentence of Death pronounced upon him, they ſet his Tongue at Liberty, hoping that he would have recanted; but he made a ſtout and godly Confeſſion of his Faith, and ſo quietly ended his Life in the Flames.

There was alſo burned at the ſame Time a godly Virgin, that had formerly been a Nun, but, being through God's Grace converted, ſhe left her Cloiſter, and joined herſelf to the Church of Chriſt; being apprehended by the Inquiſitors, ſhe was treated as others had been before her; and at laſt was brought on the Scaffold, where with manly Courage ſhe put the Inquiſitors to a foul Foil; not only conſtantly affirming the Truth, but ſharply rebuking thoſe Fathers, calling them dumb Dogs, a Generation of Vipers, *&c.* Being brought to the Stake, with a chearful Countenance ſhe underwent the Pains of Death, and ſo quietly ſlept in the Lord.

There was alſo one *Chriſtopher Loſada*, a Phyſician, a learned Man and very well ſtudied in the Scriptures, as alſo of a very holy Converſation, inſomuch that he was choſen Superintendent of the Church of Chriſt in *Seville*, which at this Time was very great, though diſperſed into Corners. At laſt he was apprehended by the Inquiſitors, before whom he had made a good Confeſſion of his Faith, for which he endured hard and ſharp Impriſonment with moſt cruel Torments, and the open Infamy of their ſolemn Shew: And laſtly was adjudged to the Fire. As he ſtood at the Stake, the Barnacle being taken from his Tongue, he diſputed notably with ſome Monks that came to ſeduce him; and when they ſpake *Latin*, that the common People might not underſtand them, *Loſada* alſo began to ſpeak in *Latin* ſo copiouſly and eloquently, as was ſtrange to hear that he ſhould have his Wits ſo freſh when he was ready to be burned, after which he patiently reſigned up his Spirit to God in the Fire.

There was alſo in *Seville* one *Arias*, a Man of a ſharp Wit, and well ſtudied in Divinity, but withal of a crafty Wit and inconſtant Nature, which Vices he yet covered with a Cloke of Religion, whereby he deceived many. About this Time there were alſo in this City two Sorts of Preachers, and both had a great Number of Auditors; the one taught School-Divinity, and were continually calling upon their Hearers to often Faſtings, Mortification, Self-denial, Frequency of Prayer, Humility, *&c.* But themſelves practiſed nothing leſs than theſe Things: And indeed all their Religion conſiſted in Words and bodily Exerciſes, as Running to Maſſes, Hallowed Places, Confeſſion, *&c.* The other Sort dealt more ſincerely with the Holy Scriptures, out of which they declared what was true Righteouſneſs and perfect Holineſs; by Means whereof that City, above all others in *Spain*, bore the Name for juſt and true Dealing; and it pleaſed God that the Brightneſs of this Light did diſcover all the counterfeit Holineſs, and Phariſaical Devotion of the other Party: The chief Labourers in this Harveſt were *Conſtantine*, *Ægidius*, and *Varguius*, all Doctors, and ſober, wiſe, and learned Men, who by this Kind of Preaching procured to themſelves many Enemies, but, above all others, *Arias* was the moſt ſpightful and malicious; yet he carried it ſo cunningly that he ſtill kept up his Reputation with theſe Men; but it was not long before he diſcovered himſelf, and that upon this Occaſion: There was one *Ruzius*, a learned Man, queſtioned before the Inquiſitors for ſomething that he delivered in a Sermon about the Controverſies in Religion; the Inquiſitors appointed him a Day of Hearing; and, two or three Days before *Arias* met him, ſaluted him courteouſly, and diſcourſed familiarly with him; then did he pump out of him all thoſe Arguments wherewith he intended to defend himſelf before the Inquiſitors. When the Day came, and *Ruzius* appeared, *Arias* went on that Side where his Opponents were, which much amazed *Ruzius*; and, in the Diſputation, *Arias*, being prepared, did ſo wittily enervate all his Arguments, that *Ruzius* had nothing to ſay for himſelf, and ſo was fain to yield the Cauſe, and *Arias* went away with the Honour of the Field, though he got it by Treachery. Yet did this *Arias*, being of St. *Iſidore's* Monaſtery, preach ſo practically, that a great Light began to dawn in that dark Place; for the whole Scope of his Sermons was to overthrow their Profeſſion; he taught them, that Singing and Saying of their Prayers Night and Day was no Service of God; that the Holy Scriptures were to be read and ſtudied with Diligence, whence alone the true Service of God could be drawn, and which alone tells us the true Obedience to his Will.

to the Obtaining whereof we muſt uſe Prayer as a Means, proceeding as well from a Senſe and Feeling of our own Infirmities, as grounded upon a perfect Truſt and Confidence in God.

By laying theſe Foundations, through God's Bleſſing, he began to make them out of Love with their Monkiſh Superſtition, and much provoked them to the Study of the Holy Scriptures; beſides alſo his Sermons, he read daily a Lecture upon *Solomon*'s Proverbs very learnedly, and made Application thereof with good Judgment and Diſcretion; alſo in private Conference he did much Good: The Lord alſo ſo ordered it in his Wiſdom, that he met with Scholars that were very tractable, ſuch as were not greatly wedded to their Superſtitions. And ſuch was the Force and Might of God's Election, that theſe few good Seeds ſo fructified, that in the End they brought forth a great Increaſe of Godlineſs; for divers of the Monks, that hereby had their Conſciences awakened and cleared, to ſee their former Hypocriſy and Idolatry, ſought out for further Inſtruction, and through God's Mercy they light upon thoſe Preachers which taught the Truth with more Sincerity, of whom they learned the Principles of pure and perfect Religion; ſo that by Degrees they left that evil Opinion which they had formerly conceived againſt the *Lutherans*, and were deſirous to read their Books: And God miraculouſly provided for them, they had all Sorts of Books brought them that were extant at that Time, either in *Geneva* or *Germany*, whereby it came to paſs, that there were very few in all that Cloiſter but they had ſome Taſte of true Religion and Godlineſs; ſo that, inſtead of mumbling their Mattens, they brought in Divinity Lectures, and vain Faſting was turned into Chriſtian Sobriety; neither were any taught to be Monkiſh, but to be ſincerely and truly religious.

But conſidering, that, when this ſhould be once known, they could not live in any Safety, they reſolved among themſelves to forſake their Neſt, and to fly into *Germany*, where they might enjoy more Safety of their Lives, and Freedom of their Conſciences; but how to get thither was all the Difficulty; if one or two ſhould go firſt, the reſt would be expoſed to Danger; if many ſhould go together, a Thouſand to One but they would be taken again, being to travel from the furtheſt Part of *Spain* into *Germany*: Yet upon Debate they concluded, that they muſt all either ſpeedily depart, or ſhortly be apprehended by the Inquiſitors, who now had got ſome Inkling of the Matter; and God, ſeeing them in this Diſtreſs, ſhewed them a Means how, under an honeſt Pretence, a Dozen of them might depart together within a Month, and each of them betake himſelf a ſeveral Way to *Geneva*; where they appointed, by God's Aſſiſtance, all to meet within a Twelvemonth: The reſt, which were but young Novices, were left behind; who yet not long after were ſo ſtrengthened by God, that they endured the Brunt of Perſecution when it came, three of them being burned, and divers others diverſly puniſhed.

The aforementioned Servants of *Jeſus Chriſt* forſook that Place where they lived in Honour, Eaſe, and Plenty; and, by undertaking for Chriſt's Sake a voluntary Exile, expoſed themſelves to Shame, Ignominy, Wants, yea, and were in continual Danger of their Lives alſo. And under God *Arias* was a great Means of this, who by his Miniſtry had firſt enlightened them with the Knowledge of the Truth; for which he was often complained of to the Inquiſitors, and was convened before them; where he ſo cunningly anſwered the Matter, that he was ſtill diſcharged: But this laſt Apprehenſion, through the Mercy of God, brought forth in him the Fruits of true Repentance; for he did ſo deeply and unfeignedly bewail and repent of his former Withholding of the Truth in Unrighteouſneſs, that, whereas he uſed to be exceeding fearful of the Rack, he being brought to it, and upon it, with a marvellous Conſtancy withſtood the Enemies of God's Truth, and took up the Inquiſitors roundly, withal telling them that he was heartily ſorry, and did moſt earneſtly repent him, for that he had wittingly and willingly in their Preſence impugned the Truth, againſt the godly Defenders of the ſame; many other ſharp Rebukes he gave to the Inquiſitors, as often as he came to his Anſwer: But at laſt he was brought forth, arrayed in their accuſtomed Manner, upon the Day of Triumph; at which Time he alſo made a notable Profeſſion of his Faith, and ſo was led from the Stage to the Stake with a merry and chearful Countenance, where, by the notable Example of his Repentance at his Death, he made Satisfaction to the Church of Chriſt for all his former, unfaithful, and hypocritical Dealing with it; and ſo quietly ſlept in the Lord.

And

And thus you ſee what hath been the Lot and Portion of the Church and People of God, *viz.* That *through many Tribulations they ſhould enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* Here you have a certain and infallible Mark of the true Church of Chriſt, *viz. To be hated and perſecuted by the Devil and his Inſtruments.* Herein, as in a Perſpective, you may look back upon the Perſecution of the Church of Chriſt, by Reaſon of that cruel *Spaniſh* Inquiſition.

Upon the Whole, let us conſider, if that Religion ſhould be ſet up amongſt us, which allows of ſuch Cruelty and Tyranny, whether or no we have not Cauſe to fear the Worſt, and to prepare for it. *Fore-warned, Fore-armed.*

APPENDIX.

THE Inſtitution of this *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, at firſt, was not only neceſſary, as the Condition of Affairs then was, but exceeding laudable, had it been kept within the Bounds, at firſt, intended; but, inſtead of being uſed on the *Jews* and *Moors*, it hath been turned on the Proteſtants, and that with ſuch Violence and Extremity of Torture, that it is counted the greateſt Tyranny, and ſevereſt Kind of Perſecution under Heaven; inſomuch that that many Papiſts, who would willingly die for their Religion, abhor the very Name and Mention of it, and, to the Death, withſtand the Bringing in of this Slavery amongſt them; this was it which cauſed the irremediable Revolt of the *Low-Countries*, the greateſt Part of that Nation, at the Time of their Taking Arms, being *Roman* Catholicks; yet it is planted and eſtabliſhed in *Spain*, and all *Italy*, *Naples* and *Venice* excepted; the Management thereof is committed to the moſt zealous and rigorous Friars in the whole Pack; the leaſt Suſpicion of Hereſy, as they call it, Affinity or Commerce with Hereticks, Reproving the Lives of the Clergy, Keeping any Books or Editions of Books prohibited, or Diſcourſing in Matters of Religion, are Offences ſufficient; nay they will charge Men's Conſciences, under the Pains of Damnation, to detect their neareſt and deareſt Friends, if they do but ſuſpect them to be herein culpable. Their Proceedings are with great Secrecy and Severity: For,

1. The Parties accuſed ſhall never know their Accuſers, but ſhall be conſtrained to reveal their own Thoughts and Affections.

2. If they be but convinced of any Error, in any of their Opinions, or be gainſayed by two Witneſſes, they are immediately condemned.

3. If Nothing can be proved againſt them, yet ſhall they with infinite Tortures and Miſeries be kept in the Houſe divers Years, for Terror unto others.

And *laſtly*, if they eſcape the firſt Brunt, with many Torments, and much Anguiſh; yet the ſecond Queſtion or Suſpicion brings Death remedileſs. And, as for Torments and Kinds of Death, *Phalaris* and his Fellow-Tyrants came far ſhort of theſe Blood-hounds.

The Adminiſtration of this Office, for the more orderly Regulation and Diſpatch thereof, is diſtributed into twelve Courts, or ſupreme Tribunals, for the ſeveral Provinces of *Spain*, no one depending upon another, but, in a Sort, ſubordinate to the General Inquiſition, remaining in the Court, near the King's Perſon, which hath a Kind of Superintendency over thoſe Tribunals. In all which, thoſe of the Secular Clergy ſit as Judges, the Friars being only uſed as Promoters, to inform the Court, and bring more Griſt unto the Mill of theſe Inquiſitors; every one hath the Title of Lord, and are a great Terror to the neighbouring Peaſants; certain it is, that, by this Means, the People of this Kingdom are ſo kept under, that they dare not hearken after any other Religion, than what their Prieſts and Friars ſhall be pleaſed to teach them; or entertain the Truth, if it comes amongſt them, or call in Queſtion any of thoſe palpable and groſs Impoſtures, which every Day are put upon them; for, by this Means, the People of this Kingdom have been, and ſtill are, punctual Followers of the Church of *Rome*; and that too in the very Errors and Corruptions of it, taking up their Religion on the Pope's Authority, and therein ſo tenacious or pertinacious, that the King doth ſuffer none to live in his Dominions, which profeſs not the *Roman* Catholick Religion; of which they have been, ſince the Time of *Luther*, ſuch avowed Patrons, that one of the late Popes, being ſick, and hearing divers Men

to

to bemoan his approaching End, uttered ſome Words to this Effect: My Life, ſaid he, can nothing benefit the Church; but pray for the Proſperity of the King of *Spain*, as its chief Supporter. And thus you have the Original of the Inquiſition.

The Catholick Cauſe; or, The horrid Practice of Murdering Kings, juſtified, and commended by the Pope, in a Speech to his Cardinals, upon the barbarous Aſſaſſination of *Henry the Third* of *France*, who was ſtabbed by *Jaques Clement*, a *Dominican* Friar. The true Copy of which Speech, both in *Latin*, and alſo faithfully rendered into *Engliſh*, you have in the following Pages. *London*: Printed for *Walter Kettilby*, at the *Biſhop's-Head*, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1678. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages.

This Speech is taken from that printed at *Paris* in the Year 1589, the Year of the King's Death, by *Nicholas Nivelle* and *Rollin Tierry*; and ſet forth with Approbation of three Doctors of the Faculty of *Paris*, as followeth:

Nous ſoubſignez Docteurs en Theologie de la Faculté de Paris *certifions avoir confere ceſte Harangue pronouncée par ſa Sainctete avec l' exemplaire* Latin *envoye de* Rome, *& avoir trouve conforme l' un à l' autre.*

BOUCHER,
DECREIL,
ANCELIN.

Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. de *Henrici Tertii* Morte, Sermo, *Romæ* in Conſiſtorio Patrum habitus, 2 *Septem.* 1589.

'ANIMO meo ſæpe ac ſerio revolvens, mentiſque aciem intendens in ea, quæ nuper Dei voluntate acciderunt, videor mihi vere poſſe illud Prophetæ *Abacuch* uſurpare: *Quia opus factum eſt in diebus veſtris, quod nemo credet, cum narrabitur* (Abac. i. v. 5.) Mortuus eſt Rex *Francorum* per manus Monachi.

An Oration of Pope *Sixtus the Fifth*, upon the Death of King *Henry the Third*, in *Rome*, in the full Aſſembly of the Cardinals.

CONſidering oftentimes and ſeriouſly with myſelf, and applying the utmoſt of my Underſtanding unto theſe Things which now of late, by the Will of God, are come to paſs; I think I may fitly uſe the Words of the Prophet *Habakkuk*, ſaying, *I have wrought a Work in your Days, which no Man will believe when it ſhall be told him*, Habak. i. v. 5. The *French* King is ſlain by the Hands of a Friar.

For

* Nam.

'Nam ad iſtud poteſt recte applicari: 'licet de alia re, nempe de incarnatione 'Domini, quæ omnia mira ac mirabilia ſu'perat, Propheta proprie locutus ſit; ſicut & 'Apoſtolus *Paulus* eadem verba (*Actorum* xiii. 'v. 41.) ad Chriſti reſurrectionem veriſſime 'refert. Quando Propheta nominat Opus, 'non vult innuere aliquid vulgare, vel ordi'narium, ſed rarum, inſigne, ac memora'bile facinus; quomodo de creatione Mundi, '*Opera manuum tuarum ſunt cœli.* Item, '*Requievit die ſeptimo ab omni opere quod pa'trarat.* Cum vero factum ait, eo verbo 'tale aliquid in Scripturis exprimi, quod non 'temere, caſu, fortuna, aut per accidens eve'nire dicitur; ſed quod expreſſa Dei volun'tate, providentia, diſpoſitione, ac ordinati'one obvenit. Ut cum dicit Salvator, *Opera* '*quæ ego facio vos facietis, & majora horum* '*facietis:* Et ſimilia in ſacris litteris plurima. 'Quod autem loquatur in præterito factum 'eſſe, id more aliorum Prophetarum facit qui 'propter certitudinem eventus ſolent ſæpe de 'futuris, ac ſi jam facta eſſent, prædicere. 'Dicunt enim Philoſophi, res præteritas eſſe 'de neceſſitate, præſentes de ineſſe, futuras 'de poſſibili tantum: ita illi loquuntur.

'Propter quam certitudinem *Iſaias* Prophe'ta, longe ante vaticinatus de morte Chriſti, 'ſic dixit, ſicut in *Act. Apoſtolorum* cap. viii. 'etiam recitatur, *Tanquam ovis ad occiſionem* '*ductus eſt, & ſicut agnus coram tondente ſe non* '*aperuit os ſuum*, &c.

'Atque hoc, de quo nunc verba facimus, '& quod hic diebus noſtris evenit, vere inſigne, 'memorabile, & pene incredibile opus eſt, nec 'ſine Dei Opt. Max. particulari Providentia '& Diſpoſitione perpetratum. Occidit Mo'nachus Regem, non pictum aut fictum in 'charta, aut pariete; ſed Regem Francorum 'in medio exercitus ſui, milite & cuſtodia 'undique ſeptum; quod re vera tale eſt, & eo 'modo effectum, ut nemo nunc credat, cum 'narrabitur, & fortaſſe apud poſteritatem pro 'fabula reputabitur.

'Quod Rex ſit mortuus, vel etiam peremp'tus, facile creditur; ſed eum ſic ſublatum, 'vix eſt credibile: Sicut Chriſtum natum ex

'fœmina

For unto this it may truly be compared, though the Prophet ſpoke of another Thing, namely, of the Incarnation of our Lord, which exceedeth all other Wonders and Miracles: As alſo the Apoſtle *St. Paul* referreth the ſame Words unto the Reſurrection of Chriſt (*Acts* xiii. *v.* 41.) When the Prophet ſays, *a Work*, he means not by it ſome common or ordinary Thing, but a rare and notable Matter, and worthy to be remembered, as that of the Creation of the World: *The Heavens are the Works of thy Hands:* And again, *He reſted the ſeventh Day from all the Works which he had made.* When he ſaith, *I have wrought*, with theſe Words the Scripture is wont to expreſs Things not to come to paſs caſually, by Fortune, or Accident; but Things falling out by the determined Counſel, Will, Providence, and Ordinance of God: As our Saviour ſays, *The Works that I do ſhall ye do alſo, and greater Works than theſe* (Joh. xiv. v. 12.) and many more in Holy Writ to the like Purpoſe. Now that he ſays, that it is done in Times paſt, herein he follows the Uſe and Manner of the other Prophets, who, for the Certainty of the Event, are wont to predict Things to come, as if they were paſt already: For, as the Philoſophers ſay, Things paſt are of Neceſſity, Things preſent, of Being, and Things to come, only of Poſſibility. So do they ſpeak. For which Certainty the Prophet *Eſay*, long before, propheſying of the Death of Chriſt, hath thus ſpoken: *He was led as a Sheep to the Slaughter, and like a Lamb dumb before his Shearer, ſo opened he not his Mouth*, &c. as it is likewiſe repeated, *Acts* viii.

And this, of which we are now ſpeaking, and which has happened in theſe our Days, is a very famous, memorable, and well nigh incredible Thing, not done, or accompliſhed, without the particular Providence and Diſpoſition of the Almighty. A Friar has killed a King, not a painted one in Paper, nor pictured out upon a Wall; but the *French* King, in the Middle of his Armies, encompaſſed round about with his Guard, and Soldiers: Which truly is ſuch an Act, and done in ſuch a Manner, that none will believe, when it ſhall be told them; and perhaps our Poſterity after us will account, and eſteem it but a Fable.

That the King is dead, or elſe ſlain, it is eaſily to be believed; but that he is killed, and taken away in ſuch Sort, is hardly credible:

Ev

‘ fœmina ſtatim aſſentimur; ſed ſi addas porro
‘ ex fœmina Virgine ortum eſſe, tunc ſecun-
‘ dum *hominem* non aſſentior; ita etiam quod
‘ mortuus ſit Chriſtus facile credimus, ſed quod
‘ mortuus jam reſurrexerit ad vitam, quia ex
‘ privatione ad habitum non fit regreſſio, red-
‘ ditur; ſecundum intellectum humanum im-
‘ poſſibile, propterea incredibile; quod homo
‘ ex ſomno, ex morbo, etiam ex ſyncope, vel
‘ extaſi reſuſcitatur, quia id ſæpe ſecundum
‘ naturam fit, humanitus credimus; ſed reſur-
‘ rexiſſe a mortuis, ita ſecundum carnem vi-
‘ debatur incredibile, ut *Paulo* apud Philoſophos
‘ Athenienſes de hac reſurrectione differenti,
‘ improperarent, quod eſſet novorum dæmo-
‘ niorum annunciator: Et alii, ſicut D. *Lucas*
‘ narrat, irridebant, alii dicebant, Audiemus
‘ te de hoc iterum. De talibus igitur, quæ
‘ ſecundum naturæ leges, & ordinarium curſum,
‘ fieri non ſolent, dicit Propheta, quod nemo
‘ credet, cum narrabitur; ſed hujuſmodi tan-
‘ tum fidem adhibemus ex conſideratione om-
‘ nipotentiæ divinæ, & per ſubjectionem intel-
‘ lectus *noſtri in obedientiam fidei*, & obſe-
‘ quium Chriſti. Nam hoc modo quod erat
‘ incredibile naturaliter, ſit credibile. Igitur,
‘ qui ſecundum hominem non credo Chriſtum
‘ de Virgine natum, tamen quando additur
‘ hoc factum eſſe ſupra naturæ terminos per
‘ operationem Spiritus ſancti, tunc vere aſſentior
‘ & credo.

Even as we preſently aſſent, that Chriſt *is* born of a Woman; but if we *further* add, of a Virgin-woman, then, according to Human Reaſon, we cannot aſſent unto it; and ſo we can readily believe, that Chriſt died, but that he roſe from the Dead to Life again, this, to Man's natural Underſtanding, is impoſſible; and therefore incredible, becauſe there is no Return from a Privation to an Habit: That one is awakened again out of a Sleep, Extaſy, or a Swoon, becauſe it is not againſt Nature, we naturally believe it; but to be riſen again from the Dead, it ſeemed ſo incredible a Thing to Nature, that St. *Paul*, diſputing with the *Athenian* Philoſophers, about this very Point, was diſguſted for it, and accuſed to be a Setter forth of new, or ſtrange Gods; and ſome, as St. *Luke* reports, mocked him, others ſaid, We will hear thee again of this Matter. Of ſuch Things therefore, which befall not according to the Laws of Nature, and the ordinary Courſe thereof, ſpeaketh the Prophet, *viz.* that none ſhall believe it, when it ſhall be told them. But we give Credit unto it, whilſt we conſider the Omnipotency of God, and by ſubmitting our own Underſtandings to the Obedience of Faith, and the Commands of our Saviour Chriſt; and, by theſe Means, what was incredible before, by Nature, becometh credible by Faith: We therefore, that, as mere Men, cannot believe Chriſt to be born of a Virgin; when this is further added, that it was wrought ſupernaturally, by the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt, then we truly aſſent to it, and faithfully believe it.

‘ Ita quando dicitur Chriſtum ex mortuis
‘ reſurrexiſſe, humanitus non credo; ſed cum
‘ id factum eſſe per divinam, quæ in ipſo
‘ erat, naturam affirmatur, tunc omnino cre-
‘ do.

So likewiſe, when it is ſaid, that Chriſt is riſen again from the Dead, naturally we believe it not; but when it is affirmed, that this was done by the Power of the Divine Nature, which was in him, then we readily, and without any Kind of Doubting, believe it.

‘ Eodem modo licet tantum Regem in me-
‘ dio exercitus, tot ſtipatum militibus, ab uno
‘ ſimplici & imbelli Religioſo occiſum eſſe,
‘ ſecundum prudentiam carnis, & intellectum
‘ humanum, ſit incredibile, vel omnino impro-
‘ babile; tamen conſiderando ex altera parte
‘ graviſſima Regis peccata, & ſpecialem Dei
‘ omnipotentis *in hac re providentiam*, & quam
‘ inuſitato & *mirabili modo juſtiſſimam* volun-
‘ tatem ſuam erga ipſum impleverit, omnino
‘ & firmiter credo. Rem etenim iſtam tam
‘ grandem & inuſitatam alio referre, quam ad
‘ articularem Dei providentiam (ſicut quoſ-

In the ſame Manner, though to natural Reaſon and human Capacity it may ſeem a Thing incredible, or altogether improbable, that ſuch a mighty King ſhould be murthered in the Midſt of his Army, environed round with his Guards and Soldiers, by a poor ſimple, weak Religioniſt, or Friar: Yet, conſidering, on the other Side, the great and grievous Sins of this King, and the ſpecial Providence of the Almighty herein, and by what a ſtrange and wonderful Way he hath accompliſhed his moſt juſt Will and Judgment againſt him, then we fully and moſt firmly believe it; and therefore

' dam ad alias cauſas ordinarias, vel etiam ad
' fortunam & caſum, aut ſimiles accidentarios
' eventus perperam referre intelligimus) pror-
' ſus non licet; ſicut ii, qui totius facti ſeri-
' em preſſius obſervant, facile videre poſſunt,
' ubi plurima intervenerunt, quæ ab homine,
' niſi Dei ſpeciali concurrente auxilio, expedi-
' ri non quiverant. Et ſane Regum ac Regno-
' rum rationes, cæteraque tam rara tantique
' momenti negotia, a Deo temere adminiſtrari
' non eſt exiſtimandum. Sunt in ſacra Hiſto-
' ria nonnulla hujus generis, nec eorum quid-
' quam poteſt alio, quam ad Deum Authorem
' referri: tamen nihil eſt, ubi magis claret ſu-
' perna operatio, quam in iſto, de quo nunc
' agimus.

this great and miraculous Work we are to aſcribe to a particular Providence of God only; not as thoſe that erroneouſly refer all Things unto ſome ordinary Cauſes, or unto Fortune, or ſuch like accidentary Events; but as thoſe who (more nearly obſerving, and looking into the Courſe of the whole Matter) do eaſily ſee that there were many Things intervening in it, which could not have been brought to paſs, and diſpatched, without the ſpecial Help of God. And truly the State of Kings and Kingdoms, and all other ſuch rare and weighty Affairs, ſhould not be thought to be governed of God raſhly, and unadviſedly; there are ſome Inſtances in holy Writ of this Nature, and none of them can be referred unto any other Cauſe, but God only; but yet there is none wherein the celeſtial Operation more appeareth, than in this, whereof we are now ſpeaking.

' Libr. *Macchab.* 1 Cap. 6. Legimus *Eleazarum*, ut Regem populi Dei perſecutorem
' ac hoſtem tolleret, ſeipſum certæ morti ob-
' tuliſſe. Nam in conflictu conſpiciens Ele-
' phantem cæteris eminentiorem, in quo vi-
' debatur Rex eſſe, concito curſu in mediam
' hoſtium turmam ſe conjiciens; hinc inde
' viam vi ſternens, ad belluam venit, atque ſub
' eam intravit, ſubjectoque gladio peremit, quæ
' cadens oppreſſit *Eleazarum* & extinxit. Hic
' quoad zelum, & animi robur, reique tentatæ
' exitum, aliquid hujus noſtri ſimile cernimus,
' tamen in reliquis nihil eſt comparabile. *Elea-*
' *zarus* erat miles armis & pugna exercitatus,
' in ipſo prælio conſtitutus, adoreque animi, &
' furore (ut fit) accenſus: iſte Monachus præ-
' liis ac pugnis non erat aſſuefactus, & a ſan-
' guine vitæ ſuæ inſtituto ita abhorrens, ut nec
' ex venæ inciſione fuſum cruorem forſan fer-
' re potuerit.

We read in the firſt Book of *Macchabees*, Ch. vi. how *Eleazar* run himſelf upon a certain Death, to kill the King that was an Enemy and a Perſecutor of the People and Children of God: For, in the Battle, eſpying an Elephant higher and more ſtately than the reſt, whereon it was like the King rode, with a ſwift Pace, caſting himſelf into the Midſt of his Enemies Troops, here and there making his Way by Force, he came to the Beaſt at laſt, and went under her, and thruſt his Sword into her Belly, and ſlew her, who falling, with the great Weight of her Body, preſſed him to Death, and killed him out of Hand. Here in this Inſtance we may ſee ſomething not unlike to ours, *viz.* as to Zeal, Valiantneſs of Mind, and the Iſſue of the Enterpriſe; but in the reſt there is no Compariſon to be made. *Eleazar* was a Soldier exerciſed in Weapons, and trained up in Wars, ſet in Battle, emboldened with Courage, and inflamed with Rage and Anger. This a Friar, not inured to Fighting, and ſo abhorring Blood by the Order of his Profeſſion, that perhaps he could not abide the Cutting of a Vein.

' Ille noverat genus mortis, ſimulque lo-
' cum ſepulturæ ſuæ; nempe, quod ruina
' belluæ inclusus magis, quam oppreſſus, ſuo
' ſepeliretur triumpho. Iſte mortem ac tormen-
' ta crudeliora & incognita expectabat, ſepul-
' chroque ſe carituram non dubitabat. Sed &
' alia multa diſſimilia ſunt. Nota quoque eſt
' inſignis illa hiſtoria ſanctæ mulieris, *Judith*,
' quæ &. ipſa, ut obſeſſam civitatem ſuam ac

He knew the Kind of his Death, as alſo the Place of his Burial, namely, that he ſhould be entombed under the Fall of the Beaſt, and ſo buried in the Midſt of his Triumph and Victory. This Man looked for a certain Death, and expected nothing but unknown and moſt cruel Torments, and did not doubt before, but that he ſhould want a Grave to reſt within. But there are many other Things, wher-

' popul-

‘ populum Dei, liberaret, cepit conſilium
‘ (Deo, ſine controverſia, ſuggeſtore) de in-
‘ terimendo *Holopherne*, hoſtilis exercitus prin-
‘ cipe; quod & perfecit: in quo opere licet
‘ plurima & apertiſſima ſupernæ directionis
‘ indicia appareant, tamen longe majora di-
‘ vinæ Providentiæ argumenta in iſtius Regis
‘ occiſione, ac civitatis *Pariſienſis* liberatione,
‘ conſpicere licebit, ſicut certe, quoad homi-
‘ nem, hoc fuit illo magis difficile, vel impoſ-
‘ ſibile.

‘ Nam illa ſancta fœmina intentionem ſuam
‘ aliquibus urbis preſbyteris aperuit, portam-
‘ que civitatis & cuſtodiam pertranſiit, illis
‘ præſentibus ac approbantibus; ut proinde
‘ ſcrutationi, vel explorationi, quæ obſidionis
‘ tempore ſolet eſſe tam exacta, ut ne muſca
‘ fere ſine examine egredi queat, non potuerit
‘ eſſe ſubjecta.

‘ Apud hoſtes vero, per quorum caſtra &
‘ varias excubias tranſeundum erat, ſæpius ex-
‘ plorata & examinata, cum fœmina eſſet,
‘ nec quidquam haberet vel literarum, vel
‘ armorum, unde ſuſpicio oriri potuit, deque
‘ adventu in caſtra, & a ſuis, fugæ probabiles
‘ reddens rationes, facile dimittebatur. Sicut
‘ tam propter eaſdem cauſas, quam propter
‘ ſexum & formæ excellentiam, ad Principem
‘ impudicum introduci, & in temulentum,
‘ facile, quod deſignavit, perficere valuit. Ita
‘ illa.

‘ Hic vero Religioſus aggreſſus eſt, & con-
‘ fecit rem longe majorem, pluribuſque impe-
‘ dimentis, ac tantis difficultatibus, periculiſ-
‘ que obſitam, ut nulla prudentia aut aſtutia
‘ humana, nec alio modo, niſi aperta Dei
‘ ordinatione, ac ſuccurſu, confici potuerit.
‘ Debebant obtineri literæ commendatitiæ ab
‘ iis qui erant contrariæ factionis; tranſeun-
‘ dum erat per eam urbis portam, qua itur ad
‘ caſtra hoſtium; quæ ita, ſine dubio, in illis ob-
‘ ſidionis anguſtiis cuſtodiebatur, ut cuncta ha-
‘ berentur ſuſpecta; nec cuiquam ſine curioſiſ-
‘ ſima explorazione *de literis, nunciis, negotiis,*
‘ armis, pateret exitus. Sed iſte (res mira!)
‘ vigiles pertranſiit ſine examine, etiam cum
‘ literis credentiæ ad hoſtem; quæ, ſi fuiſſent
‘ interceptæ a civibus, ſine mora, ac ſine ul-

theſe two Inſtances can ſuffer no Compariſon. The famous Hiſtory of the holy Woman, *Judith*, is ſufficiently known; who determined with herſelf (God, no Doubt, moving her to it) that ſhe might deliver the City and the People of God, to murder *Holophernes*, the General and chief Commander of the Enemies Forces; which ſhe moſt effectually accompliſhed: Wherein although there appear many and moſt manifeſt Signs of heavenly Direction, yet far greater Arguments of God's Providence are to be ſeen in the Killing of this King, and the Delivering of the City of *Paris*, far more difficult, and harder to be brought to paſs, than was the Enterpriſe of *Judith*.

For this holy Woman diſcovered her Intention to ſome of the Governors of the City, and paſſed through in Sight and Preſence of the Elders and Princes of that Place, and by that Means was not ſubject unto their Examination and Searching, which is always uſed ſo ſtrictly, in Times of Siege and War, that a Fly can hardly without Examination eſcape them.

She, being come to the Enemy, through whoſe Company and Watches ſhe was to go; and oftentimes ſearched and examined, being a Woman; and carrying no Letters nor Weapons about her, from whence any Suſpicion might ariſe; and, withal, yielding Reaſons of her Coming thither, and Abandoning her Relatives, was eaſily diſcharged; and not only upon the forementioned Cauſes, but alſo for her Sex and exquiſite Beauty, being brought before this lewd and unchaſte Prince, ſhe might perform that which ſhe had determined before. This is *Judith*'s Caſe.

But this religious Man undertook and performed a Matter of greater Weight, encompaſſed with ſo many Impediments, Difficulties, and Dangers, that no Subtlety of Man, no human Policy, nor any worldly Wiſdom, but only the clear and viſible Providence of God, and his ſpecial Aid, could bring it to paſs. Firſt, Letters Commendatory were to be procured of the contrary Party; then was he conſtrained to go through the Gate of the City, that led to the Enemies Camp; the which, without Doubt, was ſo narrowly kept and watched, in the Extremity of that Siege, that every Trifle bred Suſpicion, and none were ſuffered to go forth without narrow Searching before, touching their Letters, Meſſages, Buſineſs, and Affairs they had. But he (a won-

‘ teriori judicio, de vita fuiſſet actum ; atque
‘ apertum hoc Divinæ Providentiæ argumen-
‘ tum : ſed majus miraculum eſt illud, Quod
‘ idem mox ſine omni exploratione tranſierit
‘ quoque caſtra hoſtium, varias militum excu-
‘ bias, ipſamque corporis Regis cuſtodiam, ac
‘ totum denique exercitum, qui fere erat con-
‘ flatus ex Hæreticis, ipſe Religioſus exiſtens,
‘ & in habitu Ordinis ſui, qui ita erat exoſus
‘ talibus hominibus, ut in illis locis, quæ
‘ paulo ante prope *Pariſios* vi ceperant, Mona-
‘ chos quoſque vel occiderint, vel peſſime
‘ tractaverint.

derful Thing!) paſſed through the Watch unexamined, yea, with Letters Credential unto the Enemy ; which if they had been intercepted by the Citizens, without any Delay and further Trial, he ſhould have been executed preſently ; and therefore this is a manifeſt Argument of God's Providence. But this is a far greater Miracle, That he, without Searching, went alſo through the Enemies Camp, by divers Watches and Centinels ; and, which is more, through the King's Guard *du Corps*; and, finally, through the whole Army, which was made up moſtly of Hereticks ; he being a Religious Man, and clad in the Habit of his Order, which was ſo odious a Garb to thoſe Men, that they either killed, or ſeverely treated, all thoſe Friars, whom they found in thoſe Places, which, not long before, they had taken about *Paris*.

‘ *Judith* erat fœmina, minimeque odioſa ;
‘ tamen examinata ſæpe, illa nihil ſecum tulit,
‘ unde ſibi oriretur periculum ; iſte monachus,
‘ & propterea odioſus, ac ſuſpectiſſimus, etiam
‘ cum cultello ad hoc propoſitum præparato,
‘ non in vagina condito (unde poterat eſſe pro-
‘ babilis excuſatio) ſed nudo, ac in manica abſ-
‘ condito, quem ſi inveniſſent, mox fuiſſet in
‘ crucem actus.

Judith was a Woman, and nothing odious, yet examined often ; ſhe carried nothing that might have turned to her Danger and Deſtruction. This Man, a Friar, and therefore hated, and moſt ſuſpected, having alſo a Knife prepared for that Purpoſe, not in a Scabbard (which might have made his Excuſe probable) but naked, and concealed in his Sleeve ; which, if it had been found about him, he would, queſtionleſs, have been put to Death immediately.

‘ Iſta omnia clariora ſunt particularis provi-
‘ dentiæ divinæ argumenta, quam ut negari
‘ queat ; nec aliter fieri potuit, quam ut a Deo
‘ occæcarentur oculi inimicorum ne agnoſcerent
‘ illum.

All theſe are ſuch clear Arguments of the particular Providence of God, that they cannot be denied ; neither could it otherwiſe be, but that God blinded the Eyes of the Enemy, that they could not ſee nor know him.

‘ Nam, ut antea diximus, licet quidam iſta
‘ abſurde tribuant fortunæ, aut caſui, tamen
‘ nos hoc totum non alio referendum cenſemus,
‘ quam in divinam voluntatem.

For, as we have ſaid before, although ſome do abſurdly aſcribe this unto Fortune, or Chance, yet none can refer the whole Matter to any other Cauſe, but the Will and holy Purpoſe of God.

‘ Nec profecto aliter factum crederem, niſi cap-
‘ tivarem intellectum in obſequium Chriſti, qui,
‘ hoc modo admirabili, & liberare civitatem *Pa-*
‘ *riſienſem* (quam variis viis intelleximus fuiſſe in
‘ ſummo diſcrimine, maximiſque anguſtiis con-
‘ ſtitutam) & iſtius Regis graviſſima peccata pu-
‘ nire, eumque tam infauſta & infami morte
‘ e medio tollere ſtatuit. Atque nos, dolentes
‘ ſane, aliquoties prædiximus fore, ut quemad-
‘ modum erat familiæ ſuæ ultimus, ita aliquem
‘ inſuetum & dedecoroſum vitæ exitum eſſet
‘ habiturus. Quod me dixiſſe non ſolum Car-
‘ dinales *Joioſa*, *Lenocortius*, & *Pariſienſis*, ſed
‘ etiam, qui tunc apud nos reſidebat Orator,
‘ teſtes eſſe poſſunt.

And, indeed, I could not believe this to have been done otherwiſe, unleſs I ſhould captive, or ſubmit my Underſtanding to the Obedience of Chriſt, who determined, by theſe miraculous Means, to deliver, and ſet at Liberty, the City of *Paris*, which, as we have heard, was in great Danger and Extremity ; and to puniſh the notorious Sins of that King, and to deprive him of this Life by ſuch an unhappy and infamous Kind of Death ; and we truly, not without great inward Grief, have oftentimes foretold that, as he was the laſt of his Name and Family, ſo was he like to have, and make, ſome ſtrange and ſhameful End of his Life. And, that I have, ſeveral Times, ſaid this Thing, not only the Cardinals *Joioſa*, *Lenocortius*, and *Pariſienſis*, but alſo t[illegible]

‘ Neque

'Neque enim hic mortuos, ſed viventes, in 'teſtimonium hujuſmodi verborum noſtrorum 'adhibemus, quorum iſti omnes probe memi-'niſſe poſſunt. Quidquid tamen in hunc infœ-'licem Regem hoc tempore dicere cogimur, 'nullo modo volumus, ut pertineat ad nobi-'liſſimum illud *Galliæ* regnum, quod nos im-'poſterum, ſicut hactenus, ſemper omni pater-'no amore ac honore proſequemur. De per-'ſona ergo Regis tantum iſta cum dolore dixi-'mus, cujus infauſtus finis eximit quoque ip-'ſum ab iis officiis, quæ ſolet hæc ſancta ſedes '(quæ eſt pia mater omnium fidelium, & max-'ime Chriſtianorum principium) Imperatori-'bus & Regibus poſt mortem exhibere: quæ 'pro iſto libenter quoque feciſſemus, niſi id fi-'eri in hoc caſu ſacræ Scripturæ vetarent.

Ambaſſador, at that Time here reſident, can ſufficiently teſtify.

For we mean not to call the Dead to atteſt our Words, but the Living; ſome whereof at this very preſent do yet well remember them. But, whatſoever we have been forced to ſpeak againſt this unfortunate King, we would, by no Means, have it thought to be intended againſt the noble Realm of *France*; which we ſhall embrace and foſter hereafter, as we have hitherto always done, with all fatherly Love, Honour, and Affection. This therefore, which we with Grief have ſpoken, concerns the King's Perſon only, whoſe unhappy and unlucky End deprives him alſo of thoſe honourable Offices and Reſpects, which this holy Seat (the tender Mother of all faithful, but eſpecially of Chriſtian Princes) is wont to pay to Emperors and Kings; which we moſt willingly would likewiſe have beſtowed on him, if the holy Scriptures, in this Caſe, had not altogether forbidden it.

'*Eſt*, inquit S. *Ioannes*, *peccatum ad mortem*, 'non pro illo dico ut roget quis: quod vel in-'telligi poteſt de peccato ipſo, ac ſi diceret, pro 'illo peccato, vel pro remiſſione illius peccati 'nolo ut quiſquam roget, quoniam non eſt re-'miſſibile: vel, quod in eundem ſenſum redit, 'pro illo homine, qui peccat peccatum ad mor-'tem, non dico ut roget quis. De quo genere 'etiam Salvator apud *Matthæum*, quod ille, *Qui 'peccat in Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur, 'neque in hoc ſæculo, neque in futuro.* Ubi fa-'cit tria genera peccatorum, nimirum in Pa-'trem, in Filium, & in Spiritum Sanctum; 'atque priora duo eſſe minus gravia, & remiſ-'ſibilia, tertium vero irremiſſibile; quæ tota 'differentia, ſicut ex Scripturis ſcholæ tradunt, 'oritur ex diſtinctione attributorum, quæ ſin-'gula ſingulis Perſonis ſanctiſſimæ Trinitatis 'appropriantur.

There is, ſaith St. *John*, *a Sin unto Death*; I ſay not that any ſhould pray for it; which may be underſtood either of the Sin itſelf, as if he ſhould ſay, For that Sin, or for the Remiſſion of that Sin, I will that none ſhould pray, becauſe it is not pardonable: Or elſe, which comes to the ſame Senſe, For that Man who committeth ſuch a Sin unto Death, I ſay not that any ſhould pray for; of which Sin, our Saviour himſelf has ſpoken in St. *Matthew*, ſaying, *That he, that ſinneth againſt the Holy Ghoſt, ſhall not be forgiven, neither in this World, nor in the World to come*; where he ſetteth down three Sorts, or Kinds, of Sins, to wit, againſt the Father, againſt the Son, and againſt the Holy Ghoſt; and that the two firſt are leſs heinous and pardonable, but that the third is altogether unpardonable. All which Difference proceedeth from the Diſtinction of the Attributes, as the Schools teach us out of the Holy Scriptures; which ſeverally are appropriated to every ſeveral Perſon of the Holy Trinity.

'Licet enim, ſicut eadem eſt eſſentia, ſic 'eadem quoque eſt potentia, ſapientia, & bo-'nitas omnium perſonarum (ſicut ex Symbolo 'S *Athanaſii* didicimus, cum ait, *Omnipotens 'Pater Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus 'Sanctus*) tamen, per attributionem, Patri ap-'plicatur Potentia, Filio Sapientia, Spiritui 'Sancto Amor; quorum ſingula eo modo, quo 'attributa dicuntur, ita ſunt propria cujuſque 'perſonæ, ut in aliam referri non queant; ex

For although, as the Eſſence of all the three Perſons is but one, ſo alſo is their Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs (as we have learned out of St. *Athanaſius*'s Creed, when he ſays, *The Father Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghoſt Almighty*) yet, by Attribution, Power is aſcribed unto the Father, Wiſdom unto the Son, and Love unto the Holy Ghoſt; whereof every ſeveral, as they are termed Attributes, are ſo proper unto every ſeveral Perſon, that they

'quorum

‘ quorum Attributorum contrariis, & diſtinctionem, & gravitatem peccatorum dignoſcimus.

‘ Contrarium Potentiæ, quæ attribuitur Patri, eſt infirmitas; ut proinde id quod ex infirmitate, ſeu naturæ noſtræ imbecillitate, committimus, dicatur committi in Patrem. Oppoſitum Sapientiæ eſt ignorantia, ex qua cum quis peccat, dicitur peccare in Filium; ita ut ea, quæ vel ex humana infirmitate, vel ignoratione peccamus, facilius nobis condonari ſoleant.

‘ Tertium autem Attributum, quod eſt Spiritus Sancti, nempe Amor, habet pro contrario ingratitudinem, vitium maxime odibile: unde venit, ut homo non agnoſcat Dei erga ipſum dilectionem, aut beneficia; ſed obliviſcatur, contemnat, ac odio etiam habeat. Ex quo tandem fit, ut obſtinatus reddatur atque impœnitens, atque his modus multo gravius & periculoſius peccatur in Deum, quam ex ignorantia, aut imbecillitate; proinde hujuſmodi vocantur peccata in Spiritum Sanctum. Et, quia rarius, ac difficilius, & non niſi abundantiori gratia condonantur, dicuntur irremiſſibilia quodammodo; cum tamen ſola impœnitentia ſit omnino & ſimpliciter irremiſſibilis: quicquid enim in vita committitur, licet contra Spiritum Sanctum, poteſt per pœnitentiam deleri ante mortem. Sed qui perſeverat uſque ad mortem, nullum locum relinquit gratiæ ac miſericordiæ: atque pro tali peccato, ſeu pro homine ſic peccante, noluit Apoſtolus ut poſt mortem oraremus.

‘ Jam ergo quia magno noſtro dolore intelligimus, prædictum Regem ex hac vita ſine pœnitentia, ſeu impœnitentem exceſſiſſe, nimirum in conſortio Hæreticorum; ex talibus enim hominibus confecerat exercitum ſuum: & quod commendaverat moriens regnum in ſucceſſione *Navarræ* declarato Hæretico, & excommunicato; necnon in extremis, ac in ultimo fere vitæ ſpiritu, ab eodem & ſimilibus circumſtantibus petierit, ut vindictam ſumerent de iis, quos ipſe judicabat fuiſſe cauſas mortis ſuæ. Propter hæc, & ſimilia manifeſta impœnitentiæ indicia, decrevimus pro ipſo non eſſe celebrandas exequias; non quod præſumamus quidquam ex hoc de occultis erga ipſum Dei judiciis, aut miſericor-

cannot be attributed and referred unto any other. By the Contraries of which Attributes, we come to diſcern the Diſtinction and Greatneſs of Sin.

The Contrary to Power, which is attributed to the Father, is Weakneſs or Infirmity; and, therefore, that which we do amiſs through Infirmity, or Weakneſs of Nature, is ſaid to be committed againſt the Father: The Oppoſite unto Wiſdom is Ignorance, through which, when a Man ſinneth, he is ſaid to ſin againſt the Son; and, therefore, what we commit through natural Infirmity, or Ignorance, is more eaſily forgiven us.

The third Attribute, which is the Holy Ghoſt's, is Love, and hath, for its Contrary, Ingratitude, a Vice moſt deteſtable and odious, which cauſeth Men not to acknowledge the Love of God, and his Benefits beſtowed upon them; but to forget, deſpiſe, yea, and to hate them; and from hence, at laſt, it comes to paſs, that they prove obſtinate and impenitent. And thus to ſin againſt God is far more dangerous and dreadful, than if it was done either through Ignorance, or natural Infirmity, and therefore it is termed a Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt; and, becauſe ſuch Sins are ſeldom and hardly, and not without great Abundance of Grace pardoned, in ſome Sort, they are ſaid to be unpardonable: Whereas final Impenitence only is really and ſimply unpardonable. For whatſoever is done amiſs in this Life, although it be againſt the Holy Ghoſt, yet, by Repentance, it may be wiped out, or done away, before we die; but they, that perſevere therein till Death, are excluded from all Grace and Mercy hereafter. And therefore, for ſuch Sins or Sinners, the Apoſtle hath forbidden to pray after their Deceaſe.

Now, therefore, becauſe we underſtand, not without great Grief, that the aforeſaid King departed this Life without Repentance, or impenitent, to wit, in the Communion and Fellowſhip of Hereticks (for all his Army was made up almoſt of none other but ſuch Men) and that, by his laſt Will, he commended and made over his Crown and Kingdom to the Succeſſion of *Navarre*, long ſince declared an Heretick, and excommunicated; as alſo, in his Extremity, and now ready to yield up the Ghoſt, deſired of him, and ſuch as he was, then ſtanding by, that they would revenge his Death upon thoſe whom he judged to be the Cauſe thereof. For theſe, and ſuch like manifeſt Tokens of his Impenitency, we have decreed

‘ diis,

' diis, qui poterat ſecundum beneplacitum ſuum ' in ipſo exitu animæ ſuæ convertere cor ejus, ' & miſericorditer cum illo agere; ſed iſta locuti ' ſumus ſecundum ea, quæ nobis exterius patent.

not to ſolemniſe his Death with Funerals; not that we preſume any Thing by theſe, concerning God's ſecret Judgments againſt him, or his Mercies towards him, who could, according to his good Pleaſure, convert and turn his Heart, even when his Soul was leaving the Body, and deal mercifully with him: But this we have ſpoken, being th reunto moved by theſe external Signs and Tokens.

' Faxit benigniſſimus Salvator noſter, ut re- ' liqui, hoc horrendo juſtitiæ ſupernæ exemplo ' admoniti, in viam ſalutis redeant, & quod ' miſericorditer hoc modo cœpit, benigne pro- ' ſequatur, ac perficiat, ſicut eum facturum ' ſperamus: ut de erepta Eccleſia de tantis ma- ' lis, & periculis, perennes illi gratias agamus.

God grant that all, being admoniſhed and warned by this fearful Example of heavenly Juſtice, may repent and amend; and that it may further pleaſe him to continue and accompliſh that which he hath thus mercifully begun for us, as we firmly hope he will, to the End we may give everlaſting Thanks to him, that he hath delivered his Church from ſuch great and imminent Dangers.

' In quam ſententiam cum dixiſſet Pontifex, ' dimiſit Conſiſtorium cum benedictione.

When his Holineſs had thus ended his Speech, he broke up the Conſiſtory, and diſmiſſed them with his Benediction.

The Speech of the Prince of *Orange* to ſome principal Gentlemen of *Somerſetſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, on their Coming to join his Highneſs at *Exeter*, the Fifteenth of *November*, 1688. *Exeter*, printed by *J. B.* 1688. *Folio*, containing one Page.

THOUGH we know not all your Perſons, yet we have a Catalogue of your Names, and remember the Character of your Worth and Intereſt in your Country. You ſee we are come according to your Invitation and our promiſe. Our Duty to God obliges us to protect the Proteſtant Religion, and our Love to Mankind, your Liberties and Properties. We expected you, that dwelt ſo near the Place of our Landing, would have joined us ſooner; not that it is now too late, nor that we want your Military Aſſiſtance ſo much as your Countenance, and Preſence, to juſtify our declared Pretenſions, rather than accompliſh our good and gracious Deſigns. Though we have brought both a good Fleet, and a good Army, to render theſe Kingdoms happy, by Reſcuing the Proteſtants from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power; by Reſtoring them to their Rights and Properties eſtabliſhed by Law, and by Promoting of Peace and Trade, which is the Soul of Government, and the very Life-blood of a Nation; yet we rely more on the Goodneſs of God and the Juſtice of our Cauſe, than on any Human Force and Power whatever. Yet, ſince God is pleaſed we ſhall make Uſe of Human Means, and not expect Miracles, for our Preſervation and Happineſs; let us not neglect making Uſe of this gracious Opportunity, but with Prudence and Courage put in Execution our ſo honourable Purpoſes. Therefore, Gentlemen, Friends, and Fellow-Proteſtants, we bid you and all your Followers moſt heartily Welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now judge, if our Pretenſions are not juſt, generous, ſincere, and above Price; ſince we might have, even at

Bridge

Bridge of Gold to return back: But it is our Principle and Reſolution rather to die in a good Cauſe, than live in a bad one, well knowing that Virtue and true Honour is its own Reward, and the Happineſs of Mankind our great and only Deſign.

A true Copy of the Inſtrument of Aſſociation, that the *Proteſtants* of *England* entered into, in the twenty-ſeventh Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*, againſt a Popiſh Conſpiracy; with an Act, made upon the ſame, for the Security of the Queen's moſt Royal Perſon. Printed for *John Everingham*, and ſold by *E. Whitlocke*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1695. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

FOraſmuch as Almighty God hath ordained Kings, Queens, and Princes, to have Dominion and Rule over all their Subjects, and to preſerve them in the Poſſeſſion and Obſervation of the true Chriſtian Religion, according to his Holy Word and Commandment: And, in like Sort, that all Subjects ſhould love, fear, and obey their Sovereign Princes, being Kings or Queens, to the utmoſt of their Power; at all Times, to withſtand, purſue, and ſuppreſs all Manner of Perſons, that ſhall by any Means intend and attempt any Thing dangerous or hurtful to the Honour, States, or Perſons of their Sovereigns.

Therefore, we whoſe Names are or ſhall be ſubſcribed to this Writing, being Natural-born Subjects of this Realm of *England*, and having ſo gracious a Lady our Sovereign *Eliſabeth*, by the Ordinance of God, our moſt rightful Queen, reigning over us theſe many Years with great Felicity, to our ineſtimable Comfort: And finding lately by divers Depoſitions, Confeſſions, and ſundry Advertiſements, out of foreign Parts, from credible Perſons, well known to her Majeſty's Council, and to divers others; that, for the Furtherance and Advancement of ſome pretended Title to the Crown, it hath been manifeſted, that the Life of our Gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen *Eliſabeth*, hath been moſt dangerouſly expoſed to the Peril of her Perſon, if Almighty God, her perpetual Defender, of his Mercy had not revealed and withſtood the ſame: By whoſe Life we, and all other her Majeſty's true and loyal Subjects, do enjoy an ineſtimable Benefit of Peace in this Land; do, for the Reaſons and Cauſes before alledged, not only acknowledge ourſelves moſt juſtly bound with our Lives and Goods for her Defence, in her Safety, to proſecute, ſuppreſs, and withſtand, all ſuch Pretenders, and all other her Enemies, of what Nation, Condition, and Degree whatſoever they ſhall be, or by what Council or Title they ſhall pretend to be her Enemies, or to attempt any Harm upon her Perſon; but do further think it our bounden Duties, for the great Benefit of Peace and Wealth, and godly Government, we have more plentifully received theſe many Years, under her Majeſty's Government, than any of our Fore-fathers have done in any longer Time of any other Progenitors, Kings of this Realm:

Do declare, and by this Writing make manifeſt, our bounden Duties to our ſaid Sovereign Lady for her Safety: And, to that End, we, and every of us, firſt calling to Witneſs the Name of Almighty God, do voluntarily and moſt willingly bind ourſelves, every one of us to the other, jointly and ſeverally, in the Band of one firm and loyal Society; and do hereby vow and promiſe by the Majeſty of Almighty God, that with our whole Powers, Bodies, Lives, and Goods, and with our Children and Servants, we, and every of us, will faithfully ſerve and humbly obey our ſaid Sovereign Lady Queen *Eliſabeth*, againſt all States, Dignities, and earthly Powers whatſoever; and will, as well with our joint and particular

ticular Forces, during our Lives, withſtand, offend, and purſue, as well by Force of Arms, as by all other Means of Revenge, all Manner of Perſons, of what State ſoever they ſhall be, and their Abettors, that ſhall attempt any Act, Council, or Conſent, to any Thing that ſhall tend to the Harm of her Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and will never deſiſt from all Manner of forcible Purſuit againſt ſuch Perſons, to the utter Extermination of them, their Counſellors, Aiders, and Abettors.

And, if any ſuch wicked Attempt againſt her moſt Royal Perſon ſhall be taken in Hand and procured, whereby any that have, may, or ſhall pretend Title to come to this Crown, by the untimely Death of her Majeſty, ſo wickedly procured (which God for his Mercy Sake forbid) may be avenged: We do not only bind ourſelves, both jointly and ſeverally, never to allow, accept, or favour any ſuch pretended Succeſſor, by whom, or for whom, any ſuch deteſtable Act ſhall be attempted or committed, as unworthy of all Government in any Chriſtian Realm or Civil State:

But do alſo further vow and proteſt, as we are moſt bound, and that in the Preſence of the Eternal and Everlaſting God, to proſecute ſuch Perſon and Perſons to Death with our joint or practical Forces, and to aſk the utmoſt Revenge upon them, that by any Means we or any of us can deviſe or do, or cauſe to be deviſed and done, for their utter Overthrow and Extirpation.

And, to the better Corroboration of this our Royal Bond and Aſſociation, we do alſo teſtify by this Writing, that we do confirm the Contents hereof by our Oaths corporally taken upon the Holy Evangeliſts, with this expreſs Condition: That no one of us ſhall for any Reſpect of Perſons or Cauſes, or for Fear or Reward, ſeparate ourſelves from this Aſſociation, or fail in the Proſecution thereof, during our Lives, upon Pain of being by the reſt of us proſecuted, and ſuppreſſed as perjured Perſons, and publick Enemies to God, our Queen, and to our native Country. To which Puniſhments and Pains we do voluntarily ſubmit ourſelves, and every of us, without Benefit of any Colour and Pretence.

In Witneſs of all which Promiſes to be inviolably kept, we do to this Writing put our Hands and Seals; and ſhall be moſt ready to accept and admit any others, hereafter, to this Society and Aſſociation.

An Act for Proviſion to be made for the Surety of the Queen's Majeſty's moſt Royal Perſon, and the Continuance of the Realm in Peace; enacted in the twenty-ſeventh Year of the Reign of Queen Eliſabeth.

FOraſmuch as the Good, Felicity, and Comfort of the whole Eſtate of this Realm conſiſteth, only next under God, in the Surety and Preſervation of the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty: And for that it hath manifeſtly appeared, that ſundry wicked Plots and Means have of late been deviſed and laid, as well in Foreign Parts beyond the Seas, as alſo within this Realm, to the great Endangering of her Highneſs's moſt Royal Perſon, and to the utter Ruin of the whole Common-wealth, if by God's merciful Providence the ſame had not been revealed: Therefore for Preventing of ſuch great Perils, as might hereafter otherwiſe grow, by the like deteſtable and deviliſh Practices, at the humble Suit and earneſt Petition and Deſire of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame Parliament: Be it enacted and ordained, if, at any Time after the End of this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, any open Invaſion or Rebellion ſhall be had or made into or within any of her Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, or any Act attempted, tending to the Hurt of her Majeſty's moſt Royal Perſon, by or for any Perſon that ſhall or may pretend any Title to the Crown of this Realm after her Majeſty's Deceaſe: Or if any Thing ſhall be compaſſed or imagined, tending to the Hurt of her Majeſty's Royal Perſon, by any Perſon, or with the Privity of any Perſon, that ſhall or may pretend Title to the Crown of this Realm: That then, by her Majeſty's Commiſſion under her Great Seal, the Lords and others of her Highneſs's Privy Council, and ſuch other Lords of Parliament, to be named by her Majeſty, as with the ſaid Privy Council ſhall make up the Number of Twenty-four at the leaſt, having with them for their Aſſiſtance in that Behalf ſuch of the Judges of the Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, as her

Highneſs ſhall for that Purpoſe aſſign and appoint, or the more Part of the ſame Council, Lords and Judges, ſhall by Virtue of this Act have Authority to examine all and every the Offences aforeſaid, and all Circumſtances thereof, and thereupon to give Sentence or Judgement as, upon good Proof, the Matter ſhall appear unto them: And that, after ſuch Sentence or Judgment given, and Declaration thereof made and publiſhed, by her Majeſty's Proclamation, under the Great Seal of *England*, all Perſons, againſt whom ſuch Sentence or Judgment ſhall be ſo given and publiſhed, ſhall be excluded and diſabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the Crown of this Realm, or any of her Majeſty's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatſoever to the Contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding: And that thereupon all her Highneſs's Subjects ſhall and may lawfully, by Virtue of this Act, and her Majeſty's Direction in that Behalf, by all forcible and poſſible Means purſue to Death every ſuch wicked Perſon, by whom, or by whoſe Means, Aſſent, or Privity, any ſuch Invaſion or Rebellion ſhall be in Form aforeſaid denounced to have been made, or ſuch wicked Act attempted, or other Thing compaſſed or imagined againſt her Majeſty's Perſon, and all their Aiders, Comforters, and Abettors.

And if any ſuch deteſtable Act ſhall be executed againſt her Highneſs's moſt Royal Perſon, whereby her Majeſty's Life ſhall be taken away, which God of his great Mercy forbid, that then every ſuch Perſon, by or for whom any ſuch Act ſhall be executed, and their Iſſues, being any wiſe aſſenting or privy to the ſame, ſhall, by Virtue of this Act, be excluded and diſabled for ever, to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the ſaid Crown of this Realm, or of any other her Highneſs's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatſoever, to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And that all the Subjects of this Realm, and all other her Majeſty's Dominions, ſhall and may lawfully, by Virtue of this Act, by all forcible and poſſible Means purſue to Death every ſuch wicked Perſon, by whom, or by whoſe Means, any ſuch deteſtable Fact ſhall be, in Form hereafter expreſſed, denounced to have been committed, and alſo their Iſſues, being any Way aſſenting or privy to the ſame, and all their Aiders, Comforters, and Abettors in that Behalf.

And to the End that the Intention of this Law may be effectually executed, if her Majeſty's Life ſhall be taken away, by any violent or unnatural Means, which God defend: Be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that the Lords and others which ſhall be of her Majeſty's Privy Council at the Time of ſuch her Deceaſe, or the more Part of the ſame Council, joining unto them, for their better Aſſiſtance, five other Earls, and ſeven other Lords of Parliament at the leaſt (foreſeeing that none of the ſaid Earls, Lords, or Council be known to be Perſons that may make any Title to the Crown) thoſe Perſons which were Chief Juſtices of either Bench, Maſter of the *Rolls*, and Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, at the Time of her Majeſty's Death, or, in Default of the ſaid Juſtices, Maſter of the *Rolls*, and Chief Baron, ſome other of thoſe which were Juſtices of ſome of the Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, at the Time of her Highneſs's Deceaſe, to ſupply their Places, or any twenty-four, or more of them, whereof eight to be Lords of Parliament, not being of the Privy Council, ſhall, to the uttermoſt of their Power and Skill, examine the Cauſe and Manner of ſuch her Majeſty's Death, and what Perſons ſhall be any Way guilty thereof, and all Circumſtances concerning the ſame, according to the true Meaning of this Act, and, thereupon, ſhall by open Parliament publiſh the ſame, and without any Delay by all forcible and poſſible Means proſecute to Death all ſuch as ſhall be found to be Offenders therein, and all their Aiders and Abettors: And, for the doing thereof, and for the withſtanding and ſuppreſſing of all ſuch Power and Force, as ſhall any Way be levied or ſtirred in Diſturbance of the due Execution of this Law, ſhall, by Virtue of this Act, have Power and Authority not only to raiſe and uſe ſuch Force, as ſhall in that Behalf be needful and convenient, but alſo to uſe all other Means and Things poſſible and neceſſary for the Maintenance of the ſame Force, and Proſecution of the ſaid Offenders. And if any ſuch Power and Force ſhall be levied or ſtirred in Diſturbance of the due Execution of this Law, by any Perſon that ſhall or may pretend any Title to the Crown of this Realm, whereby this Law may not in all Things be fully executed according to the Effect and true Meaning of the ſame: That then every Perſon ſhall by Virtue of this Act be therefore excluded

cluded and diſabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the Crown of this Realm, or of any other her Highneſs's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that all and every the Subjects of all her Majeſty's Realms and Dominions ſhall, to the uttermoſt of their Power, aid and aſſiſt the ſaid Council and all other the Lords and other Perſons to be adjoined unto them for Aſſiſtance, as is aforeſaid, in all Things to be done and executed according to the Effect and Intention of this Law: And that no Subject of this Realm ſhall in any wiſe be impeached in Body, Lands, or Goods, at any Time hereafter, for any Thing to be done or executed according to the Tenor of this Law, any Law or Statute, heretofore made to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And whereas, of late, many of her Majeſty's good and faithful Subjects have, in the Name of God, and with the Teſtimony of good Conſciences, by one uniform Manner of Writing under their Hands and Seals, and by their ſeveral Oaths voluntarily taken, joined themſelves together in one Bond and Aſſociation, to withſtand and revenge to the uttermoſt all ſuch malicious Actions and Attempts againſt her Majeſty's moſt Royal Perſon. Now for the full Explaining of all ſuch Ambiguities and Queſtions as otherwiſe might happen to grow, by Reaſon of any ſiniſter or wrong Conſtruction, or Interpretation to be made or inferred of or upon the Words or Meaning thereof, be it declared and enacted, by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that the ſame Aſſociation, and every Article and Sentence therein contained, as are concerning the Diſallowing, Excluding, or Diſabling of any Perſon, that may or ſhall pretend any Title to come to the Crown of this Realm, as alſo for the purſuing and taking Revenge of any Perſon, for any ſuch wicked Act or Attempt as is mentioned in the ſame Aſſociation, ſhall and ought to be in all Things expounded and adjudged according to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act, and not otherwiſe, nor againſt any other Perſon or Perſons.

The Aſſociation drawn up and ſigned by the High Court of Parliament now aſſembled, on the 24th *of* February, 1695-6.

WHereas there has been a horrid and deteſtable Conſpiracy formed and carried on by Papiſts, and other wicked and traiterous Perſons, for Aſſaſſinating his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, in Order to encourage an Invaſion from *France*, to ſubvert our Religion, Laws, and Liberty: We, whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do heartily, ſincerely, and ſolemnly profeſs, teſtify, and declare, that his preſent Majeſty, King *William*, is rightful and lawful King of theſe Realms. And we do mutually promiſe and engage to ſtand by, and aſſiſt each other, to the utmoſt of our Power, in the Support and Defence of his Majeſty's moſt ſacred Perſon and Government, againſt the late King *James*, and all his Adherents. And, in Caſe his Majeſty come to any violent or untimely Death, which God forbid, we do hereby further freely and unanimouſly oblige ourſelves to unite, aſſociate, and ſtand by each other, in revenging the ſame upon his Enemies, and their Adherents; and in ſupporting and defending the Succeſſion of the Crown, according to an Act made in the firſt Year of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, intituled, an Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown.

N. B. In the 13th Year of the ſaid Queen were enacted two excellent Acts, *viz.* An Act whereby certain Offences were made Treaſon; The ſecond againſt Fugitives over the Sea.

The *Engliſh Romayne* Life * : Diſcouering the Liues of the *Engliſhmen* at *Rome* ; the Orders of the *Engliſh* Seminarie ; the Diſſention betweene the *Engliſhmen* and the *Welchmen* ; the Baniſhing of the *Engliſhmen* out of *Rome* ; the Popes Sending for them againe ; a Reporte of many of the paltrie Reliques in *Rome* ; theyr Vautes vnder the Ground ; their holy Pilgrimages ; and a Number other Matters, woorthie to be read and regarded of euery one. There vnto is added, the cruell Tiranny, vſed on an *Engliſhman* at *Rome*, his Chriſtian Suffering, and notable Martirdome, for the Goſpel of *Ieſus Chriſt*, in *Anno* 1581. Written by *A. M.* ſometime the Popes Scholler in the Seminarie among them.

Honos alit Artes.

Seene and allowed : Imprinted at *London* by *Iohn Charlwoode*, for *Nicholas Ling*, dwelling in *Paules* Church-yarde, *Anno* 1590. In *Black Letter*. *Quarto*, containing ſeventy-two Pages.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Bromley, *Knight, Lord Chaunceller of* Englande ; William, *Lorde* Burleigh, *and Lorde Treaſorer* ; Robert, *Earle of* Leiceſter ; *with all the reſt of her Maieſties moſt Honourable Priuie Councell*, A. M. *wiſheth a happy Race in continuall Honour, and the Fulneſſe of Gods Bleſſing in the Day of Ioy.*

THIS Booke, Right Honourable, as I haue been careful to note downe Nothing in it, that might impeach me either with Error or Vntrueth, Mallice, or Affection to any, but euen haue ordered the ſame according to Certeintie and Knowledge ; ſo, when I had fully finiſhed it, and doone the Vttermoſt of my Endeuour therein, I conſidered with my ſelfe, I was to preſent the ſame to ſuch Perſonages of Honour, Wiſdome, and Grauitie, as, did Mallice rule me, they could quickly eſpie it ; or, affecting myſelfe to any, they would ſoone diſcerne it ; then would Honour reproue me for the one, and theyr noble Nature reprehende me in the other.

To diſcharge myſelfe of both theſe, and purchaſe the Fauour, wherewith your Honours are continually adorned ; I directed my Compaſſe by Trueth, perſwading my ſelfe, that, albeit in ſome, *Veritas odium parit* ; yet, in your Honours, *Magna eſt veritas*

* *Vide* the 223d Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

ritas et preualet. Fewe Wordes ſufficeth your Wiſdomes, and Circumſtaunce, without Subſtaunce, may incurre Diſliking: According, as when I preſented your Honours with my Booke, called the *Diſcouery of Campion*, I promiſed; ſo nowe, in my *Engliſh Romayne Lyfe*, I haue performed; thinking my ſelfe in as ſafe Securitie, vnder your Honourable Fauor, as *Vliſſes* ſuppoſed himſelfe vnder the Buckler of *Aiax*.

Your Honours euer in Duetie,

Anthonie Munday.

To the courteous and freendlie READER.

THE Thinge longe promiſed, gentle Reader, is nowe performed at laſt; and that which my Aduerſaries thought I would neuer ſet foorth, to theyr Diſproofe and thy Profit, I haue nowe publiſhed. Thou ſhalt finde a Number of Matters comprehended within this ſmall Volume; ſome that will irritate the Minde of any good Subiect, and, therefore, to be read with Regard; others, importing the whole Courſe of our Engliſhmens *Liues in* Rome, *with the odde Conceits, and craftie Iuglings of the Pope (whereto our* Engliſhmen *are likewiſe conformable) they are in ſuch true and certain Order ſet downe, as if thou were there thy ſelfe to beholde them. I will not vſe many Wordes; now thou haſt it, read aduiſedlie, condemne not raſhlie; and, if thou thinkeſt me worthie any Thankes for my Paynes, then freendlie beſtowe it on me.*

Thyne in Courteſie,

Anthonie Munday.

CHAP. I.

Firſt, How the Author left his natiue Countrey of Englande, *betaking himſelfe to Trauell; and what happened in his Iourney toward* Rome.

BEECAUSE a Number haue beene deſirous to vnderſtand the Succeſſe of my Iourney to *Rome*, and a Number beſides are doubtfull whether I haue beene there, or no, albeit the Proofes thereof ſufficiently are extant to be ſeen; as wel to content the one, as remooue the Doubte of the other, I will (God ayding me) heere ſet downe ſuch a Certaintie thereof, that, if it happen not to pleaſe bothe, yet, if they will, it may profyte bothe.

When as Deſire to ſee ſtraunge Countries, as alſo Affection to learne the Languages, had perſwaded me to leaue my natiue Countrey, and not any other Intent or Cauſe, God is my Record, I committed the ſmall Wealth I had into my Purſe, a Trauellers Weede on my Backe, the whole State and Condition of my Iourney to Gods Appointment, and, beeing accompanied with one *Thomas Nowel*, croſſed the Seas from *England* to *Bulloine* in *Fraunce*.

From thence wee trauelled to *Amiens* in no ſmall Daunger, ſtanding to the Mercie of diſpoyling Souldiers, who went robbing and killing thorowe the Countrey, the Campe beeing by Occaſion broken vp at that Time. Little they left vs, and leſſe would haue doone, by the Value of our Liues, had not a better Bootie come, then wee were, at that Time. The Souldiers, preparing towards them, whom they ſawe better prouided for theyr Neceſſitie, offered vs the Leyſure to eſcape; which wee refuſed not, beeing left bare enough both of Coyne and Clothes; but, as then wee ſtoode not to account on our Loſſe, it ſufficed vs, that wee had our Liues; whereof beeing not a little

a little glad, wee ſette the better Legge before, leaſt they ſhould come backe againe, and robbe vs of them too.

This our Misfortune vrged vs to Remembraunce of our former quiet Being in *Englande*, carefullie tendered by our Parents, and louingly eſteemed among our Freendes, all which wee vndutifullie regarding, rewarded vs with the Rodde of our owne Negligence; being, as then, fearefull of all Company on the Way, ſuch cruell and heauie Spectacles were ſtill before our Eyes; but yet this did ſomewhat comfort vs, wee had nothinge woorth the Taking from vs, but our Liues, which wee had good Hope to ſaue, either by their Pittie, or our owne humble Perſwaſion.

When wee were come to *Amiens*, wee were giuen to vnderſtand, that there was an olde *Engliſh* Prieſt in the Towne, whoſe Name was Maiſter *Woodward*, of whom wee perſwaded our ſelues, for Countrie Sake, to find ſome Courteſie; in Hope whereof wee enquired for his Lodging, and at laſt founde him. After ſuch Salutations, as paſſe betweene Countreymen at theyr Meeting, I began to tell him, how wee had left our Countrey, for the earneſt Deſire wee had to ſee forrain Dominions; how wee had beene ſpoiled by the Way of all that wee had, and that wee hoped for ſome Freendſhip at his Hands, which, if God vouchſafed vs ſafe Returne, ſhould not be caſt out of Remembraunce.

Alas, my Freendes, quoth he, I am your Countreyman, I will not denye, but not ſuche a one as you take me for; I am a poore Prieſt, and heere I liue for my Conſcience Sake, whereas, were Thinges according as they ſhoulde be, it were better for me to be at Home in mine own Countrey; and yet, truſt me, I pittie to ſee any of my Countreymen lack, though I am not able any Way to releeue them: There be dayly that commeth this Way, to whome, according to my Habilitie, I am liberall, but they bee ſuch as you are not; they come not for Pleaſure, but for Profite; they come not to ſee euery idle Toye, and to learne a little Language, but to learne how to ſaue both theyr owne and theyr Freendes Soules; and ſuch I woulde you were; then I could ſay that to you, which, as you be, I may not.

Truſt me, Sir, quoth I, I hope wee haue learned to ſaue our Soules already, or els you might eſteeme vs in a very bad Caſe. If you haue, quoth he, it is the better for you; but, I feare me, one Day, they, that teach you to ſaue your Soules after that Manner, will paye for it deerelie, and you with them for Companie.

With theſe Woordes, he began to be ſomewhat melancholie, which I perceiuing, and remembring that our Neceſſitie ſtoode not in Caſe to plead Pointes of Controuerſie, rather ſought to pleaſe him, in Hope of ſome Liberalitie, then to contend with him, wee being vnable, and ſo fall into farther Daunger. Whervpon, I deſired him not to be offended at any Thinge wee had ſayd, for wee woulde gladly learne any Thinge that might benifit vs, and, beſide, woulde followe his Counſaile in any reaſonable Cauſe. Then he began to be ſomewhat more gentlie diſpoſed, ſaying, He could not greatly blame vs, if wee were obſtinate in our Opinion; comming from ſuch a young Hell as we did, but he had good Hope that, ere long, it woulde be harrowed.

Then he willed vs to walke with him, and he woulde bring vs where wee ſhoulde lodge that Night, at his Charges; all the Way rehearſing vnto vs, howe beneficiall the Pope was to our Countreymen, and howe highlie wee might pleaſure our ſelues, our Freendes, and Countrey, if wee woulde follow his Councell. Beſide, ſuch horrible and vnnaturall Speeches he vſed againſt her Maieſtie, her Honorable Councell, and other Perſons that he named, as the very Remembraunce maketh me bluſh, and my Hart to bleede. To all which wee gaue him the Hearing; but, God knowes, on my Parte, with what Anguiſhe of Minde; for I woulde haue perſwaded my ſelfe, that Duety ſhoulde haue withheld the Subiect from Reuiling his Princeſſe, and Nature from Slaundering his owne Countrey; but it ſufficeth, where Grace is abſent, good Quallities can neuer be preſent. When wee were come to our Lodgeing, he talked with our Hoſteſſe what ſhe ſhoulde prouide for vs, and afterward, taking his Leaue, tolde vs, He would haue more Talke with vs in the Morning; in the meane Time, wee ſhould thinke on that which he had opened vnto vs, and reſolue our ſelues on a certaine Determination, for he meant vs more Good then wee were beware off. He being departed, we ſet to ſuch ſimple Cheere as was prepared for vs, which was ſimple indeede, ſcant ſufficient to the good Stomacks wee had to our Victualles; but, becauſe wee had ſoone done, wee went the

ſooner

ſooner to Bed, ſparing as muche Time as wee could, in Remembraunce of the Prieſts Words, till the Wearines of our Iourney compelled vs to take our Reſt. In the Morning, the Prieſt ſent a poore Fellowe, whome he kept to make his Bed and run about his Erraundes, to our Lodgeing, that wee ſhoulde come to his Maiſter preſently, becauſe he had Occaſion to goe into the Towne, and his Returne was vncertaine; therefore he woulde ſpeake with vs, before he went. Vppon theſe ſo haſty Summons, wee addreſſed our ſelues towards him, finding him in his Chamber, reading vppon his Porteſſe; to him wee gaue Thankes for his Courteſie, promiſing to requite it, if he came where wee might doe it: In breefe, among great Circumſtaunce of Talke, wherein he manifeſted the Treaſon toward *Englande*, he behaued himſelfe, in Speaches to vs, according as I haue alredie declared in my *Diſcouerie of Campion*; where you maye perceiue the Popes Determination, and our *Engliſhmens* vnnaturall Conſent, to bee Traytors to their owne Princeſſe, to ſhorten her Life, and ouerthrowe theyr natiue Countrey, wherein they were borne.

When he had mightely beſieged vs with a Multitude as well Threatnings as Perſwaſions, to conform our ſelues vnder that Obedience; as well to auoyde Peril that might otherwiſe happen, as alſo to gayne ſomewhat toward our Releeſe, wee promiſed him to doe as he woulde haue vs, and to go whether he would appoint vs. Whervpon he preſentlie wrote two Letters to Doctor *Allen* at *Rheimes*; one of them concerned our Preferment there, how wee ſhould be entertained into the *Engliſh* Seminarie, and take the Orders of Prieſthoode, becauſe wee might doe Good in our Countrey an other Day. The other Letter was of ſuch Newes as he heard out of *Englande*, howe Matters went forward to theyr Purpoſe, and, beſide, other Thinges which I am not to ſpeak of heere, becauſe they are not to be read of euery one.

The Letters finiſhed, and ſealed vp with Singing Cake, he deliuered vnto vs, ſaying: I thank God that I am ordained the Man, both to ſaue your Soules, and a Number of your Freendes heere in *Englande*, whome I coulde wiſhe heere preſent with you, for that I pittie their Eſtate, as well that they are in, as that which is worſe, and I feare me will fall on them ſhortlie.

I put vp the Letters, and gaue him to vnderſtand, that wee coulde hardly trauell from thence to *Rheimes*, hauing nothing wherwithall wee might beare our Charges. Truſt me (quoth he), and I haue done as much for you as I am able, for I haue nothing heere, but to ſerue mine owne Neceſſity. Then wee offered to ſell our Cloakes, which the Souldiers, againſt their Willes, had left vs. Indeede, quoth he, to trauell in your Cloakes will do nothing but hinder you; I will ſend my Man to a Freend of mine (as much to ſay, as his Cheſt) to ſee what Monney he can get for them. The Fellowe tooke our Cloakes, after his Maiſter hadde whiſpered him in the Eare, and went downe the Stayers, returning quickly with two *French* Crownes; which the Prieſt deliuered to vs, with foure or fiue *French Souſes* out of his owne Purſe; ſo, willing vs to doo his Commendations to Doctor *Allen*, and to labour earneſtlie in that wee went about: Maiſter *Woodwarde* and wee parted, he into the Towne, and we on our Iourney.

When wee were about three or foure Miles from *Amiens*, wee ſate down on the Side of a Hyll, recounting what the Prieſt had ſaid vnto us, and alſo the Cauſe why he ſent vs to *Rheimes*; the Remembraunce of the true and undoubted Religion, vſed in our owne Countrey, and wherin we were trayned vp, was of Force ſufficient to perſwade vs from yeelding to that, which we iudged rather to bee a Mummerie, and Deriſion of the true Doctrine, then otherwiſe: So that (notwithſtanding many Matters my Companion alleaged vnto me, what Daunger wee might come vnto, if wee went not to deliuer the Letters, as alſo the hard Penurie wee ſhould finde in Trauell, being deſtitute of Money, Apparell, and all other needefull Thinges) by the onelie Appointment of God, who, no Doubte, put it in my Minde, at that Time, I willed him to follow me, and, come Wo, Want, Miſerie, or any other Calamytie, I woulde neuer leaue him to the Death. But if any Exerciſe might get it, any Paines compaſſe it, or the extreeme Shift of Begging attaine it: I woulde dooe all my ſelfe, whereby to maintaine vs, onelie that he woulde but beare me Company; for I would trie all Meanes that might be, ere I would forſake my Fayth.

This to be true, I am ſure and certaine himſelfe will not denie, who, ſeeing my earneſt Intreaty, and the Promiſes I made to the vt-

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termoſt of my Power, agreede to goe with me; and ſo wee left the Way to *Rheimes*, and wente on ſtrayght to *Paris*.

In *Paris* wee met with a *Frenchman*, who coulde ſpeake a little broken *Engliſh*, and he conducted vs where my Lord the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador laye; to whom I gaue the Letters, and after certain Talke he vſed with us, he beſtowed his honorable Liberallitie vpon vs, wiſhing vs to returne backe againe to *Englande*.

Leauing my Lord, and walking into the Cittie, wee met certaine *Engliſh* Gentlemen; ſome of them, for the Knowledge they had of me in *Englande*, ſhewed them ſelues verie courteous vnto me, both in Money, Lodging, and other Neceſſaries. And through them wee became acquainted with a Number of *Engliſhmen* more, who lay in the Cittie, ſome in Colledges, and ſome at their own Houſes; where, vſing dailie Companie among them, ſome Time at Dinner, and ſome Time at Supper, we heard many Girdes and Nips againſt our Countrey of *Englande*, her Maieſtie very vnreuerently handled in Wordes, and certaine of her honorable Councell vndutifully tearmed.

Greate Talke they had about Doctor *Saunders*, who, they ſaid, eyther as then was, or ſhortly would be ariued in *Irelande*; howe he had an Armie of *Spaniardes* with him, and howe himſelfe, vnder the Popes Standarde, woulde giue ſuch an Attempte there, as ſoone after ſhoulde make all *Englande* to quake; beſide, there were certaine *Engliſhmen* gone to the Pope, for more Ayde, if Neede ſhoulde be; at whoſe Returne certaine Noblemen, *Engliſhmen*, then being in thoſe Partes, whoſe Names I omitte for dyuers Cauſes, woulde proſecute the Matter, with as much Speede as might be.

The very ſame did the Prieſt at *Amiens* giue vs to vnderſtand off, almoſt in euery Point agreeing with this; which made vs to doubte, becauſe in euery Mans Mouth her Maieſtie ſtill was aimed at, in ſuch Manner as I tremble and ſhake to thinke on their Wordes. All this Time that wee remained amongſt them, dyuers of the Gentlemen and others (who were like Factors for the Pope, as Maiſter *Woodwarde* at *Amiens*, Doctor *Briſtow* at *Doway*, and Doctor *Allen* at *Rheimes* were, to increaſe his Seminaries with as many *Engliſhmen* as they might) very earneſtlie perſwaded vs to trauell to *Rome*, aſſuring vs that wee ſhould be there entertained to our high Contentment; beſide, they woulde giue vs Letters for our better Welcome thether. Wee were ſoone intreated to take the Iourney on vs, becauſe wee thought, if wee woulde goe to *Rome*, and return ſafely into *Englande*, wee ſhoulde accompliſh a great Matter, the Place being ſo far off, and the Voyage ſo daungerous. Vpon our Agreement to vndertake the Trauell, wee receiued of euery one liberallie towarde the Bearing of our Charges, and Letters wee had to Maiſter Doctor *Lewes* in *Rome*, the Archdeacon of *Cambra*, and to Doctor *Morris*, then the Rector of the *Engliſh* Hoſpitall or Colledge in *Rome*, that wee might there be preferred among the *Engliſhe* Students.

Taking our Leaue of them, and yeelding them Thankes for their great Courteſie, wee iournied to *Lyons*, where, in the Houſe of one Maiſter *Deacon*, the Wordes were ſpoken by *Henry Orton*, one of them condempned, and yet liuing in the *Tower*, which in my other Booke I haue auouched. From thence wee went to *Millaine*, where, in the Cardinall *Boromehos* Pallace, wee found the Lodging of a *Welchman*, named Doctor *Robert Griffin*, a Man there had in a good Account, and Confeſſor to the aforeſayde Cardinall. By him wee were very courteouſlie entertained, and ſent to the Houſe of an *Engliſhe* Prieſt in the Cittie, named Maiſter *Harries*, who likewiſe beſtowed on vs very gentle Acceptaunce, as alſo three *Engliſh* Gentlemen, whoe lay in his Houſe, being verie latelie returned from *Rome*; they likewiſe, bothe in Coſt and Courteſie, behaued themſelues like Gentlemen vnto vs, during the Time that we made our Abode in *Millaine*.

Our Comming from *Millaine* was on *Chriſtmaſſe* Euen, and hauing lyen that Night at *Oſteria*, where Maiſter *Harries* appointed vs, on *Chriſtmaſſe* Daye wee dined with Doctor *Griffin*, where wee had great Cheere, and lyke Welcome. In Dinner Time he mooued many Queſtions vnto vs, as concerning the State of *Englande*, if wee hearde of any Warres towardes, and howe the Catholiques thriued in *Englande*; and, at the laſt (quoth he) Haue you not ſeene three Gentlemen that lye at Maiſter *Harries* his Houſe?

Yes, that we haue (quoth *I*) to vs they ſeeme meruailous courteous, and offer ſuch Freendſhip as wee haue neuer deſerued. Oh, quoth he, if all Thinges had fallen right to theyr Expectation, they woulde haue been iollie Fellowes. I am ſure you haue heard

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what Credite Captaine *Stukelie* was in with the Pope, and howe he was appointed with his Armie to inuade *Englande*; he being ſlaine in the Battaill of the King of *Portugall*, Thinges wente not forewarde according as they ſhoulde haue done.

The three Gentlemen came foorth of the North Partes of *Englande*, taking vpon them to go foreward with that, which *Stukelie* had enterpriſed, which was, to haue the Popes Armie committed to theyr Conduction; and ſo they would ouer-runne *Englande*, at theyr Pleaſure; then they would make Kinges, Dukes, and Earles, euerie one that they thought well off. To helpe them foreward in the Matter, they purchaſed the Letters of Doctor *Saunders*, Doctor *Allen*, Doctor *Briſtow*, and others, who thought verie well of theyr Intent, and therfore furthered them in theyr Letters, ſo much as they might, to Doctor *Lewes*, Doctor *Morris*, Doctor *Moorton*, and diuers other Doctors and Gentlemen at *Rome*; all of them verie earneſtlie following the Sute heereof, to the Popes Holineſſe, informing him, howe they had already wun ſuch a Number in *Englande*, to ioyne with them, when the Matter came to paſſe, that, graunting them his Holines Armie, they would preſently ouer-run all *Englande*, and yeelde it wholy into his Hand.

But, when the Pope had ſcanned on his haſtie Buſineſſe, well noting the ſimple and arrogant Behauior of the Men, and their Vnlikelihood of Performing theſe Thinges, euen according as they deſerued, they were denyed their Requeſt, and ſent away without Recompence. The Pope was not to truſt to any ſuch as they; he well knowes *England* is to ſtrong yet, and tyll the People be ſecretly perſwaded, as I doubt not, but there is a good Number, and more and more ſtill ſhalbe, by the Prieſtes that are ſent ouer daylie; and they muſt war within, while others holde them Playe without; tyll then, *Englande* will not be conquered any Way.

Other Talke wee had, not heere to be rehearſed; but trulie it would aſtoniſh a Hart of Adamant, to heare the horrible Treaſons inuented againſt her Maieſtie, and this Realme, and ſo greedilie followed by our owne Countreymen.

But ſome perhaps will demaund, Howe wee behaued our ſelues to the Knowledge of ſuch trayterous Intentions, iudging that they woulde rather keepe them ſecret, then reueale them to any; to aunſwer ſuch as doo ſo queſtion, thus it was:

When I was at *Paris*, the Gentlemen tooke me to be a Gentlemans Sonne heere in *Englande*, whome I refuſe heere to name; but, as it ſeemed, they were ſomewhat perſwaded of him: I, perceiuing they tooke me for his Sonne, called my ſelfe by his Name; where through I was the better eſteemed, and, beſide, loued as I had beene he in Deede. When they vnderſtood my Fellowes Name to be *Thomas Nowell*, they whiſpered among themſelues, and ſayde, Vndoubtedlie, he is kinne to Maiſter *Nowell*, the Deane of *Paules*; and, if they wiſt certainlie, it were ſo, they would vſe him in ſuche gentle Order, as they woulde keepe him there; ſo that, one Day, he ſhoulde ſtand and preach againſt his Kinſman. This Suppoſe, ſeruing ſo well our Neceſſitie, wee were glad to vſe; which made vs well thought on of all, and, keeping Companie ſo familliarlie with them, wee were made acquainted with a Number of more Matters, then may heere be expreſſed.

While wee were in *Millaine*, wee viſited Maiſter Doctor *Parker*, who likewiſe tolde vs the ſame Tale, that Doctor *Griffin* had before rehearſed; beſide, he told vs that Prieſtes were appointed from *Rome* and *Rheimes*, for *Englande*; and that, ere long, they ſhoulde be ſent.

Soone after, wee departed thence, to *Bologna*, *Florence*, *Scienna*, and ſo to *Rome*, where howe wee were receiued, the Chapter following ſhall amplie vnfold. Thus, as wel to certifie the Incredulous, and alſo to content thoſe deſirous, howe I attained to *Rome*: I haue breeflie done my good Will to pleaſe bothe.

You haue heard heerein, howe at ſundrie Places, and by ſeuerall Speeches, there was a generall Agreement of Treaſon, expected and dailie looked for, to the Harme of our gracious Soueraigne, and Hurt of her whole Realme; all theſe Matters wee heard, before wee came to *Rome*, from whence the Treaſon ſhould cheeflie proceede; wee ſeeing ſuch deuilliſh Deuiſes to be talked on by the Way, wee might well iudge *Rome* to be Hell it ſelfe, in that all Thinges ſhoulde go foreward, as it was there determined. You are not altogether ignoraunt of theyr Intentes at *Rome*; for that my other Booke hath truelie reuealed ſome of theyr trayterous and diſloyall Practiſes: And ſuch as Modeſtie will ſuffer mee to vtter, and you to reade, you ſhall heere finde faithfullie diſcourſed.

CHAP. II.

The Author beeing come to Rome, *entreth into Conference with a Prieſt in the* Engliſh *Colledge; who ſheweth him a Paper, containing villainous and traiterous Determinations, againſt her Maieſties moſt Royall Perſon, her honourable Councell, and other Perſonnes of Credite and Accompt.*

OUr Entraunce into *Rome* was vppon *Candlemaſſe* Euen, when as it drewe ſomewhat towards Night: For which Cauſe, wee refuſed as then to goe to the *Engliſh* Colledge, taking vp our Lodging in an *Oſteria*, ſomewhat within the Citty, and determining to viſite the *Engliſh* Houſe on the next Morning. On the Morrowe, by Enquiring, wee found the *Engliſh* Colledge, where after wee were once entered, wee had a Number about vs quickly, to know what Newes in *England*, and howe all Matters went there.

Not long had wee ſtoode talking with them but one entered the Colledge, with a greate many of Waxe Candles in his Hand; who gaue them to vnderſtand, that the Pope had ſent to euery Scholler in the Colledge a Candle, which, that Day at high Maſſe, he had hallowed, for it was *Candlemaſſe* Day. They receiuing them with great Account, both of the Popes Fauour, as alſo the Holineſſe they credited to conſiſt in the Candles, went euerie one to lay them vp in their Chambers: In the meane Time, Maiſter Doctor *Morris*, the Rector of the Houſe, came to vs, to whome, wee deliuered the Letter ſent to him, on our Behalf from *Paris*; which when he had read, he ſayd, wee were welcome, allowing vs the eight Dayes Entertainement in the Hoſpitall, which by the Pope was granted to ſuch *Engliſhmen*, as came thither. Then he brought vs to Doctor *Lewes*, the Archdeacon of *Cambra*, to whome wee deliuered his Letter likewiſe, and with him wee ſtaied Dinner, ignoraunt whether he were an *Engliſh* Man, or no, for that he gaue vs our Entertainment in *Latin*, demaunded a Number of Queſtions of vs in *Latin*, and beſide dined with vs in *Latin*; whereat wee meruayled, tyll, after Dinner, he bade vs walk againe to the Colledge, with Doctor *Morris*, in *Engliſh*. Wee were no ſooner come to the Colledge, but the Schollers, who had already dined, and were walking together in the Courte, came about vs, euery one demaunding ſo many Queſtions, that we knew not which to aunſwer firſt: At laſt, one of them tooke my Fellowe aſide, and one of the Prieſtes likewiſe deſired to talke with me, becauſe, he ſayd, he knew my Father well enough, vſing the Name that I did; ſo, he and I ſitting together in the Garden, among other Talke, he aſked of me, Wherfore I came to *Rome*? Truſt me, Sir, quoth I, onelie for the Deſire I had to ſee it, that, when I came Home againe, I might ſay, once in my Life, I haue beene at *Rome*.

Then I perceiue, quoth he, you come more vpon Pleaſure, then any Deuotion; more deſirous to ſee the Cittie, then to learne the Virtues contayned in it; in Sooth, I ſee you remaine in the ſame Wildeneſſe you did, when I lay at your Fathers Houſe; but I do not doubt, now we haue you heere, to make you a ſtayed Man, ere you depart, that your Father may haue Ioy of you, and all your Freendes receyue Comfort by you.

In Deed, Sir, quoth I, I haue alwaies addicted my Mind to ſo many youthfull Deuiſes, that I little regarded any Religion; which my Parentes ſeeing, and fearing, I would neuer be bridled, ſent me ouer to *Paris*, where I ſhould remaine at my Booke. But there I found Gentlemen of mine Acquaintance, who wyſhed me to trauell hether; whereto I quicklie gaue my Conſent, beeing, as I haue told you, deſirous to ſee a Thing ſo famous.

I thinke very well, quoth he, of your Wordes, as well for your Parents Sake, as alſo for your owne. But this will I ſaye vnto you, there ought none to come hether, the Place beeing ſo holie, auncient, and famous, but onelie ſuche, as, with earneſt Endeuour, ſeeke and thirſt after the Catholique Faythe; beeing heere taught and maintained, according as *Chriſte* ordained it, the Apoſtles deliuered it, *Peter* himſelfe planted it, and all the Fathers of the Churche, ſince, have followed it.

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They muſt denounce that damnable Heriſie, crept into the Church of *Englande*, that proude vſurping *Iezabell*, meaning our dread and gratious Princeſſe, whome, quoth he, God reſerueth, to make her a notable Spectacle to the whole Worlde, for Keeping that good Queene of *Scottes* from her lawfull Rule: But I hope, ere longe, the Dogges ſhall teat her Fleſhe, and thoſe that be her Proppes and Vpholders.

Then, drawing a Paper out of his Pockette he ſayd, I haue a Beade Role of them heere, who little knowes, what is prouiding for them, and, I hope, ſhall not knowe it, tyll it fall vppon them. Then he reade their Names vnto me, which to be ſette downe according, as he rehearſed them, woulde mooue Offence.

Then, opening the Paper farther, at the End thereof, was a great many of Names, of Magiſtrates, and other belonging to this Cittie, amonge whome, was Maiſter Recorder, Maiſter *Nowell*, Deane of *Paules*; Maiſter *Foxe*, Maiſter *Crowley*, and ſundry other, whoſe Names I cannot verie well remember; and therefore am lothe to ſette downe any Thinge, but that whereof I am certainelie aſſured; but verie well I remember, there was no one named, but he had the Order of his Death appoynted, eyther by Burning, Hanging, or Quartering, and ſuche lyke.

Then, putting vp his Paper againe, he beganne after this Manner: As I haue ſayde before, ſo nowe I ſay the ſame; ſuch as come to this holie Place muſt faithfullie bende his Lyfe and Conuerſation, to honour and reuerence our prouident and holie Father the Pope, in all Thinges that ſhall lyke him to commande; to holde and confeſſe him the vniuerſall ſupreame Heade of Chriſtes Churche, and embrace his Decrees, as the onelie Ordinaunce and Will of God. For he is the Perſonne of God on Earth, and he cannot ſinne, becauſe the Spirite of Diuine Grace guideth him continuallie: He hath Auctoritie ouer all Kinges and Princes, to erect and ſuppreſſe whome he pleaſeth, and that ſhall *Englande* well knowe ere longe, that he hath ſuche Power and Auctoritie. To honour and obey him, to be a true and faythfull Member of his Church, and to liue and die in his Cauſe; this ought to be the Intent of all that commeth heere.

This long Tale, contayning a Number of more Circumſtaunces then I canne vnfolde, made me ſtudie what Aunſwere I ſhoulde make him; which, after ſome Pauſe, came foorth as thus:

Credite me, Sir, I am but a Noueſſe in theſe Matters, and therefore you might as well haue diſputed with me in the deepeſt Schoolepointes that is, and I ſhoulde haue cenſured both alike.

Nay, quoth he, I thinke not your Ignoraunce ſo great, albeit it ſeemeth great enough; though you haue beene looſelie brought vppe, yet you haue beene with me, bothe at Maſſe and at Confeſſion, diuers Times, at ſuch Time as I ſerued my Lady *B.*

Beſide, there are a great many of Prieſtes in *Englande*, as in *Warwickſhire*, at Maiſter *I. T.* in *Staffordſhire*, at Maiſter *G.* of *C.* and at *S. T. F.* in the ſame Shyre: All theſe be neere your Fathers, and not one of them but viſiteth your Fathers Houſe, three or four Times euerie Yeare, as they did when I was there (for there is no long Tarience in one Place for a Prieſte, but he muſt ſhift ſtill, leaſt he be taken) and I am ſure your Father woulde ſee you duelie confeſſed.

Nowe I was put to a hard Shift, that I knewe not well what to ſay: I knewe none of theſe Men he named, but one; and indeede he had a Prieſte, whoe, after his long Raunging about his Maſter the Popes Buſineſſe heere in *Englande*, I thanke God, I haue cauſed to be ſtayed. Likewyſe, I knewe not the Gentleman, whom both they at *Paris* and he ſayde to be my Father, neither where he dwelt, nor what he was; which made me ſtand in Feare to be diſprooued, hauing auouched my ſelfe before to be his Son: Wherefore, referring my Caſe to God, whoe had ſo prouided for me till that Time, in his Name I reſolued my ſelfe on this Aunſwere, not knowing howe it might happen to ſpeede.

In deede, Syr, I cannot denie, but that I haue oftentimes hearde Maſſe, as alſo beene at Confeſſion; but my Deuotion thereto hath beene ſlender, as you your ſelfe haue ſeene, knowing me to be ſo wilde, and, as it were, without Gouernment: But, when you departed from my Fathers, I tarryed there but a ſmall Time after you, for I obtayned Leaue of my Father to goe lye at *London*, at a Kinſemans Houſe of his, becauſe I woulde ſtudye

the *French* Tongue, to haue ſome Knowledge therein againſt I went ouer; for my Father tolde me, longe before, that I ſhoulde goe to *Paris* and ſtudye there.

When I was at *London*, I grewe in Acquaintaunce with diuers Gentlemen, in whoſe Companie I frequented many delyghtfull Paſtimes; ſo that I coulde hardlye refrayne them, when my Father ſente for me, to the Intent I ſhoulde trauile to *Paris*.

Well, quoth he, and though you did goe to *London*, ſo ſoone after I was gone, any of the Prieſtes that reſorted to your Fathers, or he himſelfe, coulde haue certified you of ſuch Places in *London*, where you might haue heard Maſſe, and beene confeſſed too, without Suſpect at all. For at Maiſter *S.* his Houſe on the backe Side of *P.* you myght diuers Times haue heard Maſſe, and beene confeſſed there lykewiſe: I lay there an indifferent While, and ſayde Maſſe there, whereat diuers were preſent; alſo in the Afternoone, when they haue beene at the Play, in all that Time I haue confeſſed many.

Likewiſe, you might haue gone to the *Marſhalſea*, and enquired for Maiſter *Pownde*, and you ſhould ſildome haue miſſed, but haue found a Prieſte there with him: For ſometimes, vnder the Habites of Gentlemen, Seruingmen, or what Apparell they imagine moſt conuenient for them, Prieſtes doe daily reſort vnto him, where they confeſſe him, and giue him ſuch hallowed Things, as are ſent him from *Rome*, as *Agnus Deis*, *Grana benedicta*, and other Thinges: There, if you had made him priuie to your Intent, he woulde haue appointed one that ſhould haue done it for you. He likewiſe woulde haue beſtowed on you ſome of thoſe holie Thinges; for he findeth ſuch Meanes, what with the Prieſtes that come to him, and other, whom he hireth or intreateth to carrie a Letter Abroade nowe and then for him, that thoſe holie Thinges are deliuered to theyr Hands, whoe, no doubte, a little reioyce in them.

My ſelfe once made *Norris* the Purſuiuant carie a Letter for me, to one of my Ladie *B.* her Gentlewomen, and therein was two *Agnus Deis*, a hallowed Girdle, and aboue forty or fiftie *Grana benedicta*; which makes me to ſmile euerie Time I thinke on it, that I could make him my Man, when I durſt not deliuer it my ſelfe.

Maiſter *Norris*, being tolde this, offereth his Life, if any ſuch Thing can be proued; for he ſayth, he neuer deliuered any Thinge, to any of my Ladie *B.* her Gentlewomen. And, for his faithfull Seruice to her Maieſtie, I haue to ſhewe, vnder his owne Hand, the Penaltie he putteth himſelfe to, if any vnjuſt Seruice can be layde to his Charge.

By this Time, the Bell rung for all Students to come to Supper, which made the Prieſte to ſtaye at this Periodus, elſe he woulde haue continued in Diſcourſe I knewe not howe longe: For what with the ſeuerall Charges, wherewith he ſounded me, my Care ſtill howe to ſhape a ſufficient Aunſwer, and the Tedioufneſſe of his Tale, mixed with ſo many Wordes, farre diſtant from ciuill and duetifull Regarde, he was not ſo readie to goe to his Supper, as I was glad for that Time to breake off Companie.

So after certaine familiar Behauiour, vſed betweene him and I; he glad to ſee me at *Rome*, and well hoping in ſhort Time to make me a newe Man; I applyable with Thankes, for euerie Thing, for that it ſtoode with Wiſdome to accept of all Thinges; he went into the *Refectorium*, which is the Name of theyr Dining Hall, and I to the Chamber, appointed for me and myFellowe, whom I found there ſitting with Doctor *Morris*, ſtaying my Comming, that we might ſup together, which in deede we did. Maiſter *Morris* vſing vs very courteouſly, paſſing away the Supper Time with much Variety of Talke, amonge which Maiſter Doctor ſayde his Pleaſure of diuers Perſons in *Englande*: Which, for that it would rather checke Modeſtie, then challenge any Reſpect of Honeſtie, I admitte it to Silence, the Talke being ſo broade, that it woulde ſtand as a Blemiſh to my Booke.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

In what Manner our Engliſh *Men paſſe away theyr Time in the Colledge, the Order of the Houſe, and other Thinges to be regarded.*

IT is vnpoſſible for me to note downe halfe the Speeches, that paſſed betweene the Schollers and me, as alſo my Fellowe; but, as for that was vſed to hym, I coulde ſildome come acquaynted with all, except I had ſtood by and heard it, for either, they had fully perſwaded him, or he ioined into Conſent with them: So that he would neuer reporte any Thing that had paſſed betweene them, he liked ſo well of euery Thinge. But, letting theſe Matters paſſe a While, I thinke it expedient heere to ſet down, before I goe any farther, the Orders vſed in the *Engliſh* Colledge, how the *Engliſh* Men ſpend the Time there, and within what Compaſſe they limitte themſelues, which ſo breefelie as I can I will paſſe ouer.

The *Engliſh* Colledge is a Houſe both large and faire, ſtanding in the Way to the Popes Pallace, not far from the Caſtle *Saint Angello*: In the Colledge, the Schollers are deuided, by certaine Number into euerie Chamber, as in ſome foure, in ſome ſixe, or ſo many as the Rector thinketh conuenient, as well for the Health of the Schollers, as the Troubling not much Roome. Euery Man hath his Bedde proper unto himſelfe, which is, two little Treſtles, with four or fiue Boordes laide alonge ouer them, and thereon a quilted Mattreſſe as we call it in *Englande*, which, euery Morning after they are riſen, they folde vp theyr Sheetes handſomelie, laying them in the Middeſt of the Bed, and ſo rowle it vp to one Ende, couering it with the Quilt, that is theyr Couerlet all the Night Time.

Firſt in the Morning, he that is the Porter of the Colledge ringeth a Bell, at the Sound whereof, euery Student ariſeth and turneth vp his Bed, as I haue ſaid before. Not long after the Bell ringeth againe, when as euery one preſentlie, kneeling on his Knees, prayeth for the Space of halfe an Howre: At which Time the Bell being touled again, they ariſe and beſtowe a certaine Time in Studye, euery one hauing his Deſke, Table, and Chayre to himſelfe very orderly; and, all the Time of Studye, Silence is vſed of euery one in the Chamber, not one offering Moleſtation in Speech to an other.

The Time of Studye expired, the Bell calleth them from theyr Chambers, downe into the *Refectorium*: Where euery one taketh a Glaſſe of Wine, and a Quarter of a Manchet, and ſo he maketh his *Collatione*. Soon after, the Bell knowleth againe, when as the Students, two and two together, walk to the *Romayne* Colledge, which is the Place of Schoole or Inſtruction, where euery one goeth to his ordinary Lecture, ſome in Diuinitie, ſome to Phiſique, ſome to Logique, and ſome to Rhetorique. There they remaine the Lecture Time, which being doon, they return Home to the Colledg againe: Where they ſpend the Time till Dinner, in Walking and Talking, vp and downe the Gardens.

And an Order there is appointed, by the Rector and the *Ieſuites*, and obeyed by all the Students, that whoſoeuer doth not in the Morning turne by his Bed handſomelie, or is not on his Knees at Prayer Time, or heareth not Maſſe before he goe to Schoole, or after he comes Home, but forgetteth it: Or els if he go forth, and put not the Pegge at his Name in the Table. For there is a Table hangeth by the Doore which hath a long Box adioyning to it: Wherein lyeth a great Company of wooden Peggs, and againſt the Name of euery Scholler written in the Table, which is obſerued by Order of the Alphabet, there is a Hole made, wherein ſuch, as haue Occaſion to go abroad, muſt duly put a Peg, to giue Knowledge who is abroad, and who remaineth within.

Beſide, diuers other Orders they haue for ſleight Matters, the Neglecting whereof is publique Penaunce at Dinner Time: When as all the Students are placed at the Tables, ſuch, as haue tranſgreſſed, goeth vppe into the Pulpit, which ſtandeth there, becauſe one readeth all the Dinner Time, and there he ſayth: Becauſe I haue not fulfilled this or that, whatſoeuer Order it be that he hath broken, I am adioyned ſuch a Penaunce: Either to kneele in the Middeſt of the Hall on his bare Knees, and

there

there to ſay his Beades ouer: Or to ſay certaine *Pater nſters*, and *Aue Mariaes*: Or to ſtand vp right and to haue a Diſh of Potage before him on the Grounde, and ſo to bring vp euery Spoonefull to his Mouthe: Or to looſe either one, or two, or three of his Diſhes appointed for his Dinner: Or to ſtand there all Dinner Time, and eate no Meate: And diuers other, which according as it is, either afterwarde he hath his Dinner or Supper, or els goes without it. And all theſe Penaunces I haue been forced to doe, for that I was alwayes apt to breake one Order or other. As for the priuate Penaunces, it ſhall not be greatly amiſſe to rehearſe them here too: So longe as I ſhall deſire you to ſtay, from hearing the Manner of the Students Dinner. The priuate Penaunces are appointed by the ghoſtlie Father at Confeſſion: Which are fulfilled without publique Knowledge of the Cauſe, and likewiſe of the Perſon. If his Penaunce be, to whip himſelfe openly in the Hall at Dinner Time: Then the Rector ordereth it after this Manner, that he ſhall not be knowne, to be reproached by any of his Fellowes, or that they ſhall certainelie ſay, it is ſuch a one. At the Dinner or Supper, that this Penaunce is to be accompliſhed, the Rector cauſeth ſeauen or eight to keepe their Chambers, and commonlie but one that Time in a Chamber: Their Doores muſt be made faſt to them, and they not ſo much as looke out at their Windowe, to ſee from which Chamber he comes that doth the Penaunce. When they are all ſet at the Tables, he commeth in, clothed in a canuas Veſture downe to the Grounde, a Hood of the ſame on his Head, with the Holes where through he he hath Sight, and a good bigge rounde Place bare, againſt the Middeſt of his Backe: In this Order he goeth vp and downe the Halle, whipping himſelfe at that bare Place, in ſomuch that the Bloode doth trickle on the Ground after him. The Whip hath a verie ſhorte Handle, not much aboue a Handfull longe, and fortie or fiftie Cordes at it, about the Length of halfe a Yard, with a great manie hard Knots on euery Corde; and ſome of the Whippes hath throughe euerie Knot at the End crooked Wiers, which will teare the Fleſh vnmercifullie.

The *Ieſuites* haue ſome of them, to whip themſelues, Whippes with Cordes of Wier, wherewith they will beate themſelves, tyll, with too much Effuſe of Blood, they be readie to giue vp the Ghoaſt. And this they will doo in their Chambers, either before a *Crucifix*, or the Image of our Ladie, turning their Backes when they bleed toward the Image, that it may ſee them. One of the *Ieſuites*, becauſe they could neuer get me to whip my ſelfe (for that I wel knew God ſayd: *Rent your Harts, and not your Skin*; and that *a contrite and ſobbing Harte is more acceptable to God then a bleeding Bodie*) tooke me once with him into his Chamber, ſaying: I ſhoulde ſee, becauſe I was ſo fearfull, what he woulde inflict vpon his owne Bodie. So, when he was vnapparelled, he tooke a Whip the Cordes whereof was Wier, and, before the Picture of our Ladie, he whipped himſelfe verie greeuouſly, ſaying: *Sancta Maria mater Dei, ſuſcipe dolorem meum: Sancta Maria mater Dei, accipe flagitium meum: Et ora pro me, nunc et in hora mortis.*

Which is as much as to ſay: *S. Marie Mother of God, receiue my Dolour: Saint Marie Mother of God, accept my Whipping, and pray for me, nowe and in the Howre of Death.* Theſe, with other like Wordes, he vſed to the Picture a great many Times, and then he went to the *Crucifix*, which ſtood vppon his Deſke, and, whipping himſelfe ſtil, he ſaid theſe, or the verie like Words: *O Ieſu, obteſtetur te virgo glorioſa Maria Mater, quæ, quod pro certo noui, pro me nunc tecum agit. Flagitii tui, ſanguinolenti tui ſudoris, Crucis tuæ, mortis ac paſſionis tuæ, pro me paſſæ, memoria ad hoc me faciendum impulit: Eo quod perpeſſus ſis his decies pro me grauiora:* In Engliſh thus, *O Ieſus, be thou intreated by that glorious Virgin thy Mother, whoe I am ſure at this Time maketh Interceſſion to thee for me. The Remembraunce of thy Whipping, bloody Sweat, Croſſe and Paſſion, maketh me to do this, in ſo much as thou haſt ſuffered ten times more for me.*

In theſe and ſuch like Acclamations, he continued whipping himſelfe, almoſte the Space of halfe an Howre, bleeding ſo ſore, as it greeued me verie much to ſee him. Afterward, he willed me to trie it once, and I ſhould not finde any Paine in it, but rather a Pleaſure. For, quoth he, if Chriſt had his Fleſh rent and torne with Whips, his Hands and Feete nayled to the Croſſe, his precious Side goared with a Launce, his Heade pricked with a Crowne of Thornes, that his deere Blood ran trickling downe his Face, and all this for you: Why ſhoulde you feare to put your Body to any Torment, to recompence him that hath

doone

doone ſo much for you? I deſired him to beare with me a While, for I was not indued with that Strength and Fortitude, as to abide and ſuffer the Paines he did: But yet in Time I doubted not to fulfyll any Thinge on my Bodie, he woulde command me. My Aunſwer pleaſed him indifferently; ſo I left him in his Chamber, and went downe, lamenting to ſee a Spectacle of ſo great Follie.

Now as for the other Penaunces, as they be diuers, ſo be they diuers Wayes fulfylled, either by Faſting, Wearing a Shyrt of Heaire, Trudging to the ſeauen Churches, Lying upon the bare Boordes, Going into the darke Vaultes vnder the Grounde, or Trauelling on Pilgrimage; and a Number more, which exceedeth my Memorie to vnfolde, they haue amongſt them, as there be diuers can beare me Witneſſe, and ſome of them my Confeſſor hath conſtrayned me to doo.

Returne we nowe to the Students, whoe being come from the Schooles, and hauing recreated themſelues ſomewhat, either in the Houſe or in the Gardens, are nowe at the Sound of the Bell come into the *Refectorium* to Dinner. The Cuſtome is, that dailie two of the Students take it by Turnes, to ſerue all the other at the Table, whoe, to helpe them, haue the Butler, the Porter, and a poore *Ieſuite*, that looketh to all the Schollers Neceſſaries, to bring them their cleane Shirts, and foreſeeth, that neither their Gownes, Caſſocks, Dublets, Breeches, Hoſe, nor Shooes, want Mending. Theſe bring in their Hands, each of them, a rounde Boorde, which hath a Staffe about halfe a Yarde long, made faſt through the Middle of it: And rounde about that Boord is ſet little Saucers wherein the Cooke ſhareth euerie Man a little Quantitye, which they bring, and hold ouer the Table, when as euery Man taketh his own Meſſe.

As for their Fare, truſt me, it is verie fine and delicate, for euery Man hath his own Trencher, his Manchet, Knife, Spoone, and Forke laide by it, and then a fayre white Napkin couering it, with his Glaſſe and Pot of Wine ſette by him. And the firſt Meſſe, or *Antepaſt*, as they call it, that is brought to the Table, is ſome fine Meate to vrge them to haue an Appetite: As ſometime the *Spaniſh* Anchouies, and ſometime ſtued Prunes and Rayſons of the Sun together, hauing ſuch a fine tart Sirope made to them, as I promiſe you a weake Stomache would very well digeſt them. The Second is a certaine Meſſe of Pottage of that Countrey Manner, no Meate ſod in them, but are made of diuers Things, whoſe proper Names I doe not remember: But me thought they were both good and wholeſome. The Third is boilde Meate, as Kid, Mutton, Chicken, and ſuche like: Euery Man a prettie Modicum of eache Thinge. The Fourth is roaſted Meat, of the daintieſt Prouiſion that they can get, and ſometime ſtude and bakte Meate, according as pleaſeth Maiſter Cooke to order it. The Fift and Laſt is ſometime Cheeſe, ſometime preſerued Conceites, ſometime Figges, Almonds and Rayſons, a Limon and Sugar, a Pomegranate, or ſome ſuch ſweete Geere: For they knowe that *Engliſhmen* loue ſweete Meates.

And, all the Dinner While, one of the Schollers, according as they take it by weekly Turne, readeth, firſt, a Chapter of theyr Bible; and then, in theyr *Martirilogium*, he readeth the Martirdome of ſome of the Saintes: As Saint *Fraunces*, Saint *Martin*, Saint *Longinus*, that thruſt the Speare into Chriſtes Side; Saint *Agatha*, Saint *Barbara*, Saint *Cecilia*, and diuers other: Among whome they haue imprinted the Martirdome of Doctor *Storie*, the two *Nortons*, *Iohn Felton*, and others, calling them by the Names of Saintes, who were heere executed at *Tiborne*, for High Treaſon.

The Dinner done, they recreate themſelues for the Space of an Howre, and then the Bell calleth them to their Chambers, where they ſtaye a While, ſtudying on their Lectures giuen them in the Forenoone; anon the Bell ſummoneth them to Schoole againe, where they ſtay not paſt an Howre, but they returne Home againe, and, ſo ſoone as they be come in, they go into the *Refectorium*, and there euery one hath his Glaſſe of Wine, and a Quarter of a Manchet againe, according as they had in the Morning.

Then they depart to their Chambers, from whence at conuenient Time they are called to exerciſe of Diſputation: The Diuines to a *Ieſuite* appointed for them, and euerie Studye to a ſeuerall *Ieſuite*, where they continue the Space of an Howre, and afterwarde, till Supper Time, they are at theyr Recreation.

After Supper, if it be in Winter Time, they goe with the *Ieſuites*, and ſit about a great Fire talking; and, in all theyr Talke, they ſtriue whoe ſhall ſpeake wurſte of her Maieſtie, of ſome of her Councell, of ſome Biſhop heere, or ſuche like: So that the *Ieſuites* themſelues

will

will often take vp theyr Hands and bleſſe themſelues, to heare what abominable Tales they will tell them.

After they haue talked a good While, the Bell calleth them to theyr Chamber, the Porter going from Chamber to Chamber, and lighteth a Lamp in euery one: So, when the Schollers come, they alight their Lamps, laye downe theyr Beddes, and go ſitte at theyr Deſkes and ſtudye a little, till the Bell ringes, when euery one falles on his Knees to Prayers.

Then one of the Prieſtes in the Chamber, as in euery Chamber there is ſome, beginneth the *Latin* Letany, all the Schollers in the Chamber aunſwering him: And ſo they ſpend the Time till the Bell ringes againe, which is, for euery one to goe to Bed.

CHAP. IV.

Other Matters of our Engliſh *Students in the Colledge, theyr Dayes of Recreation at theyr Vineyard, theyr Walke to the ſeauen Churches, a Report of ſome of the* Romiſh *Reliques, and other Thinges concerning theyr Behauior.*

THE *Engliſh* Students euerie thirde or fourth Day goe not to the Schooles, but haue Acceſſe abroad, to ſporte and delighte themſelues: Sometime they walke to their Vineyard, and the *Ieſuites* with them, where they paſſe awaye the Daye in diuers Diſportes; what Game, what Toy, anie one can deuiſe, they altogether in Paſtime ioyne to performe it.

An other Day they goe to the ſeauen Churches, which, according as I remember theyr Names, I will here ſette them downe: S. *Peters*, S. *Paules*, S. *John Lateranes*, S. *Maria maiore*, S. *Croce*, S. *Laurences*, S. *Sebaſtianes*. In all theſe Churches, there be diuers Reliques, which make them haunted of a meruaylous Multitude of People: Whereby the lazye lurden Fryers that keepe the Churches gettes more Ritches, then ſo many honeſt Men ſhoulde doe: For either at the Comming into the Church, or elſe at the Aultar where the Reliques be, there ſtandeth a Baſen, and the People caſt Money therein, with verie great Liberallitie. And there ſtandeth a Fryer, with a forked Sticke in his Hand, and therevpon he taketh euery Bodyes Beades, that layes them on the Aultar, and then he wipes them along a great proportioned Thinge of Chriſtal and Golde, wherein are a Number of rotten Bones, which they make the People credite to be the Bones of Saints: So, wiping them along the Outſide of this Tabernacle, the Beades ſteale a terrible deale of Holyneſſe out of thoſe Bones, and, God knowes, the People thinke they doo God good Seruice in it: Oh monſterous Blindneſſe!

But becauſe euery good Subiect may ſee into the *Romiſh* Iuglinges, and perceiue the Subtiltie of Antycriſte, the eldeſt Childe of Hell: I will rehearſe ſome of theſe Reliques, as many of them as I can poſſibly call to my Remembraunce.

A breefe Rehearſall of ſome of the Romiſhe *Reliques, whereby the Pope deceiueth a Number, and hath good Gaines, to the Maintenaunce of his Pompe.*

In Saint Peters *Church.*

AS wee enter into the Courte before Saint *Peters* Church, there ſtandeth the Forme of a Rocke made of Braſſe, an old and auncient Thinge: The which is kept there, that the ignoraunt People ſhoulde beleeue that to be the Rocke, which our Sauiour ſpake off to *Peter*, when as, vpon *Peters* Confeſſing him to be *Chriſt, the Sonne of the liuing God*, he aunſwered: *Vpon this Rocke will I builde my Church*; which Rocke he ment by himſelfe, and not by *Peter*. This Peece of Braſſe they make the Ignoraunt to beleeue to be that Rocke, and therefore a Number, as they goe into the Church, fall downe on their Knees, and worſhippe this braſen Rock with their Prayers.

Going

Going thorowe the Churche, wee come to a Chappell, wherein is an high Aultar, whereon ſtandeth a Picture of S. *Peter* and S. *Paule:* Within that Aultar, they ſay, lyeth halfe the Bodies of theſe two Apoſtles and Saintes, and therefore that Aultar is daylie worſhipped.

Comming back againe into the Church, wee come to a ſquare Aultar, wherein, ſay they, is the Head of the Speare that was thruſt into our Sauiours Side: But the Point thereof is broken off: And is in an other Place. And, in the ſame Aultar, is the Hankercher which Chriſte wiped his Face withall, when he caried his Croſſe ſweating, and left the perfect Print thereof on the Cloath: This is called *Vultus ſanctus*. Howe this Aultar is honored, you ſhall read more in the Chapter, which talketh of the *Flagellante* Night.

What other Reliques be in this Church, I certainlie know not; but they ſay, there is the Bodies of diuers Saintes, whoſe Names, becauſe I can not remember, I will let paſſe, becauſe I will not be found in any Vntrueth.

In Saint Paules *Church.*

In this Church, vnder the high Aultar, is ſayd to be the other halfe of the Bodies of S. *Peter* and *Paule:* This Aultar is likewiſe adored with meruaylous Reuerence.

Not farre from this Church, there is a Place called *Tre Fontana*; at this Place, they ſay, Saint *Paule* was beheaded: And, when his Head was cut off, it leaped three Times, and, in thoſe Places where it leapt, there ſprung vp preſently three Fountaines; there is great Deuotion likewiſe vſed at this Place.

In Saint Iohn Lateranes *Church.*

As wee come firſt to the little Chappelles before the Church, wherein, they ſay, our Ladie hath beene diuers Times ſeene, and therefore hath left ſuch Holineſſe there, as they pray there a good While, there ſtandeth a round Piller of Stone, ſeeming to be but latelie made: On this Stone, ſay they, the Cock ſtoode and crowed, at what Time *Peter* denied Chriſte: And therefore they doe vſe to kiſſe it, make Courteſie to it, and rub their Beades on it.

Neere to this Stone is a broad Gate, being the Entraunce into the aforeſayde Chappelles; and on the one Side of this Gate there is two round Ringes of Yron, whereon ſometime a Gate hath beene hanged to open and ſhut: In theſe Ringes, ſay they, the *Iewes* did ſtick Banners all the While that Chriſte was crucified; and therefore, for the Holineſſe of them, they will draw their Beades thorowe the ſayde Ringes, and kiſſe them when they haue done.

From thence we goe to a fayre large Place, in the Middeſt whereof ſtandeth a Font, wherein, they ſaye, *Conſtantinus Magnus* was chriſtened: In this Font everye Yeere on *Eaſter-euen*, they doo chriſten *Iewes*, ſuch as do chaunge to their Religion. For there is a certaine Place appointed for Sermons, whereat the *Iewes*, whether they will or no, muſt be preſent, becauſe one of their owne Rabines preacheth to them, to conuert them, as himſelfe hath beene a great While.

In *Rome* the *Iewes* haue a Dwelling-place within themſelues, being locked in their Streetes by Gates on either Side, and the *Romaynes* euery Night keepeth the Keyes: All the Daye Time they go abroade in the Cittie, and will buie the oldeſt Apparell that is; an olde Cloke, Dublet, or Hoſe, that a Man would thinke not woorth a Penny, of the *Iewes* you may haue the Quantitie of foure or fiue Shillinges for them. Nowe, that the *Iewes* may be knowne from any other People, euery one weareth a yellow Cap or Hatte, and, if he goe abroade without it, they will vſe him very yll fauouredly.

In this Order they come to the Sermon, and, when any of them doth chaunge his Faith, he taketh his yellow Cap or Hatte off from his Head, and throwes it away with great Violence; then will a Hundred offer him a blacke Cap or Hatte, and greatly rejoyce that they haue ſo wun him. All his Ritches he then muſt forſake, that goes to the Popes Vſe, being one of his Shifts: And to this aforeſayde Font he is brought, clothed all in White, a white Cap, a white Cloke, and euery Thing white about him, and a holie Candle burning, that he beareth in his Hand. Then is he there baptized by an *Engliſhman*, whoe is named Biſhop *Goldwell*, ſometime the Biſhop of S. *Aſaph*, in *Wales:* He hath this Office, maketh all the *Engliſh* Prieſtes in the Colledge, and liueth there among the *Theatines* very pontifically. After the *Iewes* be thus baptized, they be brought into the Church, and there they ſee the Hallowing of the Paſchall, which is a mightie greate Wax Taper; and then a Deuiſe, wherein is incloſed a Number of Squibs,

is ſhotte off, when thorowe all the Church they crye, *Sic tranſit gloria mundi*. From thence they goe to a Colledge, which the Pope hath erected for ſuch *Iewes* as in this Manner turne to his Religion; there they ſtaye a certaine Time, and after they be turned out to gette their Liuing as they can; none of their former Ritches muſt they haue againe, for that goes to the Maintenaunce of the Popes Pontificalitie. This aforſayde Font is a holy Thing, and there muſt Prayers be likewyſe ſayde.

From this Font wee goe vppe into a fayre Chappell, wherein is an Aultar dedicated to our Ladie, in Golde and ſumptuous Showes ſurpaſſing; and all about the Chappell are hanged little wooden Pictures, Tapers, and Wax Candles, which are the Pilgrimes Vowes to our Ladie, and there they leaue them to honour her. Heere muſt be vſed great Deuotion.

From thence wee goe into an olde Roome, wherein is an olde Wall ſtanding alonge in the Middeſt of this Roome, and in this Wall is three old Doores, hauing Painting on them that is not very olde: Thorowe one of theſe Doores, they ſay, Chriſte went into Iudgement; when he came backe from Iudgement he went thorowe the Second; and thorowe the Thirde to be whipped: Theſe Doores are worſhipped euery Day.

From thence we goe alonge thorowe an olde Gallery, and there is a fayre Paire of Stayres of Stone, that commeth vppe into this Gallery, being in Number of Steppes about four or fiue and twenty: Vppe theſe Stayres, they ſay, Chriſte went to Iudgement, and, as he came backe againe, he let fall a Drop of Bloode on one of the Steppes, ouer the which Place (becauſe the People, with Kiſſing it and Rubbing it with their Beades, haue fretted a deepe Hole in the Stone) is made a little Yron Grate. The People muſt neither goe vppe nor downe theſe Stayres on theyr Feete, but creepe them vpon theyr Knees, and on euery Steppe ſay a *Pater Noſter* and an *Aue Maria*; ſo that, with the Number that creepe vppe and downe theſe Stayres dayly, they are kept as cleane as the fine Houſes in *London*, where you may ſee your Face in the Boordes. Theſe Stayres haue no ſmall Reuerence.

Neere to the Head of theſe Stayres, on either Side of the Gallery, there is in the Walles two halfe Pillers of Stone, much like to Alabaſter; which they ſay to be the Vale of the Temple that rent in the Middeſt when Chriſte yeelded vppe the Ghoſt; vpon theſe two halfe Pillers they rubbe theyr Beades, in Signe of great Deuotion.

Somewhat neere to theſe halfe Pillers, there is a longe Marble Piller, at which Piller, they ſay, Chriſte was faſte bound when he was whipped in *Pilates* Hall. This Piller is much adored.

Harde by wee goe into a little Chappell, which hath a very ritch and coſtlie Aultar, wherin they ſay to be ſome of the Milke that came out of our Ladies Breaſtes, and as yet remaineth pure and ſweete. To this Relique is vſed meruailous Worſhip.

And in the ſame Chappell, harde by the Doore as wee come in, there hangeth, tyed with an Yron Chayne, a Peece of Wood, which is croſſed euery Way with diuers Plates of Yron: This Peece of Woode they name to be a Peece of the Croſſe whereon the Theefe was hanged, to whom our Sauiour ſayde, *This Day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.* To this is giuen much Deuotion.

Beneath in the Church.

In the Church at the Aultar, there is, as they ſay, the firſt Shirt that our Ladie made for Chriſte when he was young.

In the ſame Aultar are the two Sculs, or Scalps, of the Heads of S. *Peter* and S. *Paule*, with the Haire as yet on them, which are ſet in Golde and Silver verie coſtly.

There is alſo a Glaſſe Viall, which is full, as they ſay, of the Bloode of our Sauiour, that ran out of his precious Side, hanging on the Croſſe: The People, when this is ſhowen, will take their Handes, and hold the Palmes of them toward the Glaſſe, and then rub all theyr Face with theyr Handes, with the great Holineſſe they receiue from the Glaſſe.

Then there is a Peece of Chriſtes Cote without Seame, and it is the Part of the Cote, which, when it was turned downe ouer his Bodie that he ſhould be whipped, the Bloode did trickle downe vpon; and vpon this Peece of his Cote, ſay they, the Bloode yet remaineth as freſh as it was the firſt Day when the Bloode fell on it. This is a meruailous precious Relique too.

Likewiſe there is the whole Chayne of Yron wherewith S. *Iohn the Euangeliſt* was led bounde to *Epheſus*: This Chaine is a little olde one, I am ſure little aboue halfe a Yard longe.

There

There is alſo one of the Nayles wherewith our Sauiour Chriſte was nayled on the Croſſe; and it hath the Bloode yet freſh on it.

And, among all the reſt, there is a great Proportion, or Quantitie of the Crowne of Thornes, wherewith, they ſay, our Sauiour was crowned.

Diuers other Reliques there be in that Church, which I canne not nowe verie perfectlye remember; but theſe I am certaine they make the People beleeue to be there, for I haue ſtoode by among a Multitude of People, that come thither to ſee them on the Day they are ſhowen, and there haue I hearde all theſe named: Almoſt all the *Engliſh* Students can beare me Witneſſe, for I haue gone in their Company, as it is a Cuſtome and an Order among them, to goe from Church to Church all the *Lent* Time, to the *Stations* as they call them, and then, each Day in *Lent*, one Church or other hath their Reliques abroade to bee ſeene. And then they tell the People, this is the Reliques of ſuch a Saint, and this is ſuch a holie and bleſſed Thing; but they be either couered with Golde, Silver, or Chriſtall, ſo that wee can not tell whether there be any Thing within or no, except it be ſometime in a broade Chriſtall Tabernacle, and there you ſhall ſee a Company of rotten Bones, God knows of what they be.

In Saint Maria Maiore.

There is an olde rotten Crib, or Maunger, wherein, ſay they, our Sauiour lay betweene the Oxe and the Aſſe, when the Sheepeheardes come to honour and reuerence him: This is a Thing highlie honoured.

There is likewiſe *Aarons* Rod, as they call it, which is in the Forme of a Biſhops Staffe: A holie Relique.

There is alſo of the Haire that grewe on our Ladyes Head: This is there reſerued ritchlie, and worſhipped for a ſinguler Relique.

There is the Forme of a Finger in Siluer, wherein, ſay they, is the Finger of S. *Thomas*, which he thruſt into the Side of Chriſte: This is no ſimple Relique.

There is the Point of the Head of a Speare, which they ſay to be broken off from the Speare that was thruſt into our Sauiours Side on the Croſſe: A Relique of no ſmall Worſhippe.

There is alſo certaine Peeces of Money, which they name to be of thoſe thirty Pence which *Iudas* receiued when he betrayed his Maiſter, wherewith (after he had hanged himſelfe) they bought a Feelde, called, *The Feelde of Blood:* Theſe are Reliques of great Eſtimation.

There is likewiſe an olde rotten Peece of Wood, which they make the People to thinke to be a Peece of the Croſſe whereon Chriſte was crucified: To ſee this Relique the People will come creeping on their Knees, and behaue themſelues with meruailous Deuoutneſſe.

There is alſo certaine of the Thornes, which ſometime, as they ſay, was on the Crowne of Thornes, wherewith our Sauiour Chriſte was crowned: Reliques of great Auctority among them.

In Sancta Croce.

There is an other of the Nayles wherewith Chriſte was nayled on the Croſſe; and, as they ſaye, the Blood ſtill freſhe upon it.

There is alſo three or foure of the Pence which *Iudas* receiued for the Betraying of his Maiſter Chriſte.

There is a good big Peece of Wood, which they likewiſe ſay to be a Peece of the Croſſe whereon Chriſte was crucified.

There is a Whippe, which they reporte to be one of thoſe Whippes wherewith Chriſte was whipped in *Pilates* Hall: This is a holy and verie precious Relique.

There is a Tabernacle of Chriſtall; the Pillers thereof are of Silver, wherein is divers olde rotten Bones, which they ſay to be the Bones of Saintes and holy Martirs.

In Saint Lauraunces.

There is made faſt, in a Wall, a great Marble Stone about two Yardes in Length, and a Yarde in Bredth, which is cloſed in with a great Yron: Vpon this Stone, they ſay, Saint *Lauraunce* was broyled. This is a Relique much ſette by.

There alſo, they ſay, to be the Gredyron whereon Saint *Lauraunce* was broyled; but that I neuer ſawe, therefore I will not make any certaine Reporte thereof.

There, at the high Aultar, they ſay the Heade of Saint *Lauraunce* is, which they haue ſet in Siluer meruailous coſtlie.

In Saint Sebaſtians.

There, vnder the high Aultar, they ſay lyeth the Bodye of Saint *Sebaſtian*, to whoſe Shrine they offer verie much Worſhippe.

At all theſe ſeauen Churches, there are a Number more Reliques then I can well remember, which maketh the People to reſorte to them almoſt daylie; and our *Engliſhmen*, they are as zealous, in theſe Matters, as the beſt, and beleeue that thoſe Reliques are the verie certaine Thinges whereof they beare the Name, ſo great is theyr Blindneſſe and Want of Faith.

To theſe Places they trudge commonly once euerie Weeke, and ſometime twiſe; or, as the *Ieſuites* thinke it conuenient; but, when they haue beene at theſe ſeauen Churches, and honoured all theſe paltrey Reliques, they thinke they haue done a moſt bleſſed and acceptable Seruice to God.

There are Reliques beſide theſe, at moſt of the other Churches and Chappels, but, what they be, I do not, as now, remember; yet thus much I can ſay, that, when the *Station* hath beene at Saint *Appolonias*, all the Way as we goe, the Streetes are full almoſt of lame and diſeaſed People, who, when they deſire any Almes of the Paſſers by, ſay, They will pray to Saint *Appolonia* for theyr Teeth, that ſhe will keepe them from the Toothach, or any other Paine that may happen to theyr Teeth: This they doe, becauſe they reporte that, Saint *Appolonia*, being martired, had all her Teeth, by Violence, plucked out of her Head; and therefore they imagine, that ſhe can defend any Body from hauing any Paine in theyr Teeth.

Likewiſe, Saint *Agatha*, whoſe Breſtes, they ſay, were clipped off with a Paire of Tonges, made red hot in the Fire; to her they will pray, (if the People will giue them any Money) that, any Woman paſſing by them, this Saint will not ſuffer her to haue any Paine in her Breſtes.

Other of their Saintes, whoe had any Thinge miniſtred by Way of Torment, either on theyr Heade, Armes, Bodye, Legges, or Feete, becauſe the People ſhall giue them ſomewhat, theſe Beggers will pray to any of thoſe Saintes, to defende them from Paine, in any ſuch Place of their Body.

Now, ſome lazy Fryer, or ſome other craftie Companion, whoe will compell the People to giue him ſomewhat; he getteth a *Pax*, and euery one, that commeth by him, muſt make Homage to it, come and kiſſe it, and giue him Money ere he goe any farther. This Fellowe ſtandeth as Maiſter of the Beggers; and all theſe Knaueries, and an infinite Number more, are our *Engliſhmen* ſo inſolent, both to like and alowe off.

And now, ſeeing I among the Popes Pageants, I will blaze a little more of his holy Hell; that thoſe (to whoſe Handes this my Booke ſhall happen to come, and are, by ſome of our ſecreate ſeducing Preeſtes, any Thing mooued that Way) may behold the egregious Follies and deuilliſh Drifts, whereby God is diſpleaſed, and Men too much wilfullye blinded. So that, turning to the bare and naked Trueth, which craueth neither Shadowe, nor any coullored Deuiſe, they may vomite vp that Antechriſte and his abbominable Inuentions, and cleaue to that which God himſelfe hath commaunded.

CHAP. V.

A breefe Diſcourſe of their darke Vautes vnderneath the Grounde, and how they beguile a Number by them. Of the Pilgrimage to Saint Iames *in* Gallitia, *to Saint* Maria di Loreto, *to Saint* Clare *at* Mount Falcon, *and other Places of like Holineſſe.*

AMONG a Number of theyr Inuentions to vphold and maintaine their wicked Dealinges, they haue certaine Vautes vnderneath the Ground, wherein they ſay howe, in the Time that the perſecuting Emperours liued in *Rome*, the Chriſtians were glad to hide themſelues, and there they liued many Yeeres, hauing no Foode nor Nouriſhment to maintaine them, but onlie that they were fed by Angels. Sometime Chriſt himſelfe came amongſt them, and he fed them by his heauenly Deitie: When, as he could not come, but was buſied aboute

other

other Affaires, he ſenſe his Mother, the Virgin *Marie*, to them: At other Times, the Archangell *Michaell*, the Angell *Gabriell*, or one Angell or other, was ſtill ſent vnto them; and Saintes, that were liuing on Earth, came daylie and preached to them. This our *Engliſhmen* hath tolde to me and other, at diuers Times; yea, and when they haue ſeene me offer Doubte of thoſe Matters, they haue beene ready to weare it to be certaine and true.

At a Church there, called Saint *Pancratia*, there is a Vaute, whereinto I haue gone with the Ieſuites of the *Engliſhe* Colledge and the Students; and there they haue ſhewed me in diuers Places, made on either Side in the Vaute as we go, that there lay ſuch a Saint, and there lay ſuch an other; there they were buried, and none was there but they were all Saintes. Then (hauing euery one of vs a Waxe Light in our Hands, becauſe it is vnpoſſible to ſee any Light in the Vaute, and for thoſe Lights the Fryers, that keepe the Church, muſt haue Money, which we put into a Baſen that ſtandeth at the Going downe into the Vaute) they looke on the Grounde vnder theyr Feete as they goe; and, if they chaunce to find a Bone (as ſome ſure are thrown in of Purpoſe to deceiue the People) whether it be of a Dog, a Hog, a Sheepe, or any Beaſt, they can preſently tell what Saints Bone it was, either Saint *Fraunces*, Saint *Anthonie*, Sainte *Blaſe*, or ſome other Saint that pleaſeth them to name: Then muſt no Bodie touch it without he be a Prieſt, and it muſt be brought Home for an eſpeciall Relique; and thus (ſauing your Reuerence) encreaſeth the Genelogie of the holy Reliques in *Rome*.

In this aforeſayde Vaute of Saint *Pancratia*, as one of the *Engliſh* Prieſtes in the Colledge gaue me to vnderſtand, there was ſometime a *Franciſcan* Fryer, who, hauing long Time liued among his Brethren in the Monaſtrie, in Chaſtitie of Life, and Deuoutnes in Religion, walking one Day without *Rome*, Saint *Fraunces* appeared to him in his Fryers Cowle, and, calling him by his Name, ſayd vnto him, I know, my good Brother, thou haſt long thus liued in my holy Order, and haſt obeied me in euery Thing; therefore I will, that thou be no longer a mortall Man, but a Saint, and from this Day forwarde thou ſhalt leaue thy Cloiſter, and go to the Vaute vnder the Church of Saint *Pancratia*, where thou ſhalt be worſhipped of euery one that commeth into the ſaid Vaute, and to them thou ſhalt giue the Bones and Reliques of holy and bleſſed Saintes, which they, in theyr Churches, ſhall adore with great Reuerence; what thou wilt haue ſhall be done, and what thou wilt not ſhall not be done.

After theſe Wordes, Saint *Fraunces* vaniſhed from him, and he went Home to the Monaſtrie, to tell his Brethren what had happened; ſoon after, with burning Tapers, and great Shewes of Holineſſe, they brought him to the Vaute of Saint *Pancratia*, wherein being entred, they found a Seate ready prepared for him, which ſhined as bright as the Sun, ſo that it dimmed the Light of all the Tapers; it was like vnto the Clowdes, verie thick beſette with twinckling Stars, and, ouer the Head of it, was couered with a goodly Rainbowe. Nothinge coulde be ſeene whereon this Seate depended; it neither touched the Ground, the Top of the Vaute ouer Head, nor any Part of the Wall on either Side; therefore it was ſupported by Angells, whome, though they coulde not diſcerne, yet they hearde them make verie mellodious Harmonie, to welcome this Saint to his new Seate. Then the Fryer, being baſhful to ſee ſuch a glorious Seate prouided for him, withdrew himſelfe, as though he were vnworthy to ſit therein; but then, out of one of the Clowdes, ſtretched a Hand (which they ſayd to be Chriſtes) wherein they ſaw the freſh bleeding Wound, being pierced thorowe with the Nayles on the Croſſe, and this Hand pulled the Fryer to the Seate, and placed him verie roially therein. At the Sight hereof, all his Brethren fell downe and worſhipped him; wherevpon he deliuered vnto euery one of them diuers holy Reliques, as the Heade of ſuch a Saint, and Bones of diuers other Saintes, which was put into his Hand to giue them. Some of them, for pure Zeale, woulde not depart from him, but ſtayed there many Yeares, being fed and nouriſhed by Angells; the other, to looke to the good Ordering of their Monaſtrie, were forced to depart.

A longe Time this Saint remained in the Vaute, and many other that came to him, whom he daylie made Saints; ſo that, as well on the Behalfe of this Saint, as diuers other as good as he, this Vaute is worſhipped, as though it were a ſecond Heauen.

When he had ended this braue notorious Fable, delyuered foorth with farre more reuerend Ieſture, than I can ſette downe, or you imagine, he ſayd: If a Man ſhoulde tell this to the Heretiques of our Countrey, they would

ſtraite

ſtraite way condempne it as a Lye and Vntrueth: So mightily doth the Deuill preuayle with them to deface the daylie Myracles ſhowne in the Catholique Churche! Truſt me, thought I, I knowe not whether they woulde eſteeme it for a Lye, or no; but I do allow it for one of the notableſt Lyes, that euer I hearde in my Life.

O my deere Countreymen, thinke howe God hath giuen ouer theſe Men, that repoſe Credite in ſuch abhominable Vntruethes; whereby he is robbed of his Glorie, and the Worſhip, which wee ought of Duetie to giue to him, is beſtowed on a Rable of raſcall Reliques, and Dunghill of moſt irkſome and noyſome Smell; and they themſelues become Spectacles to the World, following the Whore of *Rome*, as the Puddle of accurſed Filthineſſe. Their Impietie hath pearced the Heauens, and offended the Almighty, to ſee that his Creatures ſhall thus diſdaine theyr Maker; and therefore, while they are glorying and triumphing in the Middeſt of their Wickedneſſe, he hath throwen them downe, accompted them as Baſtards, and not Children, that they might be an Example to vs howe to liue in his Feare, and howe to behaue our ſelues like Chriſtians; not to giue his Honour to Stocks and Stones, not to luſt after Dreames and Fantaſies of the Deuills Inuention, but, while wee haue the Light, to walke as becommeth the Children of Light; to keepe our ſelues true and faithfull Subiects to her by whome wee enioy the Light; and to pray to God to bleſſe her and vs all to continue in the Light. *Amen.*

I will ſette downe one Diſcourſe more, of an other like Myracle, done in an other of their Vautes, and then I will trouble you no longer with ſuche friuolous and fooliſhe Stuffe; which I will declare euen in the ſame Manner as a Prieſt of theyrs, as yet not taken, yet he is heere in *Englande*, told me, when he, I, and two of the Schollers more went into the ſayd Vaute.

Without *Rome*, about the Diſtaunce of halfe a Mile from the Cittie, there is a huge great Vaute, which they call S. *Priſcillaes* Grote; and within this Vaute there is a great many of ſeuerall Places, turning one this Way, an other that Way, as, in one Street, there may be diuers Streetes and Lanes turning euery Way; ſo that, when they goe into this Vaute, they tye the End of a Line at the Going in, and ſo goe on by the Line, elſe they might chaunce to looſe them ſelues, and ſo miſſe of their Comming out againe: Or elſe, if they haue not a Line, they take Chalk with them, and make Figures at euery Turning, that, at their Comming againe (being guided by Torch Light, for Candles will go out with the Dampe in the Vaute) they make Accompt, tyll they get foorth; but this is not ſo ready a Way, as by the Line.

One Day I was deſirous to ſee this Vaute; for my Fellowe, *Thomas Nowell*, in the Companye of the Ieſuites and the Schollers, had beene therein, and, I lying ſicke in my Bed, bothe he and they made ſuch a glorious Reporte thereof to me, what a heauenly Place it was, what a Number of Saintes and Martirs had beene buried there, and what precious Reliques was dailie found there, that I very much deſired to ſee the Thing, whereto they gaue ſuch an admirable Praiſe; for, in ſooth, my Fellowe was euen all one with them; his Company was required of euery one, and he as lewde in Speeches againſt his Countrey, as the beſt; ſo that I was eſteemed I can not tell howe; they woulde not miſdoubte me, for my Parents Sake, and yet they woulde giue me many ſhrewd Nips: As, when they demaunded any Thinge of me as concerning our gracious Princeſſe, or any of her honorable Councell, I ſhoulde aunſwer, Her Maieſtie, God bleſſe her; or, The Right Honorable ſuch a noble Man, of whome theyaſked me; whereat they woulde checke me very much for Vſing any Reuerence in Naming her Maieſtie, or any of the Lords of her honorable Councell.

And this I may ſay boldly, for that it is true, as God is my Witneſſe: That, in all the Time I was with them, I neither offered Motie of miſordred or vndecent Speech, either of her Maieſtie, nor any noble Man in the Court; no, nor ſo much as thought yl of any of them, notwithſtanding the Wordes they vſed, ſufficient, had not God ordred all my Dooinges, to haue moued a more ſtayed Man then my ſelfe to an Error. I appeale to God, whoe knoweth I ſette downe nothing but Trueth, and to him that is my cheefeſt Enimie, if he can iuſtlie reporte otherwiſe by me; for, I thanke God, albeit I were ſo farre from my Countrey, he gaue me the Grace to conſider I was a Subiect, and I was bound by Duetie to regard and honour my Prince, ſo long as I liued. And, becauſe my Aduerſaries obiect againſt me, That I wente to Maſſe,

and helped the Prieſt my ſelfe to ſay Maſſe; ſo that, ſay they, Whoe is worſt? I am as euill as he. I aunſwer, I did ſo in deede; for he, that is in *Rome*, eſpeciallie in the Colledge amonge the Schollers, muſt liue as he may, not as he will: Fauour comes by Conformitie, and Death by Obſtinacie.

Theſe raſhe Heades, being in *Englande*, woulde doe manie goodly Matters at *Rome*; they woulde tell the Pope of his laſciuious and vnchriſtian Lyfe; the Cardinals, of their Sodomiticall Sinnes; the Fryers, of their ſecrete Iugling with the Nunnes; and the Prieſtes, of their painted Purgatorie, their Wafer God, and their counterfait Blood in the Challice: All theſe they woulde doe, nowe they are in *Englande*; but I doubte, if they were at *Rome*, and beheld the mercileſſe Tiranny executed on the Members of Chriſte, God hauing not endued them with the Spirite of Perſeueraunce to ſuffer and abide the like (for, What can this fraile Carkaſe endure, if God doe not ſay, *I will, that thou ſhalt ſuffer this?*) I feare me, they woulde be as ready to doe any Thinge for the Safegard of their Liues, as I was: You may note a ſpeciall Example, in thoſe our Countreymen lately executed, That neither theyr Cauſe was eſteemed of God, nor perfectly perſwaded in themſelues, yet they woulde die in a Brauerie, to be accompted Martirs at *Rome*; and, in the Middeſt of their Brauerie, all the World might note their falſe and faint Hearts.

Sherwood, he ranne downe the Ladder, when Death ſhould areſt him, hauing killed one of his Fellowe Papiſts. *Campion*, their glorious Captaine, he looked dead in the Face, ſo ſoone as he ſaw the Place of Execution, and remained quaking and trembling vnto the Death. *Shert* woulde haue the People thinke he feared not Death, and yet he catched hold on the Halter, when the Cart was drawn away. *Kirbie*, quaking when he felt the Cart goe away, looked ſtyll how neere the End of it was, till he was quite beſide. And *Cottom*, diſmaying, died trembling, and in great Feare. Theſe are the Martirs of the *Romiſh* Church, not one of them patient, penitent, nor endued with Courage to the Extremitie of Death; but diſmaying, trembling, and fearfull, as the Eye Witneſſes can beare me Recorde. We may therefore well know, that a good Cauſe doth animate the Martir, which belongeth to God; let *Rome*, Heli, and all the Deuilles ſet themſelues againſt vs, they can touch vs no farther then God will ſuffer them. As S. *Laurence*, being broyled on the Gredyron, to witneſſe the inuincible Courage wherewith God had endued him, he ſayde, *Thou Tiraunt, this Side is roaſted enough, turne the other.* And Saint *Iſidore* likewiſe ſayde to the Tiraunt: *I knowe thou haſt no farther Power ouer me then my God will ſuffer thee from aboue.* But now to our Matter.

As I haue ſayde, through the great Reporte they made of this Vaute, one of the Prieſtes, two of the Schollers and I tooke with vs a Line, and two or three great Lightes, and ſo went to this aforeſayde Vaute: We going alonge, in farther and farther, there we ſawe certaine Places, one aboue another, three and three on either Side, during a great Way in Length; and theſe Places, they ſayde, to be ſome of them the Graues of perſecuted Saintes and Martirs, where they hid themſelues in the Time of the cruell Emperours of *Rome*, and there they died.

Proceeding on forwarde, wee came to an olde Thinge like an Aultar, whereon, in olde and auncient Painting, which was then almoſt clean worne out, was Chriſt upon the Croſſe, and our Lady, and S. *Iohn* by him; there the Prieſt ſayde, S. *Peter* S. *Paule*, and many other Saintes, had ſayde Maſſe to the Chriſtians that hid themſelues there. And beſides this, quoth he, there chaunced not many Yeeres ſince, a poor Man of the Cittie to come into this Vaute, and, when he was come ſo farre as this Aultar, the Light he carried in his Hand ſuddenlie went out, ſo that he was forced to ſit downe, and ſtay heere.

He being thus without any Light, and ignoraunt of the Way to gette out againe, fell in Prayer to our Lady, who preſentlie appeared to him, hauing about her little Angells, holding burning Lampes in their Handes, wherethrough the Place was illumined verie glorioufſlie. And there ſhe queſtioned with him and he with her, about many and holy religious Matters; then ſhe, departing, left him, there accompanied with Angells, ſo that he remained there ten Dayes, at the End whereof he came foorth, and went and told the Pope what he had ſeene, for which, when he died, he was canonized a Saint; and in this Order ariſe many of the *Romiſh* Saintes.

As for the Pilgrimage to Saint *Iames* in *Gallitia*, it is a Thing that is vſuallie frequented

all

all the Yeere, by ſuche a Number of People, as you woulde ſcanthe judge; among whome diuers of our *Engliſhmen* be ſo holie, that they will not ſticke to beare them Company. There, they ſay, lyeth the Bodie of Saint *Iames* the Apoſtle; and there is the Cock that crowed when *Peter* denied *Chriſt*; ſome of the Heaire of our Ladies Head; certaine of the Thornes of the Crown of Thornes; the Napkin that was about Chriſtes Head in the Graue; certaine Droppes of his Blood; a Peece of the Croſſe whereon he was crucified, and a Number ſuch like Reliques, which are honoured and worſhipped, as if they were God him ſelfe.

Then one of the cheefe Pilgrimages is to a Place called *Santa Maria di Loreto*, where within is an old little Brick Roome, which they name to be the Houſe our Lady dwelt in: There is the Image of our Lady all in Golde and Siluer; the Houſe rounde about her beſet with Challices of Golde and Siluer, which are Oblations and Offerings of diuers Pilgrimes, that come in whole Companies thither. And before her is a great barred Cheſt of Yron, wherein they throw Money to our Lady, by whole Goblets ful at once. Within this little Houſe there is an Aultar made right before our Lady, and there is ſayde euery Day fortie or fiftie Maſſes, whereat the People will throng in great Heapes, to gette into the Houſe, for they thinke themſelues happie, if our Lady haue once ſeene them. And all the Churche is likewiſe hung with Pictures, Tapers, and Waxe Candles, which are the Vowes of the Pilgrimes to our Lady. I haue hearde of ſome whoe, by the Counſaile of their ghoſtly Father, haue made Money of all their Houſhold Stuffe, and haue come fiue or ſixe hundreth Miles bare Foote and bare legged, to giue it all to our Lady there; meane while the holy Father hath had Liberty to playe with the Mans Wife at, *&c.* In all my Life I neuer ſawe a Place more frequented with People then this is dailie, only for the admirable Myracles that be doone there. Some haue come thither for the Eye Sighte; and, when they were there, they coulde ſee a little, as they ſay, but they haue come away ſtarke blind as they were before. A Man came thither, being greeuouſly wounded on the Sea by his Enemies; and, after he had ſeene our Lady, he went to the Hoſpitall, and within a Quarter of a Yeere after, at the fartheſt, the Chirurgeons had healed him. When he was well againe, he went and hung vp his Picture, in the Church, that he was healed of his Hurte, ſo ſoone as he looked vppon our Lady. Diuers haue beene brought thither in theyr Beds, ſome being ſicke, ſome wounded, or otherwiſe diſeaſed; and there they were ſette before our Lady, looking when ſhe ſhoulde ſaye, *Take vp thy Bed and walke.* And becauſe ſhe coulde not intend to ſpeake to them, being troubled with ſo many other Suters. They haue beene carried to the Hoſpitall, and there they haue beene either buried or cured; then ſuch, as recouer theyr Health, muſt go ſet vp their Picture in the Church, how that the very Looking on our Lady hath holpen them. Sundry other Myracles, doone by our Lady of *Loreto*, I could rehearſe, but they be ſo ſtraunge, that no wiſe Body will care for the Hearing them; neuertheleſſe, the Pope findes her a good ſweete Lady of *Loreto*, for the Pilgrimage to her encreaſeth his Treaſure many Thouſandes in a Yeere.

To *Mount Faulcon* there is an other Pilgrimage to ſee the Body of S. *Clare*, which was buried I knowe not how many hundred Yeeres agoe, and yet the Body remayneth whole and ſounde, without any Periſhing of Bone or Skinne. I haue beene at this Place, and ther, in a long ritch Tabernacle of Glaſſe, lyeth, as they ſay, the ſame Bodie of S. *Clare*; the Handes and Feete are to be ſeene, which I can aptly compare to the Manner of the Anatomie, whereon the Chirurgeons ſhewe euery Yeere their Cunning; as for any Fleſhe, there is none to be ſeene but the bare Bones, and withered Sinues, which, being kept ſo brauely as that is, ſtanding ſtill at one Place, and neuer mooued, I iudge will continue a great While; and truelie I take it to be ſome Anatomie, as diuers others haue doone, that haue ſeene it as well as I. The whole Body, if there be any, is couered with a Gowne of blacke Veluet, and the Head couered, ſo that none can ſee it. There lyeth by her a Thing which, they ſay, was her Heart, which being cleft a ſunder in the Middeſt: The whole Torment and Paſſion of Chriſt was there in liuely Forme to be ſeene. Then there is likewiſe by her a Glaſſe of her Teares, that ſhe ſhed dailie in Remembraunce of the bitter Paſſion of our Sauiour; which Teares, they ſay, are as freſh and ſweet as they were on the firſt Day.

There

There are a Number other Pilgrimages, as to *Thurine*, to ſee the Winding Sheete wherein Chriſte was layde; wherein, as they ſay, he left the perfecte Image of his Body. This merueilous Relique is neuer ſhowen, but once in fourteene Yeeres; and then, to deceiue the People with the greater Auctoritie, there muſt ſixe Cardinalles come thither, and they muſte holde it Abroade, for euerye one to ſee it; no other but they may preſume to touche it. To *Paris*, to Saint *Dennis* in *Fraunce*, to *Peters*, and in a Number other Places, there be daily Pilgrimages, to ſee a Number ſuche lyke Reliques, as I haue declared before: All theſe helpe to vpholde the Pope, leaſt his Kingdome ſhould decaye, and ſo his vſurping Title be cleane worne out of Memorie.

But nowe you ſhall heare of a newe Proppe and Piller, wherewith the Pope is and will be merueilouſly ſtrengthened, that is riſen vp little more then two Yeares ſince; and, at this newe holy Place, is wrought Myracles of great Accoumpt. In the Yeere of our Lord 1580, about the Time of *Eaſter*, a certaine poore Man, one that ſawe the Simplicity of the People, howe apt they were to beleeve euery fained Inuention; he, being a ſubtill and crafty Fellowe, thought he would come in with ſome Deuiſe of his owne, whereby he might get a great deale of Money, and, beſides, be canonized for a Saint when he died.

He hauing concluded his Practiſe, with diuers other craftie Companions, as ſubtill as himſelfe, whoe ſhould maintaine all that he did deuiſe; fained himſelfe to dreame in his Bed, that a Viſion appeared vnto him, willing him to make cleane his Houſe, and to fall downe and reuerence an olde Picture of our Ladie, which ſtoode in his Houſe, when preſently there ſhoulde be merueilous Myracles accompliſhed there. His Companions noiſed this Abroade, adding thereto ſuch admirable Proteſtation of Speech, as euery one, that heard thereof, conceiued no ſmall Cauſe of Wondering. This aforeſaide Viſion appeared to this Man twiſe, all in one Manner, by which Time it was ſpreade Abroade ſufficientlie; ſo that, when it came the third Time, he did according as the Voyce badde him; he aroſe, made cleane his Houſe, and fell downe and worſhipped the Picture of our Ladie.

His Companions had ſome of them bound vp their Legs, and went on Croutches; ſome of them fained themſelues to be blind: So that they came no ſooner before our Ladie, but the Lame recouered his Legs, and the Blind his Sight. Then theſe few Croutches, that theſe counterfait Fellowes came withall, were hung vp by the Picture, and a Number more, to make the People beleeue that ſo many lame Folks were healed; and likewiſe the Report of the Blind that receiued their Sight: So that it was thoughte a merueilous Number were healed at this new found holy Place.

Upon this, the Reſort of People thither was truely incredible: Gentlemen would come thither, and there hang vp theyr Veluet Cloaks, as an Offering to our Ladie; Gentlewomen woulde come thither bare foote and bare legged, and there hange vp their Veluet Gownes, their Silke Gownes, with other coſtly Apparell, and go Home in their Peticoates. As for Money, Iewelles, and other Treaſure, daily offered there, it is moſt merueilous to ſee; for therewith they haue builded a verie faire Church where this Houſe ſtoode. When they ſawe they were growen ſo ritch, they made no Account of the olde Picture, wherewith all the aforeſaide Myracles were doone; but they erected a coſtly Aultar, and thereon made a ſumptuous newe Picture of our Ladie, which the People do dayly honour with merueilous Reſorte. This is faithfullie affirmed by one *Iohn Yonge*, an *Engliſhman*, whoe not long ſince came Home from *Rome*; and, while he was there, he well noted the Impudency of our *Engliſhmen*, in lauding and extolling this Place, and the Myracles there wrought; ſo that they as certainlie beleeue in thoſe Myracles, as any Chriſtian doth in God.

This *Iohn Yonge* once queſtioned with one of the *Engliſh* Prieſtes, Why God did not as well ſuffer ſuche Myracles to be wroughte by his Sonne *Ieſus Chriſt*, as altogether by our Ladie? Whereto the Prieſt aunſwered, Becauſe among the Heretiques they vſe little or no reuerend Regard to our Ladie, but rather diſpiſe and contemne her; therefore it is the Will of God, to witneſſe the Power and heauenlye Auctoritie ſhe hath, by theſe and many ſuche Myracles, bothe heere and in diuers other Places, rather then by his Sonne Chriſte. Heere may euerye good Chriſtian beholde the horrible Abuſes, vſed among this ſathanicall Crew: Their Pilgrimages, their Reliques, and all their craftie Inuentions, it is to be merveiled, that People will be ſo fonde as to beleeue.

As for the Nayles wherewith our Sauiour was nayled on the Croſſe, it is euidently regiſtred by learned Writers, that they were no more in Number then Three; yet I am ſure, in *Rome*, there is aboue a Dozen Nayles diſpearſed there through diuers Churches, and they are not aſhamed to ſaye, that with euery one of thoſe Nayles Chriſte was nayled upon the Croſſe.

And for thoſe three Nayles, wherewith Chriſte was nayled on the Croſſe, *Platina* recordeth, that Queene *Helena*, the Mother of *Conſtantine* the Emperour, ſearching in the Ground, by Chaunce found the Croſſe whereon Chriſt was crucified, and wherein the Nayles were ſtill ſticking; for which Cauſe ſhe builded there a Temple in the ſame Place, where ſhe founde the Croſſe. All theſe Nayles ſhe gaue to her Sonne *Conſtantine*, which he beſtowed in this Order: One of them he cauſed to be faſtened in the Bridle of his Horſe, whereon he rode to the Warres; an other he made to be wrought into his Helmet, in the Place where he ſet his Plume of Feathers; and the third he vſed to carrie about with him, till on a Time, he ſayling on the *Hadriaticum* Sea, a Tempeſte aroſe, ſo that the Sea waxed verie rough; wherevpon he caſt the Nayle therein, to aſſwage the Rage thereof.

Thus haue you hearde, what became of the three Nayles, wherewith our Sauiour was nayled on the Croſſe; and yet it may be, that the Nayle, which *Conſtantine* threwe into the Sea, according as *Ambroſe* dooth likewiſe affirme it was, tooke vppon it the Nature of a Fyſh, and ſpawned a great manye of other Nayles, whereof thoſe may be ſome, that are held for ſuch holy Reliques.

And becauſe you ſhall not doubt, whether this be the Opinion of *Platina*, or no: I will heere ſet downe the Wordes, according as they are in his Woorkes: *Platina in vitis Pontificum, & in vita Silueſtri primi Anno* 339, *ab vrbe condita*, 1191. *Helena vero, ædificato eo in loco templo vbi Crucem repererat, abiens clauos, quibus Chriſti corpus Cruci affixum fuerat, ſecum ad filium portat. Horum vnum ille in frænos equi tranſtulit, quibus in prælio vteretur; alio pro cono galeæ vtebatur: tertium in mare Hadriaticum (vt ait Ambroſius) ad compeſcendas ſæuientis maris procellas deiecit.*

Biſhop *Iewel*, Biſhop of *Saliſburie*, preaching at *Paules* Croſſe, in the Beginning of her Maieſties Raigne, tooke Occaſion, by his Text, to entreat of a Company of the Popiſh Reliques; where among, he named the Nayles, that nayled Chriſte on the Croſſe, what a Company the Papiſtes had of them; two in one Place, two in an other, and heere one, and there an other; ſo that he coulde recken to the Number of Seauenteene, that they had. And then he tolde how, at a Viſitation in his Dioceſſe, he found a Nayle at a Gentlemans Houſe, which the Gentleman and diuers of his Friendes did reuerence for one of the Nayles, wherewith Chriſt was nayled on the Croſſe; from him he tooke it, and ſayde: I haue alreadie reckned Seauenteene in diuers Places, and this the Eighteenth, which he pulled foorth, and ſhewed it to all the People. This is the Merchandize of *Rome*; from Repoſing any Credite in them, or him that is the Capitoll Maiſter of them, Good Lorde deliuer vs.

CHAP. VI.

The Manner of the Diſſention in the Engliſh *Colledge, betweene the* Engliſhmen *and the* Welſhmen; *the Baniſhment of the* Engliſhmen *out of* Rome, *and the Popes Sending for them againe, with other Matters worthy the Reading.*

HAUING promiſed before in my Booke, to rehearſe after what Manner the *Engliſhmen* and *Welſhmen* fell at Variaunce in the Colledge: I thoughte good to driue off the Time no further, but euen heere to ſette downe howe, and in what Sort, it was: The Pope, when he erected the Colledge, gaue it the Name of the *Engliſh* Colledge, ſo that he ſuppoſed the *Welſh* and *Engliſh* to be all one, in that they came all out of one Countrey, allowing them his Liberallitye together. Nowe, in deede, there are ſundrye *Welſh* Doctors in *Rome*, whoe haue been longeſt, and of greateſt Familiarity with the Cardinall *Morone*, whoe was the Protector of the *Engliſh* Colledge, to whome likewiſe he allowed greateſt Fauour; ſo that, imboldning

boldning themſelues vpon him, the *Welſhmen* woulde be Lordes ouer the *Engliſhmen*, and vſe them according as they thought good.

Doctor *Morris* being a *Welſhman*, and *Cuſtos* of the Hoſpitall or Colledge, would allow his owne Countreymen greater Preheminence then *Engliſhmen*; which, in deede, they began to ſtomacke, and woulde not eſteeme him for their Gouernour, but rather ſoughte to haue the Ieſuites to rule them, by whome they applyed their Studies, and, beſide, they woulde be indifferent Men on either Parte.

When I had beene there a prettie While, I knowe not howe Doctor *Morris* conceiued Anger againſt me, but he woulde not ſuffer me to tarry any longer in the Colledge. As for my Fellowe, his Sincerity in theyr Religion was ſuch, his naturall Diſpoſition ſo agreeable with theyrs, and euery Thing he did eſteemed ſo well, that Doctor *Morris* woulde ſuffer him willingly to remayne there, but he coulde not abide me in any Caſe.

The Schollers vnderſtanding this, as well they that bare me Affection, as they that made leaſt Accompt of me, agreede to take my Parte, ſaying, That, if Doctor *Morris* woulde put euerye *Engliſhman* he thought good on out, in ſhort Time the Colledge woulde be all *Welſhmen:* So they badde me ſticke to them, and, if I went awaye, they woulde go awaye too.

Beſide, they mooued a certaine Speech amongſt them ſelues, That if I were not receiued into the Colledge amongſt them, and vſed, in euerye Reſpecte, according as they were; when I returned into *Englande*, being knowne to come from *Rome*, I might be compelled to tell the Names of them that were there, and what Conference I had among them, ſo that their Parents and Freendes ſhoulde be diſcouered, and themſelues be knowne againſt their Comming into *Englande*. To auoyde, therefore, any ſuche Doubte, untyll they had me ſworne to Prieſthoode, they woulde keepe me there, and then I ſhoulde be as deepe in any Matter as they.

When I perceiued the Scope of theyr Deuiſe, I behaued my ſelfe more frowardly to Doctor *Morris* then euer I did before; euerye Thinge that I hearde of him I tolde unto the Schollers, and tarried there, Dinner and Supper, in Spight of his Noſe: Wherevpon, he went and complayned to Cardinall *Morone*, How the Schollers vſed nò Regarde to him, being the Rector, but maintained one lately come foorth of *Englande*, both to ſcorne at him, and to offer him too much Abuſe.

This being come to the Schollers Eare, and howe on the next Day they muſt appeare before the Cardinall, they determined with them ſelues all one reſolut Opinion, which was, That Doctor *Morris* ſhoulde be Rector ouer them no longer, but the Ieſuites that were kept in the Houſe for the Profite of their Studies, and vpon this they would all ſtand, denying any Rectorſhip to Doctor *Morris*.

On the Morrowe, they were ſente for before the Cardinall *Morone*, where they founde Doctor *Morris* and Doctor *Lewes*, they hauing made ſounde theyr Tale before they came.

When they were come into the Preſence of the Cardinall, and my ſelfe with them, theſe, or the very like Speeches, he vſed vnto vs in *Latine:*

'You *Engliſhmen*, what meaneth this great 'Diſobedience, and vnciuill Behauiour you vſe 'in your Colledge? Maiſter Doctor *Morris*, a 'Man of auncient Time, and well eſteemed 'heere in the Citty, being appointed to be your 'Rector, and to gouerne you in good Order, 'as a great While he hath done; you, contrarie 'to Loue and Dutie, behaue your ſelues rediculouſly againſt him, and, neither reſpecting his Credite and Countenaunce, nor your 'owne Honeſtie, determine a Mutenie or Tumulte among your ſelues. What is the Cauſe 'of this? You are ſente for to manifeſt it: 'Wherefore let me heare howe you can excuſe 'this Blame layd againſt you?'

Maiſter *Sherwin*, whoe was executed with *Campion*, being there eſteemed a ſinguler Scholler, bothe for his Eloquence, as alſo his Learning, made Aunſwere for them all after this Manner:

'I truſt, my gracious Lorde, by that Time 'you haue hearde the good Cauſe wee haue to 'ſtirre in this Matter, you will neither be ofended at our Proceeding, nor diſpleaſed with 'vs, the Cauſe tending to your owne Honor: 'It is not vnknowne to you, that the Colledge, or Hoſpitall, which, by the gracious 'Prouidence of our deere Father, the Popes 'Holineſſe, wee enioye our Abiding in at this 'Preſent, hath beene alwayes allowed ſuch a

'ſufficient Stipende, that one ſhoulde not be 'better then an other, or excell his Fellowe in 'common Behauiour.

'This moſt godly and holy appointed Eſtate 'wee bothe haue beene, and at this preſent are, 'content to obeye; but, when he that is Head 'ſhall fayle in his Duetie, and vrge an Incon-'uenience among a quiet Aſſemblie; no Mer-'uaile if the Worme turne, being trodden vp-'pon, and wee ſpeake, being vſed with too 'much Spight.'

'Maiſter Doctor *Morris*, whoſe Age wee re-'uerence, and obey the Title of his Auctho-'ritye, dealing with vs ſo vnfreendly as he 'dooth, wee can hardly beare it, much leſſe a-'bide it: For, where his Office dooth com-'maund him to deale both iuſt and vprightly, 'and to vſe no Partiallitye to either for Fa-'uour or Alliaunce; he dooth not onely abuſe 'the Credite of his Auctoritye, but alſo mali-'ciouſlye deale with vs, who haue not ſo much 'as vſed any euill Thought againſte him.

'When any *Engliſhman* commeth to the Hoſ-'pitall, if his Learning be neuer ſo good, or 'his Behauiour neuer ſo decent, except he be 'pleaſed, he ſhall not be entertained; but, if 'a *Welſhman* come, if he be neuer ſo vilde a 'Runnagate, neuer ſo lewde a Perſon, he 'can not come ſo ſoone as he ſhall be wel-'come to him; whether he haue any Learn-'ing, or no, it maketh no Matter, he is a '*Welſhman*, and he muſt be permitted. Then 'which of vs hath the beſt Gowne, he muſt 'receiue one that is all ragged and torne, and 'the newcome *Welſhman* muſt haue the beſt, 'becauſe he is the *Cuſtos* Countreyman; and 'many Nightes he muſt haue the *Welſhman* in 'his Chamber, where they muſt be merry at 'their good Cheere, wee glad to ſitte in our 'Studies, and haue an ill Supper, becauſe M. 'Doctor waſteth our Commons vppon his 'owne Countreymen; ſo that wee muſt be 'content with a Snatch and a way.

'If there be one Bede better then an other, 'the *Welſhman* muſt haue it; if there be any 'Chamber more handſome then an other, the '*Welſhman* muſt lodge there; in breefe, the 'Thinges of moſt Account are the *Welſh-'mans* at Commande.

This maketh many of vs to wiſhe our ſelues '*Welſhmen*, becauſe wee would gladlie haue 'ſo good Prouiſion as they, and, being Coun-'treymen to our *Cuſtos*, wee ſhoulde be all 'vſed alike, excepting Maiſter Doctors Ne-'phew, *Morganus Clenokus*; he muſt be in his 'Silke, though all the reſt goe in a Sacke.

'To mittigate, therefore, all Inconueni-'ences, that neither the *Engliſhmen* ſhall be 'diſpiſed, nor the *Welſhmen* contemned, wee 'deſire, that the Ieſuites in our Colledge 'may receiue the Rectorſhip; they labour 'for the Profite of our Studies, and they, 'being none of our Nation or Countrey, will 'ſee Equitie vſed to either Side; ſo our Diſ-'corde ſhall be quietlie reformed, our Col-'ledge a great deale better gouerned, our 'ſelues be encouraged to imploy vs more wil-'lingly to our Studies, and wee ſhall iointlye 'liue together in Quietnes: Where other-'wiſe our Emulation ſhall be knowne at 'Home in our owne Countrey, how wee fall 'at Variaunce heere, and can not agree; and 'then ſhall our Names be knowne, our Pa-'rentes and Freendes openlie diſcouered; then, 'what the Ende will be, I leaue to your ho-'norable Iudgement.'

When the Cardinall had heard this Diſ-courſe (being greatly affected to Doctor *Mor-ris*, thorowe his long Abiding in *Rome*) he woulde not graunt, that he ſhoulde be put from his Office, but bad them departe Home againe, and ſhewe them ſelues obedient to the Rector, that bothe the Pope and him ſelfe had appointed, promiſing, if he hearde any more Diſturbaunce, he woulde enforme the Pope of it; which ſhoulde be but ſmall to their Pro-fite.

So, the Cardinall not minded to heare them any longer at that Time, they departed Home to the Colledge, greatlie offended with them ſelues, that they had ſped no better. And nowe I muſt out of the Colledge, there was no Remedie; but yet, thorowe Entreatie of the Ieſuites, I had Leaue, for a Fortnight, to lye in a verie ſweete Chamber, filled with olde ruſtie Yron; and all the Traſhe of the Houſe was put into that Chamber, being a vacant Place, and ſeruing for no other Purpoſe, be-cauſe it was next to the common Houſe of Office, which ayred the Chamber with ſo ſweete a Perfume, that, but for Names Sake of a Chamber, and Feare of catching ſome Diſeaſe, I had rather haue lyen in the Streete among the Beggers. Well, froward as I was, ſo was I frowardlie ſerued; which, I thinke, Doctor *Morris* did, onelie to tame my Youth-fulneſſe; for in this Place, not long before my

Comming

Comming to *Rome*, there laye one tormented with a Deuill, and ſo diſtraught of his Wittes, that they were fayne to binde him there in his Bed.

So Doctor *Morris*, ſeeing I vſed my ſelfe bothe careleſſe of them, and with little Regarde to theyr Religion, yet in ſuche an Order, as they coulde haue ſmall Aduauntage of me, chambred me there, where I thinke the Deuill was ſtill left; for, euery Night, there was ſuche a Coyle amonge the olde Yron, ſuche Ratling and Throwing downe the Boordes, that, with the ſweete Smell came out of the Counting Houſe to my Bedes Head, I laye almoſte feared out of my Witts, and almoſte choked with that pleaſant Perfume; ſo that, when I was layde in my Bede, I durſte not ſtirre, till it was fayre broade Day, that I might perceiue euerye Corner of my Chamber, whether the Deuill were there, or no.

Euery Morning, the Prieſtes and the Schollers woulde come to viſite me, giuinge me Money to ſende for my Dinner and Supper into the Towne, becauſe Doctor *Morris*, mine olde Freend, watched them ſo neere, that I coulde not haue ſo much as a Draught of Wine in the Houſe. Then I tolde them of the Noyſe, that was euerye Nighte in my Chamber, when they verily beleeued, that the Deuill, hauing poſſeſſed a Woman on the farther Side of the Garden, did euerye Nighte take vp his Lodgeing in my Chamber among the olde Yron.

Wherefore, one Nighte, two of the Prieſtes came to hallow my Chamber, and brought their holye Water and their holye Candles, and ſprinckled about in euerye Corner, giuing me alſo a Pot of holye Water to hang by my Bedes Side, that, when I heard the Sturre againe, I ſhoulde, with the Sprinckling Bruſh, throwe it about the Chamber: And they gaue me a Payre of Beades, whereon I ſhoulde ſay ſixe *Pater Noſters* and *Auie Mariaes*; then, they woulde warraunt me, the Noyſe woulde be gone ſtraight way.

Nighte came, and, ſupping ſo well as I coulde, with two *Quatrines* Woorth of Leekes, one *Quatrine* beſtowed in *Ricott*, which is hard Cruds to make Cheeſe, a *Baiock* in Bread, and a *Dente Boccale* of the *Vine Romaneſco*, wherewith I ſupped ſo well as I might, albeit not ſo well as I woulde; yet a little Thinge ſerues to quench Hunger. I had not beene in my Bed full an Hower and an Halfe, not daring to ſleepe for Feare, nor keepe my Head out of the Bed, becauſe of mine accuſtomed Ayre, but then began the Noyſe againe, more vehement then the Nighte before; the olde Yron was flung about the Chamber; the Boordes, that leaned againſt the Wall, fell downe; and ſuch a terrible Coyle there was, that I thought the Houſe woulde haue fallen on my Head.

Then I put foorth my Hand to throwe the holye Water about, which did as much Good, as the Thinge is good of it ſelfe; which ſet me in ſuch a Chafe, that, to make vp the Muſique among the olde Yron, I ſent the Pot and the holye Water with as much Force as I coulde. As for my Beades, I was ſo impatient with my ſelfe, that I gaue them the Place which they beſt deſerued; and then I called to olde Sir *Robert*, a *Welſh* Prieſt, who lay in a prettie Chamber harde by; but, before he woulde come, the Noyſe was indifferently pacified; for he, comming with a Candle in his Hand, which he vſed to keepe alight in his Chamber, and being in Haſte, fell ouer a Stone Threſhold, that lay in his Way, ſo that he burſt his Knee very ſore, and coulde not light his Candle againe in the Space of an Howre; by which Time all was quiet.

The Feare, I tooke at this Noyſe, brought me to be very weake and ſickly, ſo that I was very vnwilling to lye there any longer; but Doctor *Morris*, I thanke him, was ſo gentle to me, that he ſayde, and if I liked not my Lodging, Goe hardly, quoth he, and lye in the Streete, for that Place is more meete for thee, then any Roome in the Houſe.

Howe I receiued theſe churliſhe Wordes, I leaue to your Iudgmentes; but it ſuffiſeth: I gaue him my Bleſſinge, and, if I coulde haue gotten him foorth of *Rome*, I woulde haue bounde him too.

On the nexte Daye, vppon an other Complainte of Doctor *Morris*, the Studentes were all ſent for againe before the Cardinall, who plainely ſayde to them, That, except they woulde liue in Quietneſſe one with another (becauſe there was one *Hugh Griffin*, a *Welſhman*, of a hote Nature, and he woulde many Times fal together by the Eares with ſome of the Schollers, that ſometime the Blood ranne about theyr Eares) lykewiſe that they ſhoulde confeſſe Doctor *Morris* for theyr rightfull

rightfull Rector, and to be obedient to what he appointed, or els to get them away out of *Rome*.

Well, Home they came againe, incenſed with ſuch Anger and Choller, that they were nowe more diſobedient, then before, ſaying to Doctor *Morris*, That they woulde neuer conſent vnto him; and therefore prouided them ſelues to be packing out of *Rome*. Doctor *Morris*, thinking to bring them violentlie to his Bowe, enformed the Cardinall ſo ſeuerely againſte them, that they were ſent for the third Time, when he commaunded them to prouide them ſelues, for they ſhoulde ſtay no longer in the *Engliſh* Hoſpitall, but baniſhed them all from the Cittie.

When they were come to the Colledge, euerye Man truſſed vp his needefull Thinges, determining on the next Morning to depart: Then came Doctor *Morris* to me and my Fellowe, willing vs to ſtay, becauſe the other would be gon, and he would ſtande our Freende meruailouſly. Truſt me, no Sir, quoth I, ſince you woulde not ſtand my Freende, when I was in great Neede, nowe I mean not to receiue your Courteſie, when I care not for it; for, ſince the Students haue ſtoode my Freendes ſo much, and you mine Enemie ſo greatlie, I will beare a Share in theyr Trauell, howe euer I ſpeede. As for my Fellowe, ſince you haue loued him all this While, loue him nowe too if you pleaſe; and let him ſtay and doo what you thinke beſt, for I haue tolde you my Minde.

Well, on the Morrowe Morning wee went our Way, with Bag and Baggage, to an *Engliſh* Mans Houſe in the Cittie, and, as I remember, his Name was M. *Creede*; where, to make readie our Dinner, euerye Man tooke an Office vpon him; one to fetch Milke, and an other to make readie Rice for the Pottage, and ſome to make the Fyre; ſo that euerye one was imployed till our Dinner was diſpatched. Then they concluded to buie euery Man an Aſſe, to carrie his Bookes and his Clothes vpon; as for Money, there were Gentlemens Sonnes of ſuch Credite amongſt them, that Doctor *Moorton*, and the Gentlemen in the Cittie, would prouide them with as good as fiue-hundred Crownes quickelie. Within an Howre and a Half after Dinner, came Father *Alfonſo*, the Ieſuit of the *Engliſh* Colledge, whome the Students had choſen, and made Sute to be their Rector: He, I ſay, came running in ſuch Haſte, that he coulde hardly tell his Tale, becauſe he was almoſt out of Breath. But this was the Summe of his Newes, that the Popes Holineſſe had ſent for them in all Haſte, and they muſt delay no Time, but come to him with all Speede poſſible.

Then he went with them to the Popes Pallace, where comming into the Popes Chamber, and hauing euerye one kiſſed his Foote, wee ſtayde to attende what was his Pleaſure. But, before he ſpake any Worde, with a diſſembling and hipocriticall Countenaunce, he fell into Teares which trickled downe his white Beardes; and began in *Latin* with theſe or the verie like Wordes: O you *Engliſhmen*, to whome my Loue is ſuch as I canne no way vtter, conſidering that for me you haue left your Prince, which was your Duetie, and come ſo farre to me, which is more then I can deſerue; yet, as I am your Refuge when Perſecution dealeth ſtraightlie with you in your Countrey, by Reaſon of the hereticall Religion there vſed, ſo will I be your Bulwarke to defend you, your Guide to protect you, your Father to nouriſh you, and your Freende with my Hart Blood to doo you any Profite.

Beholde what Deceites the Deuill hath to accompliſh his Deſire! Teares, ſmooth Speeches, Liberallitie, and a thouſand Meanes, to make a Man careleſſe of God, diſobedient to his Prince, and more, to violate vtterlie the Faith of a Subiect: Theſe Teares that he ſhed, theſe Wordes that he ſpake, made diuers of them ſaye within themſelues, as one of them, for Example, preſentlie to me ſayde:

Oh ſinguler Saint, whoſe Life, Loue, and Liberallite, may be a Spectacle to the whole World. Whoe woulde liue in *England*, vnder the Gouernment of ſo vilde a *Iezabell*, and may reſt in Safety under the perfect Image of *Ieſus?* Whoe woulde not forſake Father, Mother, Freendes, Goods, yea, and the Life it ſelfe, to haue the bountifull Bleſſing of ſuch a prouident Father? The Pope, recouering his Health againe from his Weeping, cauſed this deuout Fellowe to ſtay his Talke, becauſe he began againe as thus:

What is the Cauſe that you will depart from me that haue ſo wel prouided for you, to thruſt your ſelues on the Rocke of your owne Deſtruction? Then Maiſter *Clayton* began, and tolde him all the Dealinges of Doctor *Morris* towards them, according as he had done before to the Cardinall, and how they woulde haue the Ieſuites for their Gouernours, for the

Cauſes

Cauſes before mentioned. Upon theſe Wordes the Pope ſtarted out of his Chayre, Why, quoth he, I made the Hoſpitall for *Engliſhmen*, and for their Sake haue I giuen ſo large Exhibition, and not for the *Welſhmen*. Returne to your Colledge againe, you ſhall haue what you will deſire, and any Thinge I haue in the World to doe you Good.

Then he commaunded one of the cheefe Gentlemen of his Chamber to goe with vs, and to certifie the Popes Minde to Doctor *Morris*; and ſo, giuing vs his Benediction, wee went all merrily went againe to the Colledge.

The Gentleman gaue Doctor *Morris* to vnderſtand he muſt be Rector no longer; the Ieſuite, named Father *Alfonſo*, whome the Schollers had choſen, muſt haue his Office; then were the Schollers glad that they had gotten the Victory of the *Welſhmen*.

On the Morrowe the Pope ſent four-hundred Crownes to newe reparation the Houſe, to buie the Students all needefull Thinges that they wanted, and the Houſe muſte no longer be called a Colledge but a Seminarye.

The Cardinall *Morone*, becauſe Doctor *Morris* ſhould not looſe all his Dignity, cauſed the Houſe to be parted, and ſo made both a Seminarye for the Students, and an Hoſpitall for the Entertainment of *Engliſh* Pilgrimes when they came, whereof Doctor *Morris* continued *Cuſtos* by the Popes Appoyntment.

Thus was the Striſe ended, and my ſelfe and my Fellowe admitted by the Popes owne Conſent to be Schollers there; but yet the Sicknes that I got, with Lying in my former Chamber, hung ſtill upon me, ſo that I was then remoued to a very fayre Chamber, where the Schollers everye Day would come and viſite me, vntill ſuch Time as I recouered my Health againe.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Carne Vale *in* Rome; *the Popes generall Curſſing on* Maunde Thurſdaie; *and the Manner of the* Flagellante *that Night.*

DUring the Time of *Shrouetide*, there is in *Rome* kepte a verie great Coyle, which they vſe to call the *Carne Vale*, which endureth the Space of three or fowre Dayes, all which Time the Pope keepeth him ſelfe out of *Rome*, ſo great is the Noyſe and Hurlie Burlie. The Gentlemen will attyre them ſelues in diuers Formes of Apparell, ſome like Women, other like *Turkes*, and euerye one almoſte in a contrarie Order of Diſguiſing: And either they be on Horſebacke, or in Coatches, none of them on Foote; for the People that ſtande on the Ground to ſee this Paſtime are in very great Daunger of their Liues, by Reaſon of the Running of Coatches and great Horſſes, as neuer in all my Life did I ſee the like Sturre.

And all this is done where the Courtizanes be, to ſhew them Delight and Paſtime; for they haue Couerlettes laid out at their Windowes, whereon they ſtande leaning forth, to receiue diuers Deuiſes of Roſewater, and ſweet Odours in their [illegible], which the Gentlemen will throwe vppe to their Windowes.

During this Time euerye one weareth a diſguiſed Viſor on his Face, ſo that no one knowes what or whence they be; and, if any one beare a ſecrete Malice to an other, he may then kill him, and no Body will lay Hands on him, for all this Time they will obey no Lawe. I ſawe a braue *Romaine*, who roade there very pleaſaunt in his Coatch, and ſuddenly came one who diſcharged a Piſtoll vpon him, yet no Body made any Accoumpt, either of the Murtherer, or the ſlaine Gentleman: Beſide, there were diuers ſlaine, both by Villany, and the Horſes or the Coatches, yet they continued on their Paſtime, making no Regard of them.

The firſt Day of their *Carne Vale*, the *Iewes* in *Rome* cauſe an Enſigne to be placed at the Capitoll, where likewiſe they appoint certaine Wagers at theyr owne Coaſtes, and then they run ſtarke naked from *Porta Populo* vnder the Capitoll for them, the which I iudge aboue a Mylo in Length. And, all the Way, they gallop their great Horſſes after them, and carie Goades with ſharpe Pointes of Steele in them: Wherewith they will pricke the *Iewes* on the naked Skin, if ſo be they doo not run faſter then their Horſes gallop, ſo that you ſhall ſee ſome of their Backes all on Gore Blood. Then he that is foremoſt, and ſooneſt commeth to the Capitoll, he is ſet on a Horſe Backe without

out any Saddle, one going before him carrying the Enſigne: But then you ſhall ſee a hundred Boyes, whoe haue prouided a Number of Orenges; they will ſo pelte the poore *Iewe*, that, before he can get vppe to the Capitoll, he will be beaten beſide his Horſe fowre or fiue Times.

The next Day there are certaine of the Chriſtians that runne naked likewiſe, but no Body purſueth them, either with Horſe or Coatch: And the Wager, they runne for, the *Iewes* muſt pay likewiſe. Then the Buffell and the Aſſe runneth, but it is vnpoſſible for me to tel all the Knauerie vſed about this: And therefore thus much ſhall ſuffice of the *Carne Vale*, letting you vnderſtand, that they, whoe were moſt knauiſhly diſpoſed in this Sport, on *Aſhwedneſday* came to take Aſhes in ſuch meeke Order, as though it had neuer beene they.

On *Maunde Thurſday*, the Pope commeth into his Gallery ouer S. *Peters*, ſitting in his Chayre wherwith he is caried on Mens Shoulders: And there he hath a great painted holie Candle in his Hand burning, when as a Cardinall on ech Side of him, the one in *Latin*, the other in *Italian*, ſingeth the Popes generall Malediction.

There he curſeth the *Turke*, and her Maieſtie, our moſt gracious Princeſſe and Gouerneſſe, affirming her to be farre wurſe then the *Turke*, or the cruelleſt Tirant that is. He curſeth likewiſe all *Caluenians*, *Lutherians*, *Zwinglians*, and all that are not according to his Diſpoſition. When he hath curſed all that he can, ſaying *Amen*, he letteth the Candle fall: When as the People will ſcramble for it, and euery one catch a little Peece if they can; yea, our *Engliſh* Men will be as buſie as the beſt, and one of them chaunced to get a Peece of the Waxe of the Candle, whereof he made ſuch a Bragging when he came to the Colledge, as you will not thinke, that he had got a Peece of the Candle, wherewith the Queene of *Englande* was curſed, and that he woulde keepe it ſo longe as he liued.

The ſame Night a Number of the baſeſt People, and moſt wicked Lyuers that be amongſt the People, gather themſelues together in Companies: As the Company of the *Holie Ghoſt*, the Company of *Charitie*, the Company of *Death* and ſuch like; euery Company their *Crucifix* before them, their Singers following them, on either Side a Number of burning Torches, and thus they goe all whipping themſelues.

Firſt they goe by into the Popes Pallace, and then downe in S. *Peters* Church, which is all adorned with a Number of Waxe Lightes: And there on the Toppe of an Aultar ſtandeth a couple of Cardinals, whoe ſheweth them the holie Handkercher, or *Vultus Sanctus*, which indeede is nothing but a liuely painted Picture, ouerſhadowed with a couple of fine Lawnes, and no Body muſt deſire to ſee it vncouered, becauſe, they ſay, no Body is able to endure the Brightnes of the Face; a Number haue ſeen it, and haue been the wurſe a great While after; and, all the While that both this and the Speare is ſhown, they will whip themſelues before them very greeuouſly, and giue a generall Clamor thorowe the Church: *Miſericordia*, *Miſericordia*, *Tu autem Domine miſerere nobis*: And this Order they continue almoſt the whole Night. This is the Glorie of the Pope, the Blindneſſe of the People, and the great Follie of our *Engliſh* Men, to bring themſelues within the Compaſs of ſuch wicked Order of Life.

God continue his louing and fatherlie Countenance ouer *Englande*, bleſſe and preſerue her Maieſtie, and her honourable Councell: And exerciſe vs all in Fere to him, Obedience to her, and faithfull continuall Looue to our Neighbours. *Amen.*

CHAP. VIII.

A true Report of the Chriſtian Suffering, and mercileſſe Martirdom of one Richard Atkins, Engliſh *Man, at* Rome: *Whoe, for the Trueth of the Goſpell, to the great Terrour of all the Beholders, endured the Extremity of the Torment, and cruell Agonie of Death, in the Yeere of our Lord* 1581.

ABout the Time of *Midſommer*, in the Yeere 1581, one *Richard Atkins*, a *Hartfordſhire* Man, came to *Rome*, and, hauing found the *Engliſh* College, he knocked at the Doore, when as diuers of the Students came to welcome him, knowing that he was an *Engliſh* Man.

Man. Among other Talke, they willed him to go to the Hoſpitall, and there to receiue his Meate and Lodging, according as the Order was appointed; whereto he aunſwered, I come not, my Countreymen, to any ſuch Intent as you iudge, but I come louingly to rebuke the great Miſorder of your Liues, which I greeue to hear, and pittie to be beholde. I come likewiſe to let your proud Antechriſt vnderſtand, that he doth offend the heauenly Maieſty, robbe God of his Honour, and poyſoneth the whole World with his abominable Blaſphemies: Making them homage Stockes and Stones, and that filthy Sacrament, which is nothing elſe but a fooliſh Idol. When they heard theſe Wordes, one *Hugh Griffin*, a *Welſh* Man, and a Student in the Colledge, cauſed him to be put in the Inquiſition: Where howe they examined him, and howe he aunſwered them, I knowe not; after certaine Dayes, he was ſette at Lybertie againe.

And one Day, going in the Streete, he met a Prieſt carrying the Sacrament; which offending his Conſcience, to ſee the People ſo croutch and kneele to it, he caught at it to haue throwne it downe, that all the People might ſee what they worſhipped. But, miſſing his Purpoſe, and, being iudged by the People that he did catch at the Holineſſe, that, they ſay, commeth from the Sacrament, vpon meere Deuotion, he was let paſſe, and nothing ſayde to him.

Few Dayes after he came to S. *Peters* Church, where diuers Gentlemen and other were hearing Maſſe; and the Prieſt, being at the Eleuation, he, uſing no Reuerence, ſtepped among the People to the Aultar, and threw down the Challice with the Wine, ſtriuing likewiſe to haue pulled the Cake out of the Prieſtes Handes. For which, diuers roſe vp and beate him with theyr Fiſtes, and one drew his Rapier, and would haue ſlaine him: So that, in Breefe, he was carried to Priſon, where he was examined, wherefore he committed ſuch an heinous Offence: Whereto he aunſwered, that he came purpoſely for that Intent, to rebuke the Popes Wickedneſſe, and theyr Idolatrie. Vpon this, he was condemned to be burned: Which Sentence, he ſayde, he was right willing to ſuffer, and the rather, becauſe the Sum of his Offence pertayned to the Glory of God.

During the Time he remained in Priſon, ſundry *Engliſhmen* came vnto him, willing him to be ſorie for that he had done, and to recant from his damnable Opinion: But all the Meanes they vſed were in Vaine; he confuted theyr Dealings by diuers Places of Scripture, and willed them to be ſorie for their Wickednes, while God did permit them Time, elſe they were in Daunger of euerlaſting Damnation: Theſe Wordes made the *Engliſhmen* depart, for they could not abide to heare them.

Within a While after, he was ſet vpon an Aſſe, without any Saddle, he being from the Middle vpwarde naked, hauing ſome *Engliſh* Prieſtes with him, who talked to him; but he regarded them not, but ſpake to the People in ſo good Language as he could, and tolde them they were in a wrong Way, and therefore willed them, for Chriſtes Cauſe, to haue Regard to the Sauing of theyr Soules.

All the Way as he went, there were fowre did nothing elſe, but thruſt at his naked Body with burning Torches; whereat he neither mooued, nor ſhrunke one Iote, but, with a cheerefull Countenaunce, laboured ſtill to perſwade the People; often bending his Body to meete the Torches as they were thruſt at him, and would take them in his own Hand, and hold them burning ſtyll vpon his Body, whereat the People not a little wondered: Thus he continued, almoſt the Space of halfe a Mile, tyll he came before St. *Peters*, where the Place of Execution was.

When he was come to the Place of Execution, there they had made a Deuiſe, not to make the Fire about him, but to burne his Legges firſt; which they did, he not diſmaying any whit, but ſuffered all meruailous cheerefullie, which mooued the People to ſuch a Quandary, as was not in *Rome* many a Day. Then they offered him a Croſſe, and willed him to embrace it, in Token that he dyed a Chriſtian: But he put it away with his Hand, telling them, that they were euyll Men, to trouble him with Paltrie, when he was preparing himſelfe to God, whome he beheelde, in Maieſty and Mercie, readie to receiue him into the eternall Reſt.

They, ſeeing him ſtyll in that Minde, departed, ſaying, Let us goe, and leave him to the Deuill whome he ſerues: Thus ended this faithfull Soldier and Martir of Chriſte, who is, no Doubte, in Glory with his Maiſter, whereto God graunt vs all to come. *Amen.*

This is faithfully auouched by the aforeſayde *Iohn Yonge*, who was at that Time, and a good

good While after, in *Rome*, in Seruice with Maiſter Doctor *Moorton*; whoe ſeeing the Martirdome of this Man, when he came Home to his Houſe, in Preſence of Maiſter *Smithſon*, Maiſter *Creed*, and the ſayde *Iohn Yonge*, his Seruant, ſpake as followeth: Surely, this Fellowe was meruailous obſtinate; he nothing regarded the good Councell was vſed to him, nor neuer ſhrunk all the Way, when the Torches were thruſt at his naked Body: Beſide, at the Place of Execution, he did not faint or cry one Iot in the Fyre, albeit they tormented him verie cruelly, and burned him by Degrees, as his Legges firſt, to put him to the greater Paine, yet all this he did but ſmile at. Doubtleſſe but that the Word of God can be but true, elſe wee might judge this Fellowe to be of God: For whoe could haue ſuffered ſo much Paine as he did? But truely I beleeue the Deuill was in him.

Beholde, good Reader, howe they doubte among themſelues, and, becauſe they will not ſpeake againſt their Maiſter the Pope, they infer the mighty Power of God vpon the Deuill: But he, no Doubte, one Day will ſcatter the Chaffe, and gather his choſen Corne into his Garner. That we may be of this good Corne, let vs defie the Pope, his helliſh Abominations; continue in our Duetie to God, faithfull Obedience to her Maieſtie, and Vnitie among us all as Brethren; and then, no Doubte, but we ſhall enter the Land of the Liuing, to our eternal Comfort and Conſolation.

Anthonie Munday.

A true and perfect Account of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Landing in the North of *Scotland*: With the Particulars of that whole Tranſaction. *London*, Printed, and are to be ſold by *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1685. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

SUCH are the reſtleſs Practices of thoſe Diſturbers of Government, the *Fanaticks*, and their Adherents, that, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's repeated Inſtances of Pardon and Indulgence, yet they continually endeavour to raiſe Commotions and Diſturbances, though to their inevitable Deſtruction, of which, in a late Account from *Scotland*, we ſhall particularly inform the Reader.

That by the laſt Poſt we have Advice, that three Ships of War, though but of ſmall Force, were diſcovered from off the Iſland of *Orcades*, in the North of *Scotland*, and touched at a Bay, and put two Spies a-ſhore, to diſcover the Poſture the Country was in, and whether it was convenient to make a Deſcent; but the Vigilancy of the Governor was ſuch, that the ſaid Perſons were ſeized and ſecured, who not returning at the Time appointed to their Ships, thoſe on Board found themſelves diſcovered, and thereupon thought it not convenient to land any Men there, but ſteered their Courſe farther Northwards; and, approaching to another Iſland of the *Orcades*, they landed forty Men in their Sloops, and, ſurpriſing a ſmall Village, ſeized upon, and carried away four of the chief Inhabitants, and brought them to their Ships, and then returned to the Iſland, which had taken two of their Men, ſending Word to the Governor, that, unleſs they would reſtore them the ſaid two Men, they would hang thoſe they had taken at the Yard-arm, and all others they ſhould hereafter ſeize, but were wiſely and valiantly anſwered, that the ſaid Governor feared them not; that, in caſe they offered any Violence to the ſaid Perſons, the like ſhould be returned upon the Earl of *Argyle*'s Lady, Brother, and Relations: And, as for the two Perſons taken, he would not reſtore them, but ſend them forward to *Edinburgh*, there to be tried and puniſhed according to their Demerit. They are now brought up before the Councell, and examined, and —— *Spence*, one of them, is found to be a hardened Sinner, one who had already undergone the Torture of the Boot, and has formerly had the Benefit of his Majeſty's moſt gracious

gracious Pardon. They are ſent Priſoners to the *Tolbooth*, and will ſuddenly be tried before the Lords of the Juſticiary, if the Parliament do not take Cogniſance hereof themſelves; and the Council forthwith ordered the Apprehending the Earl's Lady, Brother, and other Relations, by Way of Repriſal, they having certain Knowledge that the Earl of *Argyle*, with other fugitive Traitors, in the late horrid Conſpiracy againſt the King and Government, were a-board; but, God be praiſed, their preſent Deſigns are prevented, and the whole Kingdom put into ſuch a Poſture of Defence, that they need not fear the Malice of their Enemies; and it is hoped by this Time ſome of his Majeſty's Frigates, who went in Purſuit of them, have reached them, though they have taken a contrary Courſe, and ſailed towards the North of *Ireland*; but that Kingdom alſo is in a like Poſture of Defence, that they are not able to make any Deſcent there, they being ſo inſignificant in Number and Strength, unleſs they are infatuated with the frantick Notion of the Fifth Monarchy Men in *England*, *That one of them would chace a hundred, and a hundred a thouſand.* They diſplayed a blue Flag, with this Inſcription, *Pro Deo & Patria*, pretending for God and their Country; like the Rebels, in the late Times, that fought for King and Parliament, when their Deſign was to deſtroy both. This being a true Account of the whole Tranſaction, which I thought good to publiſh, to prevent the many falſe Reports about the ſame, and to defeat the Expectation of the Malicious, who cry up their Numbers to be many Thouſands, when they do not not make up an Hundred.

A Copy of a Letter ſent by *E. B.* an eminent Quaker in *London*, to the Pope at *Rome*, tranſmitted thence by Cardinal *Bromio*, to a Perſon of Quality in *England*. With a Copy of the Faculties granted to *John Locet*, *Engliſhman* and Prieſt at *Rome*, 1678, for *England*, *Scotland*, and all the King's Dominions, *Ireland* excepted. Printed in 1680. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

Friend,

I Am moved, at this Time, by the Spirit, to ſpeak to thee a few Words, which plainly proceed from the Light within, and may prove for thy Edification and Converſion; I will not revile thee, nor call thee Antichriſt, the Whore of *Babylon*, the Scarlet Whore, nor the Beaſt, the Dragon, or the Serpent, Titles frequently beſtowed on thee, and which if thou deſerveſt thou beſt knoweſt: But I come to thee in the Meekneſs, and the Words of Truth and Light, to ſpeak to thy Soul, as thou art a Man, and pretendeſt to have Lordſhip and Dominion over both the Souls and Bodies of Men. But by what Authority doſt thou uſurp the Title of *Papa*, Father of the whole Church of Chriſt? Who firſt conferred that Title on thee? Was it from above, or from Men? *Jeſus*, when he was on Earth, commanded *Peter* to feed his Sheep, and, as a Servant, to adminiſter to them; he gave them no Authority to ſlaughter them, or to fleece them, or to uſe any Tyranny towards them. Thou pretendeſt to ſit in *Peter*'s Seat; have a Care, I warn thee, that it be not Satan's Chair, for it is very doubtful if the Man *Peter* was ever at *Rome*, and it is for certain he never had any Authority there, and was neither Lord, Maſter, or Pope, but a Servant to the Servants of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which Title thou alſo owneſt in Words when in Deeds thou art as proud as *Lucifer*, and wouldeſt ſet thy Feet on the Necks of Kings and Princes, and proudly trample on the People of God. Thou pretendeſt to the Spirit, ſhew it by thy Works; to Infallibility, but thou haſt failed in thy Doctrine, and in thy Practices. I hold with thee, that the Spirit is to be the

Guide of the Saints, and that the Spirit is infallible, and can never be miſtaken; but it is not to be confined to thee, and to thy Cardinals; for, I tell thee, our Pope, *George Fox*, hath as much of the Spirit as thou haſt, and it is as infallible; and therefore thou oughteſt not to ingroſs it to thyſelf, ſince it is communicated to all the Children of God, and to all the Saints that obſerve and hearken to the Light within. But thou haſt done wickedly; thou and all thy Predeceſſors, for ſeveral Hundreds of Years, have been building a very *Babel* of Confuſion; thou haſt made Religion the Devil's Stalking-Horſe, to drive Souls into his Snares; thou haſt ſet up the Calves at *Dan*, and in the Mount; thou haſt polluted Religion with Idolatry, and made of it a mere Piece of Art, Policy, and Legerdemain; I tell thee plainly, thou haſt ſet up a pompous outward Religion, only full of gaudy Outſides, without any Truth or Sincerity, and without the Spirit, the Light, or the Life of God. Look, therefore, I adviſe thee, as a Friend and Brother, to the Light within thee, which ſhineth in thy Darkneſs, that will teach thee better Things; thou canſt not but ſee and know the Vanity of thy Religion, which thy Sons and thy Daughters follow; and thou thyſelf laugheſt at the Ignorance and Folly of moſt of thy Adherents and Followers, who zealouſly follow thy Dictates, without Sight or Knowledge. Thou acteſt againſt thy own Conſcience, and againſt Knowledge, and againſt Light, which is the Sin againſt the holy Spirit; and for this thou ſhalt be condemned, unleſs thou timely repent thee of, and reform thy Errors. It is to maintain thy Pride, thy Luſt, and thy Covetouſneſs, that thou ſtriveſt to kick againſt the Pricks, and to eſtabliſh thy Abominations in the Sight of the *Iſrael* of God; but the Day will come, and is even at Hand, that thou and thy *Iſhmaelites*, which are become the Sons of the Bond-woman of Sin, ſhall be caſt out into utter Perdition. Thou and thy gor-bellied Cardinals, that live like Princes, and fatten themſelves up in their abominable Luſts, againſt the Day of Slaughter, are very unlike the Apoſtles, and Diſciples of Chriſt, who taught and preached the Word with Pains, Care, and Travel, in Meekneſs and Poverty, from the true Light and Spirit ſhining within their Souls; and, were the Primitive Chriſtians on Earth again, to ſee the Shop of Confuſion, thou and thy Hierarchy have made out of their ſimple ſpun Thread, they would not be able to know or believe this to be any Part of the Religion they taught or begun, with ſo great Labour, Travel, Pains, and Martyrdom. Thus haſt thou made all their Labours of little or no Effect; and ſtill takeſt Care to keep poor Souls in the Snares of Sin, and in the Bonds of Ignorance. I tell thee plainly, thy Conſcience does witneſs againſt thee, and thou doſt ſee theſe Truths; but it is thy Pride that makes thee, Tyrant-like, to exerciſe Lordſhip and Dominion over others, and to maintain this Lordſhip and Tyranny; thou art fain to exerciſe cunning Arts and Policies of the carnal Man, and even to fly to the Subtleties of the Serpent, and the wicked one, leaving no Stone unturned to maintain thy Vanity, and to fulfil thy Luſts. Thou knoweſt well enough there is no Purgatory, ſuch as thou haſt invented to affright and delude poor ignorant People out of their Money; but the execrable Gain, which thou makeſt by Indulgencies, will not let thee reform that wicked and abominable Error. Thou alſo knoweſt the Vanity of Praying to Saints, and to carved Idols, expreſs againſt the *Word of God*.

Yet, becauſe of the Gain and Reputation theſe bring to thee, and the Means to delude the Ignorant, by falſe Miracles, and pretended Reliques, thou ſtill keepeſt it on Foot with all thy ridiculous Shews, Proceſſions, Jubilees, holy Water, Exorciſms, Altars, Copes, Mitres, Croſiers, Surplices, and other Trinkets, invented by the Devil and his Inſtrument, the vain Mind of ſubtle Man, to draw the Eyes and Ears, but not the Hearts of the Calviſh Multitude, who bleat after theſe Things, and underſtand them not. Thou knoweſt the Unnaturalneſs and Impoſſibility of thy breaden God's real Preſence, and yet, for the great Reſpect it begets to thee and thy Prieſts, with the Rabble of Monks, Friars, Nuns, Hermits, and ſuch like, thou ſtill moſt ſtifly, againſt Religion, Senſe, and Reaſon, maintaineſt that idle Opinion. Think therefore, before it be too late, of Repentance and Reformation; do the Work thoroughly. The Light hath formerly ſhined, with ſome Glimmering, in the Times of the *Albigenſes*, in *France*, and of *Wickliff* in *England*, and of *Jerom* and *Huſs* in *Prague*, and afterwards of *Luther* in *Germany*, they cauſed ſome Reformation from the groſſeſt of thy Superſtition, and Filthineſs of Idolatry; but yet too much of the Dreg remains, and the carnal-minded Man yet retains much of thy Pride, Vanity, [illegible] and Shew in their outward

ward Worſhip; and much of thy ambitious Lordſhip and Dominion; but we, the ſimple and harmleſs Sheep of God's Fold, called by the People, in Scorn, Quakers and Shakers, from the ſtrong Actuating of the Spirit within, have reformed ourſelves to the Pattern of the Apoſtles and Primitive Teachers and Preachers, and, being filled with the Spirit, ſpeak from the Light thereof. And from this Light I plainly write to thee, being ſtirred up to warn thee of the Wrath to come, and to tell thee, that, unleſs thou makeſt a thorough Reformation, according to our holy Pattern, and come into the Community of the Saints on Earth, thou ſhalt never have Communion with thoſe in Heaven. I am to denounce Judgment againſt thee, and thou ſhalt be overthrown, and thou ſhalt be ſcourged for thy abominable Practices againſt the People of *England*, in the Plottings, Underminings, Murthers, and wicked Contrivances of thy Ban-Dogs, that call themſelves *Jeſuits*, but are *Judaſſes*, that betray Kingdoms, and worry the People. Thy Time is but ſhort, and thy Reign of a few Days; for either the King of *France*, if ever he gets the Monarchy of the Weſt, will unneſt thee, and remove thy See to *Paris*, and have a Pope of his own, or elſe God will let looſe the Rage of the *Turk* againſt thee, and ſuffer him to plant his Half-moons in *Rome* as well as in *Jeruſalem*, for a Scourge and Vengeance of all the Filthineſs and Abominations acted in that Place. Look to it, I give thee this friendly Warning, take it to Heart, for I tell it thee in Plainneſs and Sincerity, and from the Light which ſhineth in

Thy Friend in the Love, and in the Truth,

From *London*, the 7th Day of the 4th Month, in the Year 1679. E. B.

Faculties granted at Rome, 1678, *to* John Locet, Engliſhman *and Prieſt for* England *and* Scotland, *and for all the King's Dominions, excepting* Ireland.

1. POwer to abſolve from Hereſy and Apoſtaſy, all, both Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks.

2. To abſolve in all Caſes of the *Bulla Cœnæ*.

3. Power of diſpenſing Marriages within the third and fourth Degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity, and to declare them lawful, and ſuch Iſſue legitimate.

4. Power of adminiſtring all the Sacraments.

5. Power of reſtoring the juſt Right of Aſking being loſt.

6. Power of celebrating Maſs in all decent Places above or under Ground, on portable Altars twice a Day, if neceſſary, and if it cannot be otherwiſe celebrated for Fear of Hereticks.

7. Of laying up of holy Things in Secret, without Lights, if there be Danger.

8. Power of reciting the Roſary, or other Prayers, if they cannot have a Breviary, or other Office.

9. Power of keeping and reading any prohibited Books, beſides thoſe contained in the *Bulla Cœnæ*, beſides thoſe of *Charles Moline*, *Nicholas Machiavel*, and Books of Judicial Aſtrology. As alſo of giving Licence to others to read the Scriptures faithfully tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and to the Laicks *Engliſh* Books againſt Hereticks, as Need ſhall be.

10. Power of diſpenſing and communicating ſimple Vows for a reaſonable Cauſe, that of Chaſtity and of Religion being excepted.

11. Power of bleſſing the Sacraments, and other holy Utenſils neceſſary for the Maſs, where there is not Unction.

12. Power of diſpenſing the Eating of Fleſh, Eggs, White-meats, alſo in the Time of *Lent*.

13. Power of granting a plenary Indulgence for thoſe converted from Hereſy, and to thoſe who cannot be confeſſed in the Article of Death.

14. Power of granting, every Lord's-Day, and on holy Days, an Indulgence for ten Years to thoſe that aſſiſt at thoſe Meetings, and a plenary Indulgence to thoſe that confeſs and receive the Sacrament on certain Feaſt-days.

15. Power of having the Benefit of theſe Indulgences themſelves.

16. Power of celebrating the Maſs *ad Requiem* for any one on a portable Altar, for the freeing a Soul out of Purgatory.

They were granted for ſeven Years only, and reverſible, without ſhewing Cauſe, at the Will of the Pope. Signed

Barbarine, Proctor.
Chr. *Abbas Blancus*, Secretary.

The

The Method of Curing the Small-Pox, firſt written in the Year 1704, for the Uſe of the Noble and Honourable Family of *March*, by Dr. *Arch. Pitcairn.* *Folio*, containing one Page.

1. IF a Child, or any Perſon, grow ſick, feveriſh, or has Pain in the Back, or Slot of the Breaſt, Loſs of Appetite, Drowſineſs, ſhort Cough, Sneezing, watery Eyes, or ſome of theſe; but always accompanied with ſome Heat, and frequent Pulſe, or Drought. In this Caſe, Blood is to be taken at the Arm, or with Loch-leeches; and, if the Fever ceaſes not, though the Pox appear, let Blood a ſecond or third Time. Mean Time, give the Child a Spoonful of Syrup of white Poppies at Night, and in the Night-time, even till Sleep or Eaſe comes.

2. After the Pox appears, and Fever is gone, then ſteep a Handful of Sheep's Purles in a large Mutchkin of Carduus-water, or Hyſſop-water, or Fountain-water, for five or ſix Hours; then pour it off without Straining, and ſweeten it with Syrup of red Poppies. Give of this a Spoonful or two, every fourth or fifth Hour, to make the Pox fill, and preſerve the Throat. Always at Night-time and in the Night, give a Spoonful or two of the Syrup of white Poppies for a Cordial; that keeps down the Fever, and keeps up the Pox.

3. If the Pox run together in the Face (which is the only Thing that brings Hazard) uſe the Infuſion of the Purles, and the Syrup of white Poppies, oftener than in other Caſes; alſo about the eighth Day from the appearing of the Pox, or a little before that, give the Child to drink of Barley-water, ſweetened with Syrup of white Poppies; this will make the Child ſpit, which ſaves the Child.

4. The Child's Drink may be Milk and Water at other Times, or Emulſion, but uſe the firſt rather.

5. Apply nothing to the Face.

Uſe no Wine, or winiſh Poſſets.

6. If any Looſeneſs comes before the fourth Day of the Eruption, ſtop it with Syrup of Poppies, and five or ſeven Drops of liquid Laudanum, given now and then till it be ſtopped.

Let the Child's Diet be all along a thin Bread-Berry in the Morning, a weak Broth, and ſoft Bread for Dinner, and Milk and Bread at Night, or Sugar-Bisket and Milk; and, about the fifth Day from the Eruption, give the Child Groat-Broth ſometimes.

Nota, If, at any Time, the Small-Pox diſappear, with a Raving before the fifth, ſixth, or eighth Day from the Eruption, then let Blood again, and apply a large Bliſtering Plaiſter between the Shoulders, and give an Emulſion.

2. If the Small-Pox fall down, without Raving, then apply a large Bliſtering Plaiſter between the Shoulders, and give an Emulſion; and boil in a Gill of Water, and as much white or red Wine, half a Dram or a Dram of Zedoary-root ſliced, two Figs, and two Scruples of Theriac or Diaſcordium; ſweeten it with Syrup of Kermes and white Poppies, each half an Ounce.

3. In the End of the Diſeaſe, that is, about the tenth, eleventh, fourteenth, *&c.* Day, after the Eruption; if the Child's Defluxion is groſs, either apply a new Veſicatory, or give often the Spirit of Hartſhorn, in Syrup of Violets, or a Vomitor.

Laſtly, When the Pox is blackened ſufficiently, or about the fourteenth Day from the Eruption, let the Child drink Whey, eat Pottage, *&c.* or Broth with Prunes, unleſs the Child's Belly is open enough of itſelf.

But if the Child is ſo young, or unlucky, as not to cough heartily, and force up the Defluxion, or if the Froſt thickens it; apply to the Slot of his Breaſt a Poultiſe of Theriac, Diaſcordium, Alkermes, Oil of Roſemary, and Cinnamon with warm Claret, in a double Linnen Cloth often.

2. And to the Throat apply, in a double Linnen Cloth, a Poultiſe of Cow's Dung boiled with Milk and ſoft white Bread: Put a little Brandy to as much as you apply at a Time.

3. For the Defluxion alſo give inwardly ſome of this, which has a Dram of Sperma-Ceti, well mixed in a Glaſs-Mortar (not a Braſs

a Braſs one) with fine Sugar; to which add at Leiſure Syrup of Violets, or Balſamick, or Poppy Syrup, with ſome Spirit of Hartſhorn.

If the Pox was confluent, or run together on the Face, then, after the Perſon is recovered, give a Purgative, to bring away the Remainder of the Pox within the Guts.

Father *La Chaiſe*'s Project for the Extirpation of Hereticks. In a Letter from him to Father *P---rs*, 1688. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

Worthy Friend,

I Received your's of the Twentieth of *June* laſt, and am very glad to hear of your good Succeſs, and that our Party gains Ground ſo faſt in *England*; but, concerning the Queſtion you have put to me, that is, What is the beſt Courſe to be taken to root out all the Hereticks? To this I anſwer: There are divers Ways to do that, but we muſt conſider which is the beſt to make Uſe of in *England*: I am ſure, you are not ignorant how many thouſand Hereticks we have, in *France*, by the Power of our Dragoons, converted in the Space of one Year, and, by the Doctrine of thoſe booted Apoſtles, turned more in one Month, than Chriſt and his Apoſtles could in ten Years. This is a moſt excellent Method, and far excells thoſe of the great Preachers and Teachers, that have lived ſince Chriſt's Time. But I have ſpoken with divers Fathers of our Society, who do think, that your King is not ſtrong enough to accompliſh his Deſign by ſuch Kind of Force, ſo that we cannot expect to have our Work done in that Manner; for the Hereticks are too ſtrong in the three Kingdoms, and therefore we muſt ſeek to convert them by fair Means, before we fall upon them with Fire, Sword, Halters, Gaols, and other ſuch like Puniſhments; and therefore I can give you no better Advice, than to begin with ſoft eaſy Means. Wheedle them in by Promiſes of Profit and Offices of Honour, till you have made them dip themſelves in treaſonable Actions againſt the Laws eſtabliſhed, and then they are bound to ſerve for Fear. When they have done thus, turn them out, and ſerve others ſo, by putting them in their Places, and by this Way gain as many as you can. And, for the Hereticks that are in Places of Profit and Honour, turn them out, or ſuſpend them on Pretence of Miſbehaviour, by which their Places are forfeited, and they ſubject to what Judgment you pleaſe to give upon them. Then you muſt form a Camp, that muſt conſiſt of none but Catholicks; this will make the Hereticks heartleſs, and conclude all Means of Relief and Recovery is gone. And, laſtly, take the ſhort and the beſt Way, which is, to ſurpriſe the Hereticks on a ſudden. And, to encourage the zealous Catholicks, let them ſacrifice them all, and waſh their Hands in their Blood; which will be an acceptable Offering to God. And this was the Method I took in *France*, which hath well, you ſee, ſucceeded; but it coſt me many Threats and Promiſes, before I could bring it thus far, our King being a long Time very unwilling.

But at laſt I got him on the Hip; for he had lain with his Daughter-in-Law, for which I would by no Means give him Abſolution, till he had given me an Inſtrument, under his own Hand and Seal, to ſacrifice all the Hereticks in one Day. Now, as ſoon as I had my deſired Commiſſion, I appointed the Day when this ſhould be done, and, in the mean Time, made ready ſome Thouſands of Letters, to be ſent into all Parts of *France* in one Poſt-night. I was never better pleaſed, than that Time; but the King was affected with ſome Compaſſion for the Hugonots, becauſe they had been a Means to bring him to his Crown and Throne; and, the longer he was under it, the more ſorrowful he was, often complaining, and deſiring me to give him his Commiſſion again; but that I would by no Perſuaſion do, adviſing him to repent of that heinous Sin, and alſo telling him, that the Trouble

Trouble and Horror of his Spirit did not proceed from any Thing of Evil in thoſe Things that were to be done, but from that great Wickedneſs which he had done; and that he muſt reſolve to undergo the ſevere Burden of a troubled Mind for one of them, or the other, and, if he would remain ſatisfied as it was, his Sin being forgiven, there would, in a few Days, be a perfect Atonement made for it, and he perfectly reconciled to God again. But all this would not pacify him, for the longer the more reſtleſs; and therefore I ordered him to retire to his Cloſet, and there ſpend his Time conſtantly in Prayer, without permitting any one to interrupt him; and this was in the Morning early, when, the Evening following, I was to ſend away all my Letters. I did indeed make the more Haſte, for Fear he ſhould diſcloſe it to any Body; yet I had given him a ſtrict Charge to keep it to himſelf, and the very Thing, that I moſt feared, to my great Sorrow, came to paſs; for, juſt in the Nick of Time, the Devil, who hath always his Inſtruments at Work, ſent the Prince of *Conde* to the Court, who aſked for the King: He was told, that he was in his Cloſet, and would ſpeak with no Man: He impudently anſwered, That he muſt and would ſpeak with him; and ſo went directly to his Cloſet; he being a great Peer, no Man durſt hinder him. And, being come to the King, he ſoon perceived, by his Countenance, that he was under ſome great Trouble of Mind, for he looked as if he had been going into the other World immediately. Sir, ſaid he, What is the Matter with you? The King at the firſt refuſed to tell him, but, he preſſing harder upon him, at laſt the King, with a ſorrowful Complaint, burſt out, and ſaid: 'I 'have given Father *La Chaiſe* a Commiſſion, 'under my Hand, to murder all the Hugonots 'in one Day, and this Evening will the Let-'ters be diſpatched to all Parts, by the Poſt, 'for the Performing it; ſo that there is but 'ſmall Time left for my Hugonot Subjects to 'live, who have never done me any Harm.' Whereupon this curſed Rogue anſwered, Let 'him give you your Commiſſion again.' The King ſaid, 'How ſhall I get it out of his 'Hand? For, if I ſend to him for it, he will 'refuſe to ſend it.' This Devil anſwered, 'If your Majeſty will give me Order, I will 'quickly make him return it.' The King was ſoon perſuaded, being willing to give Eaſe to his troubled Spirit, and ſaid: 'Well, go 'then, and break his Neck, if he will not 'give it you.' Whereupon, this Son of the Devil went to the Poſt-houſe, and aſked, If I had not a great Number of Letters there? And they ſaid, Yes, more than I had ſent thither in a whole Year before. Then ſaid the Prince, 'By Order from the King, you 'muſt deliver them all to me:' Which they durſt not deny, for they knew well enough who he was. And no ſooner was he got into the Poſt-houſe, and had aſked theſe Queſtions, but I came alſo in after him, to give Order to the Poſt-maſter to give Notice to all thoſe under him, in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, that they ſhould take Care to deliver my Letters with all Speed imaginable. But I was no ſooner entered the Houſe, but he gave his Servants Order to ſecure the Door, and ſaid confidently to me, 'You muſt, by Order 'from the King, give me the Commiſſion 'which you have forced from him.' I told him I had it not about me, but would go and fetch it, thinking to get from him, and ſo go out of Town, and ſend the Contents of thoſe Letters another Time; but he ſaid, 'You 'muſt give it me; and, if you have it not 'about you, ſend ſomebody to fetch it, or 'elſe never expect to go alive out of my 'Hands; for I have an Order from the King 'either to bring it, or break your Neck; and 'I am reſolved either to carry back that to 'him in my Hand, or your Heart's Blood on 'the Point of my Sword.' I would have made my Eſcape, but he ſet his Sword to my Breaſt, and ſaid, 'You muſt give it me, or 'die; therefore deliver it, or elſe this goes 'through your Body.'

So, when I ſaw nothing elſe would do, I put my Hand in my Pocket and gave it him; which he carried immediately to the King, and gave him that and all my Letters, which they burnt: And, being all done, the King ſaid, now his Heart was at Eaſe; now how he ſhould be eaſed by the Devil, or ſo well ſatisfied with a falſe Joy, I cannot tell: But this I know, that it was a very wicked and ungodly Action, as well in his Majeſty, as the Prince of *Conde*, and did not a little increaſe the Burthen and Danger of his Majeſty's Sins. I ſoon gave an Account of this Affair to ſeveral Fathers of our Society, who promiſed to do their beſt to prevent the aforeſaid Prince's doing ſuch another Act; which was accordingly done, for, within

in the Space of ſix Days after the damned Action, he was poiſoned, and well he deſerved it. The King alſo did ſuffer too, but in another Faſhion, for Diſcloſing the Deſign to the Prince, and Hearkening to his Counſel. And many a Time ſince, when I have had him at Confeſſion, I have ſhook Hell about his Ears, and made him ſigh, fear, and tremble, before I would give him Abſolution; nay, more than that, I have made him beg for it on his Knees, before I would conſent to abſolve him. By this, I ſaw that he had ſtill an Inclination to me, and was willing to be under my Government; ſo I ſet the Baſeneſs of the Action before him, by telling the whole Story, and how wicked it was; and that it could not be forgiven, till he had done ſome good Action to balance that, and expiate the Crime. Whereupon, he at laſt aſked me what he muſt do? I told him, that he muſt root out all the Hereticks from his Kingdom: So, when he ſaw there was no Reſt for him, without doing it, he did again give them all into the Power of me and our Clergy, under this Condition, that we would not murder them, as he had before given Orders, but that we ſhould by fair Means, or Force, convert them to the *Catholick* Religion; to which End, he gave us his Dragoons to be at our Devotion and Service, that we might uſe them as we ſaw convenient, to convert them to the true Religion. Now, when we had got the Commiſſion, we preſently put it in Practice, and, what the Iſſue of it hath been, you very well know. But, now in *England*, the Work cannot be done after this Manner, as you may perceive by what I have ſaid to you; ſo that I cannot give you better Counſel, than to take that Courſe in Hand wherein we were ſo unhappily prevented; and I doubt not, but that it may have better Succeſs with you than with us.

I would write to you of many other Things, but that I fear I have already detained you too long; wherefore I ſhall write no more at preſent, but that I am

Paris, July 8th,
1688.

Your Friend and Servant,

La Chaiſe.

A Speech of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Louden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, to a grand Committee of both Houſes of Parliament, upon the Twelfth of *September*, 1645. Publiſhed by Authority. Printed at *London*, by *E. P.* for *Hugh Perry*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in the *Strand*. 1645. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE Occaſion of this Meeting is to repreſent, to the honourable Houſes of the Parliament of this Kingdom, the Condition of the Affairs of *Scotland*, which at this Time is very ſad, in Reſpect that the bloody Rebels who came from *Ireland*, whom this Kingdom by the large Treaty are obliged to repreſs, and their treacherous Confederates and Malignants, who have conſpired againſt the Covenant and League betwixt the two Kingdoms, have ſo much prevailed in Miſchief, eſpecially in that unhappy late Rencounter with our Forces at *Kilſyth*; where the Rebels being upon their March Southward, and, according to our beſt Intelligence, to join with the King, whom they did expect in *Scotland*, or to break through our Borders into *England*, and to come with their Army into this Kingdom; and our Army, being then very weak by Reaſon of their former Loſſes and Conflicts, wherein moſt Part of our Forces were cut off, did raiſe ſome Country Forces, and brought them along with them, and, out of their Zeal to the Good and Safety of both

Kingdoms, did purſue them with more Forwardneſs and Haſte, than good Speed or Succeſs; for the Enemy having placed themſelves in a Ground of Advantage, betwixt ſteep Mountains on the one Hand, and Woods and Bogs on the other, poſſeſſing the beſt Ground, where in a latent Place they were all drawn up in Battle; our Forces advanced up to them, and the Ground being very ſtreight, and the Enemy lurking in a Place where they were not perceived till our Forces were cloſe at them, and none of ours being drawn up, nor put in Order, but only the Regiment that marched in the Van, the Enemy did fall upon them with their whole Horſe and Foot, and, after Fighting with that firſt Regiment, who did fight very valiantly till oppreſſed with the Multitude of the Enemies whole Forces, they were moſt Part cut off, and the reſt broken: The few Horſe we had retreated diſorderly, breaking through their own Foot, and, all being in Diſorder, the Enemy prevailed, and routed our Forces with great Execution, giving Quarter to none.

After this ſad Blow, we having no other Army, nor Reſerve of Forces in the Fields, ſome Towns near the Enemy, wherein there be many Malignants ready to welcome them, and others out of Fear were glad to capitulate with the Enemy, and ſubmit themſelves to their Mercy, upon ſuch Conditions as they could obtain.

The Deportment of the Enemy, ſince, is by all Craft and Cruelty to ſtrengthen and recruit their Army, wherein they leave no Means unaſſayed that Policy or Violence can effect; they offer Peace and Protection, Immunity from all Exciſe, Aſſeſſments, raiſed for the Entertainment of our Armies in *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, and the Ratifying of the former Covenant of *Scotland*, to all that ſhall join with them or lie neutral; and, as they term it, return to their Loyalty and Obedience to the King, and ſhall renounce the mutual League and Covenant with *England*; and ſuch, as will not, are threatened with Fire and Sword, which in divers Places they put to Execution moſt cruelly: And *Montroſe*, as the King's Lieutenant-General, iſſues forth Commiſſions to Popiſh and Malignant Lords, and others, to array the Country for the King.

Papiſts and divers Malignants, who before were with them in their Hearts, but durſt not appear, are now avowedly joined with them; others, out of Fear to preſerve themſelves, their Wives and Children, from Deſtruction of the Sword and Fire, are fled, and ſome take Protections from them: The Enemy is roaring and triumphing in the Heart of the Kingdom, and is now poſſeſſed of the Houſes, Lands, and Eſtates of many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others of the beſt affected in the Kingdom, to whom nothing is left but Families without Maintenance, Honour without Means to ſupport it, and who are under all the grievous Calamities of War, and under the Mercy of a moſt cruel and bloody Enemy, not having, when I came from that Kingdom, any Army in the Fields to oppoſe them. And in the mean Time the Angel of God is ſtriking our Cities, eſpecially *Edinburgh*, the chief City of that Kingdom, with the Plague of Peſtilence ſo fearfully, that there is no Living there, nor any Commerce, Trade, nor Exchange of Money, which increaſes our Difficulties to maintain a War; and a Parliament is indicted by *Montroſe*, to eſtabliſh all theſe Iniquities by a Law.

In this our Extremity, we were forced to have our Recourſe to our Armies in *England* and *Ireland*, to crave their Aid; and for that End I am ſent hither to the honourable Houſes of Parliament, to repreſent to them and this honourable Meeting the Neceſſity of calling our Army for the Relief and Safety of their native Country, and that the Party who was neareſt them, under the Conduct of Lieutenant-General *David Leſley*, might with all poſſible Speed march into *Scotland*, to whom the Committee did earneſtly write for that Effect: This was the readieſt Remedy which did fall within the Compaſs of their preſent Conſideration; they deſire, and are confident, to find the honourable Houſes Approbation thereof, there being no Hope of Aſſiſtance from our Army in *Ireland*.

Their next Deſire to the honourable Houſes is, that the Wars in *Scotland*, againſt theſe bloody Rebels, may be carried on by the joint Counſels and Aſſiſtance of both Kingdoms, againſt the common Enemies of both Nations, and the Cauſe wherein we are ſo deeply engaged, the War and our Enemies being ſtill the ſame, and the Place of our War only changed; and, if the King or his Forces break into *Scotland*, that proportionable Forces from the Parliament may cloſely follow them.

No

No Man hath Conſcience or Honeſty, but he will remember the ſolemn League and Covenant, the Treaty, and the Declarations of both Kingdoms, which are the ſtrongeſt Bonds betwixt God and Man, and betwixt Man and Man, and Nation and Nation, before the World: No Man hath true Zeal to Religion, that will ſhrink for ſuch Adverſity and Oppoſition, as hath been ordinary in the like Work, and hath been obvious to us ſince our firſt Undertaking, but hath been always overcome by the Aſſiſtance of God; no Man that hath Prudence, who will hope for a powerful and proſperous War, or any firm or true Peace, but in the Conjunction of both Kingdoms.

How great then would the Sin and Shame be, if either Nation, againſt ſo manifold Obligations whereby we ſtand obliged before God and the World, ſhould deſert the other in this Cauſe?

How great Advantage would it be to our common Enemy, who has ſtill followed that *Machiavilian* Maxim, *Divide & impera*, to get us divided? And the greateſt Favour either Nation could expect in the End is, but to be the laſt that ſhall be devoured?

As in the Time of your greateſt Diſtreſs and loweſt Ebb, when *Scotland* enjoyed Peace and Quietneſs, they did from their Sympathy of your Sufferings forſake their own Peace for your Aid, apprehending alſo your Ruin and Servitude might be a Forerunner of theirs; ſo if this Kingdom ſhall withdraw, or be wanting in their Aſſiſtance to us, in the Day of our Diſtreſs, brought upon us for Embarking with them, and we periſh in it; Will it not uſher in and haſten upon you that ſame Ruin, intended from the Beginning by our common Enemy? And, if the godly and honeſt Party in that Kingdom periſh, for Want of Aſſiſtance, you may certainly expect as great an Army from thence for your Deſtruction, as came formerly for your Preſervation; which God forbid.

But from our Brethren of *England*, and the honourable Houſes of Parliament, who are the true Pilots, ſet at the Helm in ſo great a Storm, we expect better and greater Things; that their whole Authority, Power, and Means will in this Exigent be aiding to us: And it is the firm Reſolution of that Kingdom, by God's Grace, never to forſake this, but, againſt all Oppoſition, with Courage and Conſtancy to live and die with you in this Cauſe; and although all the World ſhould forſake us, ſo long as there is one Drop of Blood in our Veins, we reſolve never to relinquiſh this Work, but to put our Confidence in the Juſtneſs of the Cauſe, and in the invincible Power of God, whoſe Cauſe it is, till it pleaſe him by a proſperous War, or happy Peace, which we ſtill deſire may by all good Means be ſought after, to put an End to our Troubles, truſting he will ſtrengthen us, and ſend Deliverance to his People: But, if either Nation draw back their Hand, or deal treacherouſly in it, their Judgment and Doom will be harder than I deſire to pronounce.

Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Viſion*: With the Ghoſts of *Weſton*, Miſtreſs *Turner*, the late Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Franklin*. By *R. N. Oxon.*

——— *In pœnam inſectatur & umbra.*

Printed for *R. M.* and *T. I.* 1616. *Quarto*, containing fifty-eight Pages.

Vide the 231ſt Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

WHEN Poiſon (O that Poiſon, and foul Wrong,
Should ever be the Subject of my Song!)
Had ſet loud Fame upon a lofty Wing,
Throughout our Streets with horrid Voice to ſing
Thoſe uncouth Tidings, in each itching Ear,
How raging Luſt, of late, too ſoon did bear
That Monſter Murther, who, once brought to Light,
Did ſlay the Man whoſe Viſion I recite:
Then did th' inconſtant Vulgar Day by Day,
Like Feathers in the Wind, blown every Way,
Frequent the * *Forum*; where, in thickeſt Throng,
I one amongſt the reſt did paſs along
To hear the Judgment of the Wiſe, and know
That late black Deed, the Cauſe of mickle Woe:
But, from the Reach of Voice too far compell'd,
That Beaſt of many Heads I there beheld,
And did obſerve how every common Drudge
Aſſum'd the Perſon of an aweful Judge:
Here in the Hall amidſt the Throng one ſtands
Nodding his Head, and acting with his Hands,
Diſcourſing how the Poiſons ſwift or ſlow
Did work, as if their Nature he did know:
Another here, preſuming to outſtrip
The reſt in ſounder Judgment, on his Lip
His Finger lays, and winketh with one Eye,
As if ſome deeper Plot he could deſcry:
Here four or five, that with the vulgar Sort
Will not impart their Matters of Import,
Withdraw and whiſper, as if they alone
Talk'd Things that muſt not vulgarly be known;
And yet they talk of Nought from Morn till Noon
But Wonders, and the Fellow in the Moon:
Here ſome excuſe that which was moſt amiſs;
Others do there accuſe, where no Crime is,
Accuſing that which they excus'd anon,
Inconſtant People, never conſtant known:
Cenſure from Lip to Lip did freely fly,
He that knew nothing with the reſt would cry,
The Voice of Judgment; every Age ſhall find
Th' ignoble Vulgar cruel, mad in Mind:
The muddy Spawn of every fruitleſs Brain,
Daub'd out in ignominious Lines, did ſtain
Papers in each Man's Hand with railing Rhimes
'Gainſt the foul Actors of theſe well-known Crimes:
Baſe Wits, like barking Curs, to bite at them
Whom Juſtice unto Death ſhall once condemn.
I that beheld, how whiſpering Rumour fed
The hungry Ears of every vulgar Head
With her ambiguous Voice, Night being come,
Did leave the *Forum* and returned Home;
Where after ſome Repaſt, with Grief oppreſt
Of theſe bad Days, I took me to my Reſt:
And in that ſilent Time, when ſullen Night
Did hide Heav'n's twinkling Tapers from our Sight,
And on the Earth with blackeſt Looks did lour,
When every Clock chim'd Twelve, the Midnight Hour,
In which impriſon'd Ghoſts free Licence have
About the World to wander from their Grave;
When hungry Wolves and wakeful Dogs do howl,
At every Breach of Air; when the ſad Owl,
On the Houſe-top beating her baleful Wings,
And ſhrieking out her doleful Ditty, ſings
The Song of Death, unto the Sick that lie
Hopeleſs of Health, forewarning them to die:
Juſt at that Hour, I thought my Chamber Door
Did ſoftly open, and upon the Floor
I heard one glide along, who at the laſt
Did call and bid me wake; at which aghaſt
I up did look, and lo, a naked Man †
Of comely Shape, but deadly pale and wan,
Before me did appear, in whoſe ſad Look,
As in the Map of Grief or Sorrow's Book,
My Eye did read ſuch Characters of Woe,
As neither Painting's Skill, nor Pen, can ſhow:
With dreadful Horror almoſt ſtricken dead
At ſuch a Sight, I ſhrunk into my Bed;
But the poor Ghoſt, to let me underſtand
For what he came, did waft me with his Hand,
And, Sorrow's Tears diſtilling from his Eyes,
His poiſon'd Limbs he ſhew'd, and bad me riſe;
Which fearful I, not daring diſobey,
Roſe up and follow'd, while he led the Way;
Through many uncouth Ways, he led me on
Over that *Tower*'s fatal Hill, whereon
That Scaffold ſtands, which e'er ſince it hath ſtood
Hath often lick'd up Treaſon's tainted Blood:
Thence over that ſame Wharf, faſt by whoſe Shores
From *London*'s-*Bridge* the Prince of Rivers roars,
He, in a Moment's Space by wond'rous Power,
Tranſported me into that ſpacious *Tower*,

* *Guildhall.*

† Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Ghoſt.

Where

Where as we enter'd in, the very Sight
Of that vaſt Building did my Soul affright:
There did I call to Mind, how, o'er that Gate,
The Chamber was, where unremorſeful Fate
Did work the Falls of thoſe two * Princes dead,
Who by their Foes were ſmother'd in their Bed.
And there I did behold that fatal Green,
Where famous *Eſſex'* woeful Fall was ſeen:
Where guilty *Suffolk*'s guiltleſs Daughter, *Jane*,
The Scaffold with her noble Blood did ſtain:
Where royal *Anne* her Life to Death reſign'd,
Whoſe Womb did bear the † Praiſe of Women Kind:
And where the laſt ‡ *Plantagenet* did pore
Her Life out in her Blood; where many more,
Whom Law did juſtly, or unjuſtly, tax,
Paſs'd by the Sentence of the bloody Ax:
And here, as one with ſudden Sorrow ſtruck,
The Ghoſt ſtood ſtill a While, with doleful Look
Fix'd on the Ground, and, after ſad Sighs given
With Eyes and Hands up-lifted unto Heaven,
As calling them to witneſs of his Woe,
In ſad Complaint his Grief he thus did ſhow:
Great God of Heaven, that pitieſt human Wrongs,
To whom alone Revenge of Blood belongs;
Thou, that upon the Wings of Heaven doſt ride,
And laugh'ſt to ſcorn the Man, that ſeeks to hide
An *Overbury*'s guiltleſs Blood in Duſt,
Thou know'ſt the Pains of my impoiſon'd Ghoſt;
When Men, more changing than th' inconſtant Wind,
Or do not know, or knowing, wilful blind,
Will not behold dead *Overbury*'s Grief,
But think his Loſs no more than Loſs of Life:
Ye Friends unkind and falſe, that after Death
Do let your Friendſhip vaniſh with the Breath
Of him that's dead, and think, ſince Truth begun
To try my Cauſe, more Satisfaction done
Than all my Wrongs require; give Ear, and ſay
When I have told my Grief, if from the Day
That Man's firſt Blood to Heaven cry'd out of Earth,
For Vengeance gainſt the firſt Man's eldeſt Birth
Until this Time; if Man, for Life ſo loſt,
More juſtly may complain, than my dead Ghoſt.
I was (Woe's me, that I was ever ſo)
Belov'd in Court, firſt Step to all my Woe:
There did I gain the Grace of Prince and Peers,
Known old in Judgment, though but young in Years;
And there, as in this Kingdom's Garden, where
Both Weeds and Flowers do grow, my Plant did bear
The Buds of Hope, which, flow'ring in their Prime
And *May* of Youth, did promiſe Fruit in Time:
But Luſt, foul Luſt, did, with a Hand of Blood,
Supplant my Plant, and crop me in the Bud:
Yet to myſelf had I my Counſels kept,
Or had I drown'd my Cares in Reſt, and ſlept,
When I did break my quiet Sleeps, and wait
To ſerve a falſe Friend, and advance his State,
I had not met with this inhuman Wrong,
But might, perhaps, have happy liv'd, and long.
Did ever Fortune pinch him with Conſtraint?
That little Wealth I had ſupply'd his Want:
Did ever Cares perplex his feeble Brain?
What Wit I had his Weakneſs did ſuſtain:
Did ever Error make him do amiſs?
What Wiſdom, I had learn'd, was ever his:
My Wit, my Wealth, and Wiſdom with good Chance,
In his great Honour's May-game, led the Dance.
I do not falſly boaſt the Gifts of Mind,
Beſt Wits can judge; my Wife I left behind,
Unto the World, a Witneſs may remain,
I had no dull Conceit, no barren Brain:
But as a Dog, that at his Prey doth aim,
Doth only love the Water for his Game;
Which once obtain'd, he playing then no more,
Shakes off the Water when he comes on Shore:
So my great Friend, no Friend, but my great Foe,
Safe ſwimming in that Way which I did ſhow,
Thro' Danger's Waters after Honour's Game,
Did ſhake me off, when I had gain'd the ſame.
Vain Man, too late thou do'ſt repent my Wrong;
That huge great Sail of Honour was too ſtrong,
For thy great Boat, wanting thy Friend to ſteer:
In this, thy Weakneſs and my Worth appear:
O hadſt thou kept the Path by me begun,
That other impious Race thou hadſt not run;
In Ways of Vice thy Steps I did not guide,
Only for Virtue *Overbury* dy'd:
But, had Ingratitude no further gone,
I had not wail'd, with many a piteous Groan,

* *Edward* V. and his Brother *Richard*, Duke of *York*. † Queen *Eliſabeth*. ‡ *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Salisbury*, Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*.

Theſe poiſon'd Limbs: O how will future Times,
Bluſhing to hear ſuch execrable Crimes,
Believe Report, when then it ſhall be ſaid,
Thou waſt that Man, that Man that me betray'd;
That ſavage Man, that, wanting Means or Heart,
Or rather both, to meet with my Deſert,
Too cruel didſt deviſe to ſtop my Breath,
To end thy Care, and my dear Life by Death?
Death, oh! no Death, but thouſand Deaths in one,
For, had it been but mere Privation
Of loved Life, my grieved Ghoſt had fled,
Without ſuch Pain and Anguiſh, to the Dead.
O wretched Foes! why did ye take Delight
To exerciſe your Hate, with ſuch Deſpight,
Upon a guiltleſs Man? What had I done?
But that ye might, whenas ye firſt begun
Your tragick Plot, and did my Life await,
With ſingle Death have ſatisfied your Hate?
Was it, ah! was it not enough to give
One Poiſon firſt, and then to let me live?
Till ye did pleaſe to give another, then,
Another, and another; but as Men,
All made of Flint, to laugh my Plaints to Scorn,
And ſcoff at me, while I, alas! did mourn:
When, in my Chamber-walls, the very Stones,
Sweat Drops for Tears, to hear my grievous Groans;
As ſenſeleſs, they would ſympathiſe my Woes,
Though my ſad Cries were Muſick to my Foes.
Let Ages paſt, until the World's firſt Day,
Shew all Records of antique Times, and ſay,
If ever any did by Poiſon die,
That at his Death had greater Wrongs than I.
It was not one Day's Space, nor two, nor three,
In which thoſe cruel Men tormented me:
Month after Month, they often did inſtill
The divers Natures of that baneful Ill,
Throughout theſe Limbs; inducing me to think,
That what I took in Phyſick, Meat, or Drink,
Was to reſtore me to my Health; when all
Was but with ling'ring Death to work my Fall.
Oh how my Ghoſt doth quake, when it ſurveys
This fatal Houſe, where I did end my Days!
And trembles, as it ſuffer'd now again,
Only to think upon that woeful Pain;
When the ſlow Poiſon ſecretly did creep
Through all my Veins, and, as it went, did ſweep
All Eaſe with Pain, all Reſt with Grief away,
From every Corner of my Houſe of Clay:
Then did I loath my Life, but could not die;
Sometimes to God, ſometimes to Men I cry,
To give me Eaſe of my tormenting Hell,
Whoſe Pain no Pen can write, no Tongue can tell:
In vain, my Tongue, thou uttered'ſt forth thy Cries
To wicked Men, with Tear-tormented Eyes;
In vain, my Eyes, in you the Tears did ſtand,
While I to Heaven for Help did liſt my Hand;
In vain, my Hands, were ye ſtretch'd forth to Heaven,
My Time was ſet, my Life to Death was given:
Tongue, Eyes, and Hands, did often plead in vain,
Nothing but Death could eaſe me of my Pain:
And Death at laſt to my Deſire did yield,
Who with ſuch furious Force did take the Field
T'aſſail my Soul, that, 'gainſt his matchleſs Might,
In greater Torment never Man did fight;
With poiſon'd Dart he at my Life did ſtrike;
The Venom, ſeizing on me Vulture-like,
With Torment tore my Intrails; thence did run
Into my Veins, and boiling there begun
A freſh Aſſault, which, being a while withſtood
By Nature's Force, at laſt did ſeize my Blood:
Then, Victor-like, poſſeſs'd of every Part,
It did aſſail my yet not yielding Heart,
The Soul's chief Seat, where having vanquiſh'd all
The Powers of Life, while I to God did call
For Grace and Mercy, after ſad Sighs given,
With grievous Groans, my Soul fled hence to Heaven.
O thou ſad Monument of *Norman* Yoke,
Whoſe great Foundation he, whoſe conquering Stroke
Did ſtoop our Necks to *Norman* Rule *, firſt laid,
Look thy Records of thoſe, to Death betray'd
Within thy fatal Chambers, and there ſee,
If any, murder'd, loſt his Life like me.
Thoſe Royal Roſes of *Plantageneſt*,
Which that white Boar of † *York*, that bloody Beaſt
Hath rooted up, within thoſe Walls of thine,
In Death felt little Pain, compar'd to mine:
Thou know'ſt that ‡ King, Son to that kingly Knight,
Beneath whoſe Sword in *Agincourt*'s great Fight,

* Out of a Regiſter-book of the Acts of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* in *Stowe*'s Survey. † *Richard the Third.* ‡ *Henry the Sixth.*

France

France fell upon her Knees, thy Floor did ſtain
With his dear Blood, by bloody *Richard* ſlain:
Thou didſt look on, when *Clarence*' Blood was ſhed,
And didſt behold, how he poor Duke half-dead,
Yet bleeding freſh, in Malmſy-but was drown'd,
Whoſe Body ever ſince ne'er could be found.
Thou ſaw'ſt when * *Tyrrel*'s bloody Slaves did ſmother
This Kingdom's uncrown'd King, and his young Brother;
Thoſe princely Babes of *York*, thou heard'ſt them cry,
When they betwixt the Sheets did ſtrangled die;
But to their Pain Death did ſwift End aſſign,
Thou know'ſt their Griefs were not ſo great as mine.
'Twas not for nought, that thy firſt Builder's Hand
Did temper † Blood with burned Lime and Sand,
So to conglutinate thy ſtony Maſs,
And bring the Conqueror's Will and Work to paſs:
Well may it be, thy Walls with Blood were built,
Where ſo much guiltleſs Blood hath ſince been ſpilt.
But here an End of all my Pain and Woe,
Death ſhuts up all our greateſt Griefs, for ſo
All Men would think; but, paſt all Thought of Mind,
My greateſt Grief, alas! is yet behind.
Oh! why ſhould fierceſt Beaſt of all the Wood,
When he hath ſlain his Foe, and lick'd his Blood,
End Hate in Death, and Man, with Man in Strife,
Not end his Malice with the End of Life?
Can they be Men, and Lords of Beaſts, that bear
Their Maker's Image, and will yet not fear
That Ill, which Beaſts abhor in brutiſh Mind?
Men, O! no Men, but Monſters againſt Kind;
Such Monſters were my Tyger-hearted Foes,
Who, unremorſeful of my forepaſt Woes,
When, from their cruel Hands, my Soul was fled,
Did with their Tongues purſue me, being dead;
And yet not dead, for Heaven ſuch Grace doth give,
My Soul in Heaven, my Name on Earth doth live:
My Name, as great *Apollo*'s flow'ring Bay,
Looks green, when Winter clads the Earth in Gray,
Did flouriſh, blown upon by Fame's fair Breath,
In every Eye, long Time before my Death;
When my proud Foes, of great and glorious Name,
Were blaſted by the Breath of foul Defame:
At good Report, that on her golden Wings
Did bear my Name, their Tongue like Adder-ſtings
Did ſhoot foul Slander's Poiſon, ſo to ſpill
The ſame with foul Defame, as they did kill
My Body with foul Death, that Men might loath
My living Name, and my dead Body both.
Falſe Rumour, that mad Monſter, who ſtill bears
More Tongues about with her, than Men have Ears,
With Scandal they did arm, and ſent her out
Into the World, to ſpread thoſe Lyes about:
That thoſe loath'd Spots, Marks of their poiſ'ning Sin,
Which, dy'd with ugly Marble, paint the Skin
Of my dead Body, were the Marks moſt juſt
Of angry Heaven's fierce Wrath for my foul Luſt:
O barbarous Cruelty! Oh! more than Shame
Of ſhameleſs Foes! with Luſt to blaſt my Name,
When Wonder 'twas, Heaven's Judgment did not ſeize
Their wanton Bodies, with that great Diſeaſe,
Since Death to me, by Poiſon, they did give,
That they in am'rous Jollity might live.
Now, when falſe Rumour's Breath throughout the Court,
And City both, had blown this falſe Report,
Many, that oft before approv'd my Name
With Praiſe for Virtue, bluſh'd, as if the Shame
Of my ſuppoſed Vice, thus given forth,
Did argue their weak Judgment of my Worth;
My Friends look'd pale with Anger, and my Foes
Did laugh, to ſee too light Belief cauſe thoſe,
That lov'd me once, to loath that little Duſt
I left behind me, as a Lump of Luſt.
O moſt inhuman Wrong! O endleſs Grief!
O ſad Redreſs! where Sorrow's beſt Relief

* Sir *James Tyrrel*. *Johan. Stow.*

† *Cemento cum ſanguine animalium temperato*, as ſaith *Fitz Stephens apud*

Is but dead Hope, that Help may chance be found
With thoſe that live, to cure my Credit's Wound:
For this, my reſtleſs Ghoſt hath left the Grave,
And ſtole through covert Shades of Night, to crave
Thy Pen's Aſſiſtance *(O thou mortal Wight)*
Whoſe mournful Muſe, but whilome, did recite
Our *Britain*'s Princes, and their woeful Fates
In that true *(Mirrour for our Magiſtrates.)*
O let thy Pen paint out my tragick Woe,
That by thy Muſe all future Times may know
My Story's Truth, who, hearing thy ſad Song,
At leaſt may pity *Overbury*'s Wrong.
This ſaid, the grieved Ghoſt with Sighs did ceaſe
His rueful Plaints, and, as in deep Diſtreſs,
Under the *Tower*'s Gate with me he ſtood,
This Accident befel on *Thames*' great Flood:
South by this Houſe, where on the Wharf faſt by
Thoſe thundering Cannons ever ready lie,
A Dock there is, which, like a darkſome Cave,
Arch'd over Head, lets in *Thames*' flowing Wave;
Under whoſe Arch, oft have condemned Men,
As through the *Stygian* Lake, tranſported been
Into this fatal Houſe, which evermore
For Treaſon hoards up torturing Racks in Store:
At Landing of this Place, an Iron Gate
Locks up the Paſſage, and, ſtill keeping ſtrait
The guilty Priſoners, opens at no Time,
But when falſe Treaſon, or ſome horrid Crime,
Knocks at the ſame; from whence, by Law's juſt Doom,
Condemned Men but ſeldom back do come:
(Whate'er thou art may chance to paſs that Way,
And view that Place, unto thyſelf thus ſay:
God keep me faithful to my Prince and State,
That I may never paſs this Iron Gate:)
There in the Dock the Flood, that ſeem'd to gape,
Did ſuddenly give up a dreadful Shape,
A Man of * meagre Looks, devoid of Blood,
Upon whoſe Face Death's pale Complexion ſtood;
Of comely Shape, and well compos'd in Limb,
But ſlender made, of Viſage ſtern and grim;
The Hairs upon his Head, and griſly Beard,
With Age grown hoary, here and there appear'd;
Time's Iron Hand, with many a wrinkled Fret,
The Marks of Age upon his Front had ſet:
Yet, as it did appear, untimely Death
For ſome foul Fact had ſtop'd his vital Breath
With that great Shame, which gives Offence the Check,
The fatal Rope, that hung about his Neck:
Trembling upon his Knees, in great Affright,
When he hard by beheld the poiſon'd Knight,
He humbly fell, and, with ſad Grief oppreſt,
Wringing his Hands, and beating on his Breaſt,
While Sorrow's Drops upon his Cheeks did run,
To utter forth theſe Words, he thus begun:
O worthy Knight, behold the wretched Man,
Who thy ſad Tragedy's firſt Scene began;
Through whoſe each Act, unto this laſt black Deed,
With bloody Mind, unbleſs'd, *I* did proceed:
My Hands, alas! did mix the poiſon'd Food,
Which kindled cruel Fire in thy Blood;
My Ears did hear thy lamentable Groans,
When the ſlow working Poiſon wreck'd thy Bones;
My Eyes, without one Drop of Sorrow ſhed,
Beheld thee dying, and beheld thee dead;
For which both Hands, Eyes, Ears, and every Part,
Have ſuffer'd Death, and Conſcience' bitter Smart.
I was that Inſtrument, alas! the While,
By thy great Foes inſtructed to beguile
Thy lingering Hopes; their mighty State did whet
Me on in Miſchief, and their Bounty ſet
A golden Edge upon my dull Conſent,
At once to work thy Fall, and their Content.
The Doctrine of that Whore, that would diſpence
With Subjects for the Murther of a Prince,
Taught me that Luſt and Blood were ſlender Crimes,
And he, that ſerves his Turn, muſt ſerve the Times.
Oh! had I never known that † Doctor's Houſe,
Where firſt of that Whore's Cup I did carouſe,
And where Diſloyalty did oft conceal
Rome's frighted Rats, that over Sea did ſteal;

* The Deſcription of *Weſton*.

† Doctor *Turner*.

My

My Thoughts, perhaps, had then not given Way,
Thy Life for Gold with Poiſon to betray.
But ye that do, and who do not condemn
My black Offences, when ye think on them,
In ſuch Imaginations, ponder too
What with weak Man the Power of Gold may do.
Ye ſervile Sycophants, whoſe Hopes depend
On great Men's Wills, what is the utmoſt End
At which ye aim? Why do ye, like baſe Curs,
Upon your Patron fawn? Why, like his Spurs,
Will ye be ever ready at his Heels,
With pleaſing Words to claw him where he feels
The Humour itch? Or why will ye ſo wait,
As to lie down and kiſs the Feet of State?
And oft expoſe yourſelves to wretched Ends,
Loſing your Souls to make great Men your Friends?
Is it not Wealth ye ſeek? And doth not Gold
Ingenious Wits oft Times in Bondage hold?
The ſtout Sea-rangers on the fearful Flood,
That hunt about through *Neptune*'s wat'ry Wood,
And, o'er a thouſand Rocks and Sands that lie
Hid in the Deep, from Pole to Pole do fly;
Who often, when the ſtormy Ocean raves,
Fights with fierce Thunders, Light'nings, Winds, and Waves,
Having but one ſmall Inch of Board to ſtand
Betwixt them and ten thouſand Deaths at hand,
Expoſe themſelves to all this Woe and Pain,
To quench the greedy Thirſt of golden Gain.
O ſtrong Inchantment of bewitching Gold!
For this, the Sire by his own Son is ſold;
For this, the unkind Brother ſells the Brother,
For this, one Friend is often by another
Betray'd to Death; yea, even for this the Wife
Both ſells her Beauty, and her Husband's Life:
And I, Woe's me, for this did work thy Fall
By Poiſon's Help, having this Hope withal,
That great Men's Greatneſs would have borne out
My Crime, though known, againſt all Danger's Doubt.
But now, too late, my wretched Ghoſt doth prove,
That his all-ſeeing Eye from Heaven above,
To whom black Darkneſs ſelf is far more clear
Than the bright Sun, makes guiltleſs Blood appear
Out of our deepeſt Plots, to Murder's Shame.
Though greateſt Men do ſeek to hide the ſame.
Ye hapleſs Inſtruments of mighty Men;
Ye Sponges, whom the Hands of Greatneſs, when
That they by you have wiped out the Spot
Of that Diſgrace, which did their Honour blot,
Do ſqueeſe ſo long, until that ye be dry,
And then as needleſs Things do caſt you by:
Where one of theſe your Service would employ,
Our Maker's heavenly Image to deſtroy,
By Violence of Death in other Men,
Thereby with Blood to ſatisfy his Spleen:
O do not truſt the Hopes of ſuch a Man,
Nor think his Policy or Power can
Hoodwink all-ſeeing Heaven, nor ever drown
The Cry of Blood, which brings ſwift Vengeance down.
When many Men but one Man's Life will ſpill,
Their Lives, for his, Heaven evermore doth will.
Offend in Murder, and in Murder die;
No Crime to Heaven ſo loud as Blood doth cry.
In other Wrongs, when Man doth Man offend,
We Reſtitution may in Part pretend:
But, where the Wrong is done by Murder's Knife,
No Price for Blood, the Law ſays, Life for Life.
The Eye of wakeful Juſtice for a Seaſon
May ſeem to wink at Murder's bloody Treaſon,
Yet, from the Hour of ſo black a Deed,
The Worm of Conſcience on the Soul doth feed,
And dreadful Furies, whoſe imagin'd Sight,
In every Place, doth horribly affright
The guilty Man, purſue the Steps that fly,
While ſwift-wing'd Vengeance makes the Hue and Cry.
Juſtice, to me, did ſeem to ſleep a While,
And with Delay did all my Hopes beguile;
But in ſhort Time, now in my riper Years,
When graver Age on my grey Head appears,
Death and Reproach attach'd my Life and Name,
To bring me to my Grave with greater Shame:
To you therefore that hunger after Gold,
To you whom Hope of great Men's Grace makes bold
In any great Offence, henceforth let me
For evermore a ſad Example be.
This ſaid, he ſighing ſhrunk into the Flood,
And in a Moment's Space another ſtood

In the ſame Place; but ſuch a one whoſe Sight
With more Compaſſion mov'd the poiſon'd Knight:
It ſeem'd that ſhe had been ſome gentle Dame,
For, on each Part of her fair Body's Frame,
Nature ſuch Delicacy did beſtow,
That fairer Object oft it doth not ſhow:
Her chryſtal Eye, beneath an Ivory Brow,
Did ſhew what ſhe at firſt had been; but now
The Roſes on her lovely Cheeks were dead,
The Earth's pale Colour had all over-ſpread
Her ſometimes lively Look, and cruel Death,
Coming untimely, with his wintry Breath
Blaſted the Fruit, which Cherry-like in Show
Upon her dainty Lips did whilome grow:
O how the cruel Cord did miſbecome
Her comely Neck! and yet by Law's juſt Doom
Had been her Death: Thoſe Locks like golden Thread,
That us'd in Youth t'enſhrine her Globe-like Head,
Hung careleſs down; and that delightful Limb,
Her Snow-white nimble Hand, that us'd to trim
Their Treſſes up, now ſpitefully did tear
And rend the ſame: Nor did ſhe now forbear
To beat that Breaſt of more than Lilly White,
Which ſometimes was the Lodge of ſweet Delight:
From thoſe two Springs, where Joy did whilome dwell,
Grief's pearly Drops upon her pale Cheeks fell,
And after many Sighs, at laſt, with weak
And fainting Voice, ſhe thus did Silence break:
Thou gentle Knight, whoſe Wrongs I now repent,
Behold a woeful Wretch, that did conſent
In thy ſad Death: For I, alas! therefore
By Gold my Servant did ſuborn to pour
That Death into thy Cup, thy Diſh, thy Diet,
Whoſe Pain too long did rob thy Ghoſt of Quiet:
Yet neither Thirſt of Gold, nor Hate to thee
For Injuries receiv'd, incenſed me
To ſeek thy Life; but Love, dear Love to thoſe
That were my Friends, and thy too deadly Foes:
With them in Court my State I did ſupport,
Ah, that my State had never known the Court!
Virtue and Vice I there together ſaw,
But, like the Spider, I was taught to draw
Foul Poiſon, where ſweet Honey might be had;
And how to leave the good, and chuſe the bad:
At laſt, through greedy Going on in Sin
Made ſenſeleſs, by Degrees I did begin
To riſe from great to greater, till at laſt
My own Sins did my own Deſtruction haſte.
O heavy Doom! when Heaven ſhall ſo decree,
That Sin in Man the Plague of Sin muſt be.
But here let chaſteſt Beauties, when they blame
My Follies moſt, and bluſh to hear my Shame,
Remember then beſt Beauties are but frail,
And how that ſtrongeſt Men do oft aſſail
Our weakeſt ſelves; ſo may they pity me,
And my ſad Fall may their Forewarning be.
Ye tender Offſpring of that Rib, refin'd
By God's own Finger, and by him aſſign'd
To be a Help, and not a Hurt to Man;
How is it poſſible your Beauties can
Be pure from Blemiſh, treading ſuch vain Ways
As now you do in theſe prophaner Days?
Muſt Fleſh that is ſo frail ſtill fear to fall,
And ye the fraileſt Fleſh not fear at all?
Can ye, ah can ye, with vain Thoughts to pleaſe
Your wanton Souls, on Ivory Beds of Eaſe
Spend precious Time, and yet ſuppoſe in this
Ye do no Ill, nor think one Thought amiſs?
Can ye, to catch the wand'ring Thoughts of him
Whom ye affect, deck every dainty Limb,
Powder your Hair, and more to pleaſe the Eye,
Refreſh your pale Cheeks with purer Dye,
Lay out your Breaſts; and in the Glaſs thus dreſt,
Obſerve what Smile or Frown becomes you beſt?
And yet not fear Heaven's Judgment in the End,
At leaſt, in this, not think ye do offend;
Can ye on wanton Meats to move Deſire,
Though of yourſelves too full of *Paphian* Fire,
Feed every Hour, and when hot Blood begins
To hurry you unto thoſe horrid Sins,
That ſpot your Beds, your Bodies, and your Names,
Blot your black Souls with many greater Blames?
And yet not think, ye do deſerve Heaven's Hate,
At leaſt to turn do think no Time too late?
O do not ſooth your ſelves in *theſe foul* Crimes,
Hear not the Tongue of *theſe* incheating Times:
Your too much idle Eaſe, which ope the Gate
To vicious Thoughts, I know is counted State:
Upon your curious Pride and vain Array,
Fond Men the Name of Cleanlineſs do lay:

Your

Your Luſt, whoſe ſparkles in your Eyes do ſhine,
On wanton Youth, is called Love divine:
Thus they that would for each foul Fault excuſe you,
And turn your Vice to Virtue, do abuſe you.
But be ye not ſo blinded, look on me,
And let my Story in your Cloſets be
As the true Glaſs, which there you look upon,
That, by my Life, ye may amend your own.
Obſerve each Step, when firſt I did begin
To tread the Path that led from Sin to Sin,
Until my moſt unhappy Foot did light,
In guil leſs Blood of this impoiſon'd Knight:
After I had in Court begun to taſte
Of idle Eaſe, I daily fed ſo faſt
Upon falſe Pleaſure, that at laſt I did
Climb *Citharæa*'s Hill, like wanton Kid
In fertile Paſtures playing; nought did fear me,
I thought that roaring Lion would not tear me.
Two darling Sins, too common and too foul,
With their Delights did then bewitch my Soul;
Firſt Pride array'd me in her looſe Attire,
Fed my fond Fancy fat with vain Deſires,
Taught me each Faſhion, brought me over Seas
Each new Device, the humorous Time to pleaſe:
But of all vain Inventions, then in Uſe
When I did live, none ſuffer'd more Abuſe
Than that fantaſtick ugly Fall and Ruff,
Daub'd o'er with that baſe Starch of yellow Stuff:
O that my Words might not be counted vain,
But that my Counſel might find Entertain
With thoſe, whoſe Souls are tainted with the Itch
Of this Diſeaſe, whom Pride doth ſo bewitch,
That they do think it comely, not amiſs:
Then would they caſt it off, and ſay, it is
The Bawd to Pride, the Badge of Vanity,
Whoſe very Sight doth murther *Modeſty*;
Yea, then deteſting it, they all would know,
Some wicked Wit did fetch it from below,
That here they might expreſs by this Attire
The Colour of thoſe Wheels of *Stygian* Fire,
With Pride's plung'd Offſpring, with Snake-powder'd Hair,
About their Necks in *Pluto*'s Court do wear.
Thus Pride, the Pander to luxurious Thoughts,
Did guide me by the Hand through thoſe cloſe Vaults,
The Eyes of Luſt do ne'er abide the Light.
That lead to Luſt's dark Chambers, dark as Night,
But here perhaps ſome curious Dame, who knows
No Good, but what her outward Habit ſhows,
Will judge my true Complaint, as moſt unjuſt,
In that I call her Pride, the Bawd to Luſt:
But, had her Body Windows in each Side,
That each one might behold her Heart of Pride,
There might one ſee the Cauſe, why ſhe doth trim,
Trick up, and deck Defects in every Limb;
And, having ſeen the ſame, may juſtly ſay,
Her looſe Attire doth her looſe Mind betray.
Of this the ſad Effects of old were ſeen
In Lady * *Alfrith*, ſometimes *England*'s Queen,
Whoſe Lord Earl *Ethelwald*, at firſt, held dear
To her Affection: When that he did hear
That his great Sov'reign, royal *Edgar*, he
Whom eight Kings row'd upon the River *Dee*,
Unto his Houſe did purpoſe to repair,
Knowing his deareſt Lady wond'rous fair,
And the King young and wanton, did deſire
That ſhe would lay aſide her rich Attire,
And, chooſing meaner Weeds, her Art apply
To dim that Beauty which did pleaſe the Eye:
But ſhe, inconſtant Lady, knowing well,
That Beauty, moſt ſet forth, doth moſt excel;
As precious Stones, when they are ſet in Gold,
Are then moſt fair and glorious to behold;
Array'd herſelf in all her proud Attire,
To ſet victorious *Edgar*'s Heart on Fire:
Who, caught like ſilly Fly into the Flame,
At ſudden Sight of ſuch a dainty Dame,
To cool the Heat of his Luſt burning Will,
Her wronged Huſband's guiltleſs Blood did ſpill.
With Pride thus taſting of that wanton Cup
Which Luſt did give me, I was given up
To looſe Deſire: Which bruti ſh Sin, ſince here
In its own Shape it may not well appear,
Leſt it offend all modeſt Eyes and Ears,
I only do lament with my true Tears:
Yet give me Leave in ſome few Words to tell
This wanton World, into what horrid Hell
Of wicked Sins foul Luſt did make me fall,
That unchaſte Youth from Luſt I may recall.
As every evil Humour, which is bred
In human Bodies, covets to be fed
With that ill Nutriment which doth increaſe
The ſame, until it grow to ſome Diſeaſe
Incurable; ſo did my looſe Deſire,
In vain Delights, ſeek Fewel for the Fire

* *Raphael Holliſhead* in his Hiſtory of *England*.

So long, until (Woe's me) unto my Shame
It did burſt forth, and burn me in the Flame.
I left my God t'aſk Counſel of the Devil,
I knew there was no Help from God in Evil:
As they that go on whoring unto Hell,
From thence to fetch ſome Charm or magick Spell;
So over *Thames*, as o'er th' infernal Lake,
A Wherry with its Oars I oft did take,
Who *Charon* like did waft me to that Strand,
Where *Lambeth*'s Town to all well known doth ſtand;
There *Forman* was, that Fiend in human Shape,
That by his Art did act the Devil's Ape:
Oft there the black Inchanter, with ſad Looks,
Sat turning over his blaſphemous Books,
Making ſtrange Characters in Blood-red Lines:
And, to effect his horrible Deſigns,
Oft would he invocate the Fiends below,
In the ſad Houſe of endleſs Pain and Woe,
And threaten them, as if he could compel
Thoſe damned Spirits to confirm his Spell.
O prophane Wretches! ye that do forſake
Your Faith, your God, and your own Souls, to take
Advice of Sorcerers, again to find
Some Trifle loſt; Why will ye be ſo blind
On ſome baſe Beldam for loſt Things to fawn?
To gain whoſe Loſs, ye leave your Souls in Pawn.
Too many, too much wronged by the Time,
Do think this great Idolatry no Crime:
But let them mark the Path which they do tread,
And they ſhall ſee, that in it they are led
From Hope and Help, to Hurt and all Annoy,
From him that made, to him that doth deſtroy.
But, without Mercy here, let no ſtern Eye
Look on my Faults; alas! for Charity,
Let all with Pity my Offence bemoan,
Since that it was not my Offence alone:
The Strongeſt ſoon do ſlip, as I did fall,
For, Woe is me, I was ſeduc'd to all.
Ye that deteſt my now detected Shame,
And think that ye ſhall never meet the ſame,
Think how the Friendſhip, and the ancient Love,
Of ſome great Lady long enjoy'd may move:
And think with that, how much the riſing State
Of ſome great Man my Sex might animate:
I was not baſe, but born of gentle Blood,
My Nature of itſelf inclin'd to Good;
But Worms in faireſt Fruit do ſooneſt breed,
Of heavenly Grace beſt Natures have moſt Need.
Juſt Heaven did ſuffer me, as I begun
To haſten on from Vice to Vice, and run
Myſelf in ſinful Race quite out of Breath,
That Sin at laſt might puniſh Sin by Death:
For, when thoſe Wantons, whoſe unjuſt Deſire
Had urg'd me on ſo far, that to retire
I knew was vain, as I before to Luſt
Had been a Miniſter, ſo now I muſt
Join Hands in Blood, which they did plot and ſtudy:
O who would think that Women-kind were bloody!
But then our Chaſtity we do forego,
That loſt, What then will we refuſe to do?
This did that *Roman* proud * *Sejanus* know,
Who, hating *Druſus* as his deadly Foe,
And baſely ſeeking to betray his Life,
Did firſt allure fair *Livia Druſus*' Wife
To poiſon her own Lord, that in his Stead
The baſe *Sejanus* might enjoy his Bed;
Who, rais'd by *Cæſar* from ignoble Place,
In *Livia*'s luſtful Eye did find more Grace
Than *Druſus*, *Cæſar*'s Son, a manly Youth:
O who knows how to feed a Woman's Tooth!
In Miſchief I went on, and did agree
To be an Actor in thy Tragedy,
Thou injur'd Ghoſt; yet was I but a Mute,
And what I did was at an other's Suit:
Their Plots I ſaw, and ſilent kept the ſame,
For which my Life did ſuffer Death and Shame;
For ſee, ah! ſee, this Cord about my Neck,
Which Time ſometime with precious Things did deck;
Revenge hath done, and Juſtice hath her Due,
Let none then wrong the Dead, let all with you,
O gentle Knight, forget my great Offence,
Which I have purg'd with Tears of Penitence:
For thouſand living Eyes with Tears could tell,
That from my Eyes true Tears of Sorrow fell:
Then judge my Cauſe with charitable Mind,
Who Mercy ſeeks with Faith, ſhall Mercy find.
This ſaid, ſhe vaniſh'd from before our Sight,
I think to Heaven, and think, I think aright.
She gone, the poiſon'd Ghoſt did ſeem with Tears
To chide her Fate: But lo, there ſtraight appears

* *Tacitus* Annal. Lib. iv. Cap. 2.

An-

Another in her Place, who ſeem'd to be,
When he did live, ſome Man * of good Degree
'Mongſt Men on Earth; one of ſo ſolemn Look,
As if true Gravity that Place had took
To dwell upon; his Perſon comely was,
His Stature did the meaner Size ſurpaſs;
Well ſhap'd in every Limb, well ſtep'd in Years,
As here and there appear'd by ſome grey Hairs.
When firſt he did appear, with woeful Look
He view'd the *Tower*, and his Head he ſhook,
As if from thence he did derive his Woe,
Which with a Sigh he thus begun to ſhow:
O thou ſad Building, ominous to thoſe
Whom with thy fatal Walls thou doſt incloſe,
For thee, I, hapleſs Man, as for the End
Of my Deſire, did falſly condeſcend
Unto that Plot, by others Heads begun,
Through which in thee ſuch Wrong was lately done.
Thou that didſt poiſon'd feel thy Foes Deſpight,
See here the Ghoſt of that unhappy Knight,
Which whilome was Lieutenant of this Place,
Though now a Wretch, thus halter'd with Diſgrace.
I was, alas, what boots it that I was!
Of good Report, and did with Credit paſs
Through every Act of my Life's Tragedy,
Upon this World, the Stage of Vanity,
Till the laſt Scene of Blood by others plotted,
Concluding ill, my Name and Credit blotted.
I muſt confeſs I did connive at thoſe
That were the Miniſters to thy proud Foes,
Cloſely employ'd by them thy Life to ſpill
By ſecret Poiſon, though againſt my Will:
Fear of their Greatneſs, and no Hate to thee,
Inforc'd my coward Conſcience to agree.
When firſt to me this Plot they did impart,
O what a tedious Combate, in my Heart,
Unto my Soul did feelingly appear,
'Twixt my ſad Conſcience, and a doubtful Fear!
Fear ſaid that, if I did reveal the ſame,
Thoſe great Ones, great in Grace, would turn the Shame
Upon my Head; but Conſcience ſaid again,
That, if I did conceal it, Murder's Stain
Would ſpot my Soul as much for my Conſent,
As if at firſt it had been my Intent.
Fear ſaid that, if the ſame I did diſcloſe,
The Countenance of Greatneſs I ſhould loſe,
And be thruſt out of Office and of Place;
But Conſcience ſaid that I ſhould loſe that Grace
And Favour, which my God to me had given,
And be perhaps thruſt ever out of Heaven.
Long theſe two Champions did maintain the Field,
Till my weak Conſcience at the laſt did yield:
O let thoſe Men, that do condemn my Fear
And Folly, moſt in their Remembrance bear,
What certain Danger ſtood on either Side
As I ſhould paſs, and how I ſhould have dy'd
In either Way, at leaſt with ſome great Fall
For ever have been cruſh'd; and think withal,
How prone our Nature is, in Fear, to reſt
Upon thoſe ſeeming Hopes that promiſe beſt.
I ſpeak not this to mitigate my Sin,
O no, I wiſh my Fall may others win
From the like Fear, and that my Life may be
A Precedent to Men of ſuch Degree,
To whom Authority doth think it fit
The Truſt of ſuch a Function to commit.
Let ſuch Men to remember ſtill be mov'd,
That which by ſad Experience I have prov'd;
'Tis good to fear great Men, but yet 'tis better
Ever to fear God more, ſince God is greater:
If God's good Angel had imprinted this
Into my Thoughts, I had not thought amiſs;
Nor I, unhappy I, ſhould have conſented,
But all this Miſchief I had then prevented.
Here ſome perhaps will think the former Race
Of my ſad Life t'have been debauch'd and baſe,
Becauſe at laſt it had ſo baſe an End;
But for ourſelves, might Modeſty contend
In Oppoſition, I might juſtly ſay,
How many now live glorious at this Day,
Whoſe Honour greater Stains do daily ſpot,
Then any which my former Life did blot:
Yet thoſe my Crimes which did my God offend,
For which his Finger did point out this End
Unto my Life, I'll ſhew, though to my Shame,
That others as from Death may fly the ſame.
My Father from whoſe Life my Breath I drew,
When ſick upon his Bed he lay, and knew
That at his Door of Fleſh Death's Hand did knock,
And did perceive weak Nature would unlock
To let him in, did with his Bleſſing give
This Charge to me: That I, while I did live,
Should never ſeek for Office at the Court,
But with that Means he left my State ſupport:
With Reverence his Will I did obey,
Until, O that I might not tell the Day,
In which I did with greedy Eye affect
That Place in this great *Tower*, without Reſpect

* The Deſcription of Sir *Jarvis Elwis*, the late Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

To my dead Sire's Behest; yet, ſince it was
A Touch to Conſcience, on I would not paſs,
Until by ſome I was reſolv'd amiſs,
That, as in other Things, ſo I in this,
Which in itſelf was of Indifference
And lawful unto others, might diſpence
With my Obedience to my Father's Will,
And that my own Intent I might fulfil:
Yet one there is (O ever may he be
Belov'd of Heav'n for his great Love to me)
Who by the Light of Truth did ſhew the Way
Which I ſhould go, but I did not obey:
Ambitious Miſt did blind my weaker Eyes,
I thought by this Preferment I ſhould riſe;
Yet no Deſert but Gold did gain me Grace,
My own Corruption purchas'd me that Place:
For Brib'ry in the Soul a Blemiſh makes
Of him that gives, as well as him that takes;
And bribing Hands, that give, muſt guilty be
Of their own Want of Worth; for who, but he
That in himſelf the Want of Merit finds,
Will be the Bawd to baſe corrupted Minds?
Ye, that neglect Performance of the Will
Of your dead Parents, thinking it no Ill
To diſobey their Precepts, now in me
The Curſe of Diſobedience ye may ſee:
And ye whoſe golden Fingers, as in Sport,
Like Lime-twigs catch at Offices in Court,
In which obtain'd ye ever after live
Corrupt in Mind, to gain what ye did give;
Behold untimely Death's diſgraceful Cord
About this Neck, my bribing Hands Reward.
Before this ſudden and unlook'd for Fate
Did fall thus heavy on me, when my State
Did flouriſh among Men, to Mind I call
An Accident of Note which then did fall:
Bewitch'd with Love to that too common Vice
In this our Age of Hazardy and Dice,
I loſing once my Coin (for few thereby
Have ever Gainers been) did wiſh that I,
When I again did uſe the Dice, might come
To die this ſhameful Death, which by the Doom
Of righteous Heav'n, again I uſing Game,
As I had wiſh'd, to me unlook'd for came.
Vain Gameſters that too commonly do uſe
Strange Deprecations, when ye do abuſe
Yourſelves in Game, by my ſad Fall take heed,
And let your Word be ever as your Deed;
Leſt your Hand meet mine in the ſelf-ſame
Diſh,
For Heav'n doth often hear when Men do wiſh.
But of no Sin had my moſt ſinful Soul
Been ever ſick, yet this one Sin moſt foul,
This Act of Poiſon, to my Houſe a Stain,
With future Times for ever ſhall remain:
The Dye of Blood on Murderers Hand doth ſtay,
No Tears, no Time, can wipe the ſame away;
But, if true Tears of Sorrow may with you,
As all true Sorrow's Tears with Heav'n may do,
Move pitiful Regard of my ſad Fall,
Ye then, rememb'ring how I fell withal,
Will, out of Charity, with leſſer Blame
Cenſure my Fault, when ye ſhall hear the ſame:
Thus quit by Death from Doom of Law, and
Heaven
Out of free Mercy having me forgiven,
Let all calumnious Tongues their Malice ceaſe,
That ſo my Soul may ever live in Peace:
O let the World abate her ſharpen'd Tongue,
And, ſince I have done Penance for thy Wrong,
Thou wronged Knight, what can thy Ghoſt
now crave?
Grieve thee no more, go reſt thee in thy Grave:
Thy Foes decline, proud *Gaveſton* is down,
No wanton *Edward* wears our *England*'s
Crown.
This ſaid, he vaniſh'd; and another * ſtood
In the ſame Place, Midway above the Flood,
Whoſe ſtrange Demeanour with Amazement
ſtruck
Us that beheld him; for with ſtartled Look,
And Hair ſtiff ſtanding, as a Man aghaſt,
He ſtar'd upon the Knight, from whom in
Haſte
Into the Flood he would have ſhrunk away,
Had not, I think, that Fury forc'd his Stay,
Which while he liv'd his guilty Soul purſu'd,
Till he his own Offence had freely ſhew'd.
A Man he was of Stature meanly tall,
His Body's Lineaments true ſhap'd, and all
His Limbs compacted well, and ſtrongly knit;
Nature's kind Hand no Error made in it.
His Beard was ruddy Hue, and, from his
Head,
A wanton Lock itſelf did down diſ-ſpread
Upon his Back; to which, while he did live,
Th' ambiguous Name of Elf-lock he did give.
And now fantaſtick Phrenſy, as before,
When he did live, did ſeem to vex him ſore.
The ſhameful Rope, which 'bout his Shoul-
ders hung,
Hither and thither careleſly he flung;
And, as a Caitiff of that curſed Crew,
Whom ſad Deſpair doth after Death purſue,
Howling and yelling, while the Tears did run,
Down by his Cheeks, at laſt he thus begun:

* *Franklin's* Ghoſt.

Since

Since that ſly Serpent of Soul-ſlaying Sin,
Which feeds upon the guilty Mind within
Each wicked Breaſt, doth force me to reveal,
Unto my Shame, what I did long conceal,
Give Ear, ye curſed Atheiſts all that been,
Ye unbelieving Dogs in Shape of Men,
That think the Name of God, and his great Law,
But Things deviſ'd to keep the World in Awe;
Who mock the Time's laſt dreadful Day to come,
Which at the length your wicked Deeds ſhall doom:
And ye blaſphemous Exorciſts, that are
With *Pluto*'s Factors ſo familiar,
Here upon Earth, that ye each Day do deal
For Tranſportation of blind Souls to Hell;
Whom Fools do wiſe Men call; give Ear to me,
And in my wretched Fate your Follies ſee.
I was (Woe's me, that ſtill I was not ſo!)
When *April* Buds of Youth themſelves did ſhew
Upon my Chin, a Student in the Law;
From which fantaſtick Thoughts my Mind did draw
To the more pleaſing Study of that Art
Of Phyſick; to the which though little Part
Of Learning gave me Help, yet ſtrong Deſire
To know that worthy Science ſet on Fire
The fond Affection of my forward Will
To ſearch the Secrets of that noble Skill:
But he, who from that Faculty ſhall fall,
To which inevitable Fate did call
Him at the firſt, forſakes that happy Way,
Which he ſhould go, and hapleſs run aſtray,
Diſeas'd with Vanity's fantaſtick Fits,
Which, Ague-like, doth vex our *Engliſh* Wits,
Who think at Home all homely, and do plow
Deep Furrows upon *Neptune*'s wat'ry Brow,
From foreign Shores to bring the Worſt of Bad,
And, in Exchange, leave there what Good they had.
The Seas I paſs'd to help out my weak Skill
In th' Aromatick Art; but, Oh! the Ill,
Which there our ignorant *Engliſh* oft do find,
Did firſt corrupt my uncorrupted Mind.
O vain Conceit of thoſe, that do repute,
In every Art, the moſt admired Fruit
Of any Brain, if of domeſtick Wit,
But baſe and trivial, if compar'd to it
Of foreign Heads! That only us can pleaſe;
And ſuch hath been our *England*'s old Diſeaſe.
There did I find (Oh never had I found!)
Murder's cloſe Way to kill my Foe, the Ground
Of that Device, thou wronged Knight, whereby
Thou moſt untimely waſt inforc'd to die.
There was I taught with vain Words to command
The Spirits from below, who ſtill at Hand
Will ready be, as ſeeming to obey
Thoſe Soul-blind Men, whom they do moſt betray.
Thus having, as I thought, my Mind inrich'd
With deepeſt Knowledge, and with Pride bewitch'd,
To blow that vain Blaſt on the Trump of Fame,
Which through the World, I thought, might bear my Name,
I back return'd for *England*, there to ſhew
That wond'rous Skill which I would ſeem to know:
There, as the Fowler doth with Whiſtle call
The ſilly Birds, until they hap to fall
Into his Net, ſo did my Name each Day,
Once blown Abroad, lead ſimple Fools away
From helpful Heav'n to ſeek Advice in Hell,
And there, for Toys, themſelves and Souls to ſell:
But in this Path long thus I did not tread,
Which down unto the Houſe of Death doth lead,
Before that old ſly Serpent did begin
T'entice me to that ſelf-accuſing Sin
Of horrid Murder, ſhewing me the Way,
By Art of Poiſon, cloſely to betray
What Life to Death I would; nor did he leave,
Until my Soul he did ſo far bereave
Of every feeling Senſe, that wicked I
Did cloſely poiſon her that us'd to lie
In my own Boſom, that ſhe, being dead,
Might, to me living, leave an empty Bed.
After this Fact, that to my guilty Soul
It might not, as it was, ſeem ugly foul,
My ſubtle Foe did whiſper in my Ear
Theſe ſeeming happy News, How Fame did bear
My Name upon her Wings, with loud Report
Of my ſtrange Deeds, as far as to the Court;
Where having been employ'd, I with all Skill
Apply'd myſelf to pleaſe; no damned Ill
I did refuſe, not making any Doubt,
While Greatneſs' Wings did compaſs me about.
Forman, that cunning Exorciſt, and I
Would many Times our wicked Wits apply
Kind Nature, in her Working, to diſarm
Of proper Strength; and, by our Spells, would charm

Both Men and Women, making it our Sport
And Play to point at them in our Report.
Thus, fatted with falſe Pleaſure for a While,
Still with good Hope of Hap, I did beguile
Myſelf in all Employments, till at laſt
Thy Death, thou injur'd Knight, did with it haſte
My unexpected Fall: I was the Man
That did prepare thoſe Poiſons, which began
And ended all thy Pain; which I did give
Unto that Man who did Attendant live
On thee in thy Diſtreſs; who, ſince that Time,
Was he that firſt did ſuffer for this Crime.
O what a ſudden Change of chearful Thought
To Sadneſs ſelf-accuſing Conſcience brought
After this bloody Deed! Before, all Eaſe
Did ſeem to wait on me; for, What could pleaſe,
Which I did want? That Idol Gold, which all
Or moſt Men cloſely worſhip, ſeem'd to fall
As thick upon me, as the golden Shower,
That fell on *Danae* in the *Dardan* Tower.
Swimming in Streams of falſe Delight, and prick'd
With Pride and Self-conceit, at Heav'n I kick'd.
The Names of *God* and *Maker* I did ſlight,
As bug-bear Words the childiſh World t' affright.
I did impute the Sphere's eternal Dance,
And all this All, to Nature and to Chance;
But all Men laugh my Follies unto Scorn,
For who ſo blind will ſay, being Mortal-born,
He hath a Reaſon, and will yet deny
The ſame to this Univerſality,
Of which, alas! he is the leſſer Part?
As who ſhould ſay, His Feet, his Hands, his Heart,
Might well be wiſe, and he himſelf a Fool:
Such is the Wiſdom of th' Atheiſtick School.
The Eye of Heav'n, from whom no Heart can hide
The ſecret Thoughts, my cloſe Intents eſpy'd;
And, when I did, with moſt inventive Brain,
Deviſe to wipe away my Conſcience' Stain,
And thy ſad Death moſt cloſely to conceal,
Heav'n forc'd myſelf my own Self to reveal.
The Shadow of the Dead, or ſome ſoul Fiend,
Or Fury, whom Revenge did juſtly ſend
To puniſh me for my deteſted Sin,
With ſnaky Whips did ſcourge my Soul within;
Forbidding me my Reſt, or Day, or Night,
Till I had brought my own Offence to Light:
For which, condemn'd unto that ſhameful End
Or ſtrangling Torment, ſtill the frantick Fiend
Did follow me unto my Life's laſt Breath;
As was my Life before, ſo was my Death.
This ſaid, he vaniſh'd; and, with him that Night
The Viſion ending, our impoiſon'd Knight
Thus ſpoke: O *England*, O thrice happy Land,
Who, of all Iſles, moſt gracefully doſt ſtand
Upon this Earth's broad Face, like *Venus*' Spot
Upon her Cheek; thou only Garden-plot,
Which, as another *Eden*, Heav'n hath choſe,
In which the Tree of Life and Knowledge grows;
Happy in all, moſt happy in this Thing,
In having ſuch a holy, happy King:
A King, whoſe Faith, in Arms of Proof, doth fight
'Gainſt that ſev'n-headed Beaſt and all his Might:
A King, whoſe Juſtice will, at laſt, not fail
To give to each his own in equal Scale:
A King, whoſe Love, Dove-like, with Wings of Fame,
To all the World doth happy Peace proclaim:
A King, whoſe Faith, whoſe Juſtice, and whoſe Love
Divine, and more than Royal, him do prove.
O thou juſt King, How hath thy Juſtice ſhin'd
Upon my injur'd Ghoſt! Which, being confin'd
From hence for ever, never had, unleſs
Thy Juſtice had been great, obtain'd Redreſs.
If earneſt Pray'rs with Heav'n may aught avail
(And earneſt Pray'rs with Heav'n do ſeldom fail)
Let all good Men lift up their Hearts with me,
That what I beg of Heav'n may granted be.
If ever Heart, with wicked Thought, ſhall aim
To harm thy State, let Heav'n reveal the ſame.
If ever Hand, lift up with violent Pow'r,
Shall ſeek thy Life, Heav'n cut it off that Hour.
If ever Eye of Treaſon lurk about,
Or lie in wait for thee, Heav'n put it out.
If Heart, Hand, Eye, Abroad, or here at Home,
Shall plot againſt thee, never may they come
To their Effect; as they have ever been,
So may they be: And let all ſay, *Amen.*
Here my Dream ended: After which, a While
Soft Slumber did my Senſes ſo beguile,
I thought the *Tower* Gate was o'er my Head,
Until I wak'd, and found myſelf in Bed;
From whence ariſing, as the wronged Knight
Had giv'n in Charge, this Viſion I did write.

Some

Some ſmall and ſimple Reaſons, delivered in a Hollow-Tree, in *Waltham* Foreſt, in a Lecture, on the Thirty-third of *March* laſt. By *Aminadab Blower*, a devout Bellows-mender of *Pimlico*. Shewing the Cauſes in general and particular, wherefore they do, might, would, ſhould, or ought, except againſt and quite refuſe the Liturgy or Book of Common-Prayer. Printed, *Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo. Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

MY dear beloved and zealous Brethren and Siſters here aſſembled in this holy Congregation, I am to unfold, unravel, untwiſt, untye, unlooſe, and undo, to your uncapable Underſtandings, ſome ſmall Reaſons, the Matter, the Cauſes, the Motives, the Grounds, the Principles, the Maxims, the Why's and the Wherefores, wherefore and why, we reject, omit, abandon, contemn, deſpiſe, and are and ought to be Withſtanders and Oppoſers of the Service-Book; called by the hard Name of *Liturgy*, or *Common-Prayer*, which hath continued in the Church of *England* eighty-four Years.

I have exactly examined and collected ſome Notes and Obſervations out of the learned *Hebrew* tranſlated Volumes of Rabbi *Ananias*, Rabbi *Ahitophel*, Rabbi *Iſcariot*, Rabbi *Simon Magus*, Rabbi *Demas*, and Rabbi *Alexander* the Copperſmith, and all nor any of their Writings doth in any Place ſo much as mention that Book, or any ſuch Kind of Service to be uſed at all by them. I have farther taken Pains in looking over ſome *Chaldean*, *Perſian*, *Egyptian*, *Arabian*, and *Arminian* Authors, of which I underſtood not one Word; I alſo (with the like Diligence and Underſtanding have viewed the *Turkiſh Alchoran*, and there I found not a Syllable concerning either Liturgy, Common-prayer, or Divine Service. As for *Greek* Authors, I muſt confeſs I underſtand them not, or negatively, for which Reaſon I leave them as impertinent; and, touching the *Latin* Writers, they are partial in this Caſe, the Tongue being *Romanian*, and the Idiom is *Babyloniſh*, which ſeems to me an intricate Confuſion.

I having carefully viewed the Tomes and Tenets of Religion, and Books of all Manner of Hieroglyphicks, Writings, Scrolls, Tallies, Scores and Characters, and finding nothing for the Maintaining of that Book or Liturgy, I looked into the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, written by one *Euſebius*, and another Fellow they call *Socrates*, wherein I found many Arguments and Incitements to move Men to ſuch Doctrine as is compriſed and compiled in the Liturgy. After that I ſearched into the Acts and Monuments of this Kingdom, written by old *Fox*, and there I found that the Compoſers of it were Biſhops and Doctors, and great learned School-Men of unfeigned Integrity, of impregnable Conſtancy, who with invincible Faith ſuffered moſt glorious Martyrdom by the Papal Tyranny, for the Writing and Maintaining that Book, with the true Proteſtant Religion contained in it.

Brethren, I muſt confeſs, that I was ſomewhat puzzled in my Mind at theſe Things, and I could not be ſatisfied, till I had conſulted with ſome of our devout Brothers; our Brother *How*, the Cobler, was the firſt I broke my Mind to, and we adviſed to call or ſummon a Synod to be held in my Lord *Brook*'s Stable, the Reverend *Spencer*, the Stable-groom, being the Metropolitan there. At our Meeting there was *Greene* the Felt-maker, *Barebones* the Leather-ſeller, *Squire* the Taylor, with *Hoare* a Weaver, and *Daviſon* a Bonelace-maker of *Meſſenden*, and *Paul Hickeſon* of *Wickham* Taylor, with ſome four or five Bakers Dozens of Weavers, Millers, Tinkers, Botchers, Broom-men, Porters, of all Trades, many of them bringing Notes with them fitting for our Pur-

poſe; which Notes they had taken carefully from the Inſtructions of the Demi-martyrs and round and ſound Confeſſors, St. *B.* St. *P.* and St. *B.* out of which, with our own Capacities and Ingenuities to boot, we have collected and gathered theſe ſound and infallible Objections againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, or Liturgy, as followeth.

For our own Parts, my Brethren, it is for the Reputation and Honour of our holy Cauſe and Calling to conteſt, malign and cavil, where we are not able either to convince by Reaſons or Arguments; therefore I having traced the Book from End to End, and yet, upon the Matter, to no End for ſuch Ends as we would conclude upon, I find nothing in it diſagreeing to God's Word or agreeing with our Doctrine. The firſt Prayer, called the *Confeſſion*, is quite contrary to our Appetites and Profeſſion, for to confeſs, that 'we have erred 'and ſtrayed like loſt Sheep,' is to acknowledge ourſelves to be ſilly horned Beaſts and Cuckolds; our Children, by that Reckoning, ſhould be Lambs, our Wives Ewes, and we, their innocent Husbands, muſt be Rams; and every lay Preacher or preaching Tradeſman would be accounted a Bell-wether to the Flock or Herd.

Neither do we think it fit to make ourſelves appear ſo weak-witted or puſillanimous as to confeſs, that 'We have left undone thoſe Things 'which we ought to have done, and done 'thoſe Things which we ought not to have 'done;' for ſuch a Confeſſion will lay open our Diſloyalty, our Intruſion, our Tranſgreſſions, Rebellions, and Treaſons; we ſhall therein acknowledge ourſelves, by Omitting of Duties, and Committing of Villainies in Church and State, do deſerve juſtly the Severity of God, and the King's Laws to be our deſerved Wages: Beſides, we hold it to be a retractive Diminiſhing of Valour, a Popiſh Kind of cowardly effeminate Submiſſion, which our ſtout Hearts, ſtiff Necks, and ſtubborn Knees will never ſtoop and bow to, for the old Proverb is *Confeſs and be*, &c.

Concerning the ſecond Prayer, called the *Abſolution*, for the Remiſſion of Sins through Chriſt, through Chriſt hath given Power and Commandment, to his lawful Miniſters, to declare and pronounce in his Name, to all true repenting Sinners, the Abſolution and Remiſſion of their Sins, yet we will not believe it to be available, but eſteem it as Popiſh and ſuperſtitious.

As for the Lord's Prayer, which the *Papiſts* call by the *Romiſh* or *Latin* Name of *Pater Noſter*, we muſt confeſs it is pithy and ſhort; but, had our Advices been at the making of it, it ſhould have been two Yards and a half longer, by *London* Meaſure. Beſides, we would like it better, if it were not commanded or enjoined upon us, for our Faiths cannot brook to be limited within the Compaſs of any Command, Decree, Edict, Law, Statute, Order, Rule, Ordinance, Government, or Authority either of God or the King; beſides, in that Prayer there is Mention made of 'forgiving 'ſuch as treſpaſs againſt us,' which our Doctrine or Natures cannot incline to, for we do never remember a good Turn, and very ſeldom or never forget or forgive an Injury. Therefore, for theſe conſiderable Cauſes, and many more, we think it requiſite to forbear that brief Prayer, and zealouſly to advance the Altitude of our ſpacious Ears, to receive the Longitude of a three Hours Repetition, for our fructifying Edification.

Thirdly, for the Deſiring the 'Lord to open 'our Lips, that our Mouths might ſhew forth 'his Praiſe:' It is known we can do that Extempore, by the Spirit, and it belongs to our Teacher to open his Lips and pray; but it is our Parts to give ſpiritual Attention, and not to open our Lips, but only at the Singing of old *Robert Wiſdom*'s Madrigal, or the like. And, whereas we are commanded to ſtand at the ſaying of *Gloria Patri*, to avoid that Ceremony we hold it beſt not to ſay it at all.

As for the xcvth Pſalm, (or, *O come let us ſing*, &c.) we object againſt it for two Reaſons: The one is of falling down, and worſhiping, and kneeling: And the other is, we will neither kneel, fall down, or worſhip, becauſe it is an Expreſſion of Humility and Reverence, which we utterly refuſe to give either to God or Man. As for the Order of reading the firſt Leſſon, we could like it better, if it were not ſo ordered; it were neceſſary we had Freedom to read what, when, and where we liſt, for Order is odious; and, whereas there is appointed a Hymn, called by a *Latin* Name, *Te Deum laudamus*, we do conceive the Matter of it to be very good, but that it was compoſed by a Biſhop, one *Ambroſe*, of a City and Province in *Italy* called *Milan*, and that the ſaid *Ambroſe*

was

was not only a Biſhop, but, for his godly Life and holy Writings, he was made a Saint; for theſe Cauſes we leave him and his Hymn too, as being too much conformable to Edification, Decency, Order, and Obedience.

Likewiſe the ſecond Leſſon may be read, but not that which is appointed for the Day; for, as is aforeſaid, we cannot abide any Thing that is appointed or ordered by Authority, that, our Conſciences being at Liberty, we may the more freely ſhew ourſelves the lawleſs Sons and Daughters of Confuſion.

And, though it hath been a Cuſtom very ſignificant, and as ancient as the primitive Times of Chriſtian Religion, to repeat the Articles of the Belief ſtanding, our Underſtanding, notwithſtanding, doth withſtand that Kind of Poſture, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe the Church ordained it, and the Law commands it; and truly we do know no Senſe or Reaſon to ſtand to any Saying of Faith, for it is one of our Principles, 'that, whatſoever we ſay, we 'will ſtand to nothing.'

Next followeth the Lord's Prayer again (as the Proteſtants call it) and a Prayer compoſed of Verſicles, wherein the Miniſter and People do (as it were by Queſtions and Anſwers) deſire 'God's Mercy, and the Granting of Sal-'vation,' after which they pray, 'O Lord ſave 'the King,' which is, by us, wonderfully diſliked and omitted; and, when we are to render the Cauſe of it, we ſhall not want inſufficient Anſwers, which we have ſtudiouſly pondered in the learned Colleges of *Amſterdam* and *New-England*. Then there followeth, 'Give Peace in our Time, O Lord,' which we utterly deteſt; for, if once that Prayer be granted, many of us (except the King be more merciful than we deſerve) ſhall be hanged for Rebellion and Treaſon, and glad we eſcape ſo too; the beſt, we can look for, is the Advancing again the Proteſtant Religion, and then down go we, with all our ſpiritual Inſpirations, and long-winded Repetitions; we ſhall be ſilenced (which is a terrible Torture) or baniſhed from our zealous Siſters; our Collections and Contributions will be abrogated and annihilated, our Puddings and Plum-broth will be in the Forlorn-hope, and ourſelves excluded, extirpated, exiled, excommunicated, as extraordinary, extravagant, unexampled Raſcals and Coxcombs; for theſe Conſiderations of martial Validity, Weight, and deep Conſequence (altogether repugnant and malignant to our holy Profeſſion of *Browniſm* and *Anabaptiſm*) we will neither have Peace (although we dare not fight in War) no Peace I will pray for; therefore, good Brethren, I pray you no Prayer for Peace.

And for Saying, 'God make our Hearts 'clean within us, and take not thy Holy Spirit 'from from us;' theſe Words are impertinent for us to ſpeak, for we know our Hearts to be clear and pure already; and, for the Spirit, it is tied ſo faſt to us, that it cannot be taken from us, or from any that will believe us.

In the Evening Prayer, there is one Collect for Peace, and another for the Enlightening of our Darkneſs; we have already declared our Minds, though all the World knows us to be Hypocrites; yet we do know, that a godly loyal Peace will confound us, therefore we will not hypocritically pray for that which we deſire not to have: And for our Darkneſs, though it be palpable to be felt (like the Darkneſs of *Ægypt*, yea, more dark than Ignorance itſelf) yet we have, by Inſtigation, found Light in abundance: Our Weights are light, our Mothers, Wives, Siſters, Aunts, Nieces, Daughters, and Female Servants, are light; our inviſible Horns are light, our Words, Deeds, Thoughts, Conſciences, Payment of Debt, and Religion, is light (or of light Account) our Faith in God, and Loyalty to the King, are moſt tranſlucently light, apparently light, refulgently light, illuſtrately light, tranſparently light, internally light, externally light, infernally light, emblazoned, perſpicuated, cognominated, propagated, and promulgated, to all the World to be light (lighter than any Thing that we call Lightneſs) lighter than Vapour, Air, Smoke, Flame, Duſt, Chaff, Wind, Feather, Froth, Cork, Yeaſt, Fog, Puff, Blaſt, a Whore, Vanity, yea more light than Vanity itſelf.

As concerning *Quicunque vult* (or Whoſoever will be ſaved) it is an Argument that he, that will be, may be, and he, that will not, may chuſe whether he will or no; which implies a Free-will (a very Popiſh Concluſion) alſo that Creed is concluded to be called *Catholick*, which Word we like not.

Next followeth the Litany, which is a hard Word to us, and ſounds in our ſpacious Ears as it were *Latin*, or the Beaſt's Language; we confeſs there are ſome few Sentences, that may be tolerated; but we ought to remember ourſelves, and take Heed that we avoid Praying againſt Fornication, Sedition, Conſpiracy, falſe

Doctrines, Hereſy, Hardneſs of Heart, and Contempt of God's Word and Commandment; for you know, Brethren, that theſe are daily and nightly Contemplations, and Recreations: Beſides, it ſeems to be a ſwearing Kind of Invocation (As) 'By the Incarnation, by the Nativity and Circumciſion, Baptiſm, Faſting, Temptation, Agony, bloody Sweat, Croſs, Paſſion, Death, Burial, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and Coming of the Holy Ghoſt,' (all which is moſt certainly true) but we ought to find out ſome other By-word, than the Word By; for, though by them all true Believers are ſaved, yet that is no Warrant or Argument we ſhould ſwear by them.

Then there is Praying, that the Church may be ruled and governed in the right Way; which, if that be granted, What will become of us, that do know ourſelves to be none of the true Church? Therefore that Prayer belongs not to us.

Then follow Beſeechings for Bleſſings to be upon the King, Queen, and Royal Poſterity, and that they may have Victory over all their Enemies; all the World knows, we are none of their Friends, therefore theſe Prayers are Apocrypha to us, neither will we be ſo ſimple to pray againſt ourſelves; and the Caſe is plain, that Rebellion muſt be tamed, before the King can be victorious.

Then follows Praying for Biſhops (whom we cannot abide, nor can we ſhew wherefore) and, amongſt the reſt, there is a Prayer 'for 'all Women labouring with Child,' in which Prayer many a looſe Harlot may be comprehended; therefore it had been fitter to have prayed 'for all Women labouring with Child lawfully begotten,' for, verily, it is ſinful to pray for either Root, Stock, Limb, Bough, Branch, Sprig, Leaf, Fruit, or Seed, of the Wicked. I like well of the laſt Verſe, except one, of the ſame Litany, wherein we pray, 'that the Fruits of the Earth may be given 'and preſerved to our Uſe,' but with this Proviſo, that we alone, and none but we, who labour in the holy Cauſe, 'ſhould enjoy 'them in due Time,' or at any Time.

Then there are Prayers for Mercy, for Grace, for Defence and Victory in War, for Preſervation from Plague and Peſtilence, for Biſhops again, and Curates, for Rain, for fair Weather, and for Relief in Dearth and Famine; then there follow eighty-four Things, which they call Collects, wherein many holy Saints are remembered on certain peculiar Days; and, though we can juſtly find nothing but what is agreeable to God's Word in the whole Liturgy, yet the Purity of our ſingular Doctrines doth hold it profane and popiſh, for we have the Spirit to prompt us, inſomuch as our grave Patriots have lately thought fit to unſaint all the Saints, and all the Churches and Houſes of God in *London* have been, theſe many Months, diſrobed of their ſanctimonious Names, and are all excommunicated out of the weekly diſeaſed Bill; for now the Churches are to be called no more St. *John*'s, St. *Peter*'s, but *Peter*'s, *Andrew*'s, *James*'s, *John*'s, *George*'s Church or Pariſh, with ſo many died of ſuch and ſuch Diſeaſes, or by ſuch a Caſualty, or ſuch a Raſcal hanged himſelf, for Playing a *Judas*'s Part againſt his Sovereign.

Next follow the Ten Commandments, which we neglect to ſay, becauſe they are of the Old Teſtament, and the Law was given to the *Jews*; we that are Chriſtians are freed from it by the Goſpel: Beſides, it is ſaid to have two Tables, one ſhewing our Duty towards God, the other towards Man: Concerning the Firſt of them, we hold ourſelves clear from Idolatry, Swearing, and Profanation: For the Second, we conceive it not to bind us, either to give Honour to the King or Magiſtrates (they being the Fathers and Protectors of our Country, Wealth, Eſtates, and all we enjoy under God), nor to our natural Parents, if they be not of our Faith.

At the Communion, there are Prayers for the King again, and the Belief, with Repeating ſome Portions of Scripture, to move Men to Charity and good Works, all which we omit, for only Faith is our Practice; and for good Works, or Charity, we hold it to be unneceſſary, and therefore we will neither uſe or do any: Neither will we receive, lying, ſtanding, ſitting, nor kneeling, by any Means, nor any Way that is commanded by Order, in what Place or Country whatſoever. As for publick or private Baptiſm, we are able to do that ourſelves, either in a Baſon, a River, a Brook, a Pond, a Pool, a Ditch, or a Puddle; nor do we hold it fitting, but that we be Godfathers and Godmothers to our Children ourſelves, and call them what Scripture Names we liſt. Nay, we will church our Wives ourſelves too. And, as for Matrimony, we will ſave that Charge, and take one another's Words; for we muſt take our Wives Words for

for our Children, and why not for themſelves? As for the Viſitation of the Sick, and Burial of the Dead, they are both fit to be done; the one is neceſſary, becauſe the Brethren and Siſters may meet and ſalute the Feaſt.

And, as for the Burial of the Dead, the Caſe is all Men's, beſides Boys, Women, and Children: But a grave and learned long-ſtanding Lecturer did lately find out the right Way of Burial, for an old Man that died in the Pariſh of St. *James*, near *Duke's-place*, within *Aldgate*, at which Funeral he preached; and in his Sermon he told the dead Man his Faults very roundly, and abuſed the Corpſe more for Ten Shillings, than any conformable Preacher would have done for Twenty; and, when he came to the Laying the Body in the Ground, he omitted all old Order and Ceremonies of Burial, only thus briefly he ſaid,

Aſhes to Aſhes, Duſt to Duſt,
Here's the Hole, and in thou muſt.

So there is an End, and an End of my Lecture.

A POSTSCRIPT.

IT is humbly deſired, that the Reader do not cenſure the Writer with any Thought, or Touch of Profanity, for in this foregoing Diſcourſe he hath only decyphered the fooliſh Grounds and Tenets which the Teachers of the peſtilent Sects of Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts do hold and maintain.

Yours, *J. T.*

The mighty Miracle; or, The Wonder of Wonders at *Windmill-Hill*. Being the Invitation of *John Lacy*, Eſq; and the reſt of the inſpired Prophets, to all Spectators, to to come on *Tueſday* next, the 25th Day of this Inſtant *May*, where, to their exceeding Aſtoniſhment, they may (without any Prejudice to their Eye-ſight) behold Dr. *Emms* ariſe out of his firſt Grave, and dreſs himſelf in his uſual Habit to all their View, and with a loud Voice relate Matters of Moment, preaching a Miraculous Sermon, giving a ſtrange Account of paſt and future Events; the like never ſeen or heard in *England* before, exceeding any Wonder or Show that ever was ſeen on *Windmill-Hill* at any Holiday-time. Licenſed according to Order. *London*: Printed for *J. Robinſon* in *Fleetſtreet*, 1708. *Folio*, containing one Page.

THE Town having been buſied with Apprehenſions of Wars in the North, and the Affairs of State, having almoſt ſuffered our late Doctor *Emms* to be buried in Oblivion, as well as in his Grave near *Windmill-hill*; and ſo, by Conſequence, he may riſe alone, or, as we term it vulgarly, in Hugger-mugger, without any to witneſs the Wonder: But let me acquaint you, that, as ſuch Miracles are not common, it is fit they ſhould be proclaimed aloud by Fame's Trumpet; neither have all Men the Gift of raiſing the Dead, nor hath it been known for many Ages. Eſquire

Lacy

Lacy has publiſhed a Relation of the Dealing God with his unworthy Servant, ſince the Time of his believing and profeſſing himſelf inſpired, which befel him, the Firſt of *July*, 1707: His Agitations coming upon him without the Working of his Imagination, upon what he ſaw in others, and proceeding from a ſupernatural Cauſe, ſeparate and diſtinct from himſelf, whereby his Arm, Leg, and Head have been ſhaken, his Limb twitched, the Reſpiration of his Breath has, for ſundry Days, beat various Tunes of a Drum, and his Voice has been ſo ſtrong, clear, and harmonious, that his natural one could never furniſh: He has been carried on his Knees ſeveral Times round a Room, ſwifter than he could have gone on his Feet. Sir *Richard Buckley* has been cured of an Hoſpital of Diſeaſes, by a Promiſe thereof made through his Mouth, under the Operation of the Spirit; and by the ſame Means a Man purblind has been cured, and a Woman of a Fever, Mr. *Preſton* of a Carbuncle, and another of a deep Conſumption. Therefore Eſquire *Lacy*, with the reſt of the inſpired Prophets, gives Notice, for the Satisfaction of the Unbelieving, that, according to their former Prophecy (who cannot err) that, on the Twenty-fifth of *May*, they repair to *Bunhill Fields*, and there in that Burying-Place, commonly called *Tindal*'s Ground, about the Twelfth Hour of the Day, behold the wonderful Doctor fairly riſe; and in two Minutes Time the Earth over his Coffin will crack, and ſpread from the Coffin, and he will inſtantly bounce out, and ſlip off his Shroud (which muſt be waſhed, and, with the Boards of his Coffin, be kept as Relicks, and doubtleſs perform Cures by their wonderful Operation) and there, in a Trice, he dreſſes himſelf in his other Apparel (which doubtleſs hath been kept for that Intent ever ſince he was interred) and then there he will relate aſtoniſhing Matters, to the Amazement of all that ſee or hear him.

Likewiſe, for the more convenient Accommodation of all Spectators, there will be very commodious Scaffolds erected throughout the Ground, and alſo without the Walls in the adjacent Fields, called *Bunhill-Fields*, exceeding high, during this great Performance. The like may never be ſeen in *England* hereafter: And, that you may acquaint your Children, and Grandchildren, if you have any, that you have ſeen this mighty Miracle, you are adviſed not to neglect this Opportunity, ſince it is plainly evident, that, of all the Shows or Wonders that are uſually ſeen on Holiday-time, this muſt bear the Bell; and there it is ordered to be publiſhed in all News, that the Country may come in; the like never performed before. It is alſo believed that Gingerbread, Oranges, and all ſuch Goods expoſed to publick Sale in Wheelbarrows, will doubtleſs get Trade there, at this vaſt Concourſe; therefore, for the Benefit of poor People, I give them timely Notice, ſince it is a bad Wind that blows none no Profit. But, beſides this admirable Wonder of this ſtrange and particular Manner of his Reſurrection, he is to preach a Sermon, and, leſt it ſhould not be printed, you are invited to be Ear-witneſſes thereof, as well as *Eye-witneſſes* to ſee his *Lips* go, in the Pronounciation thereof; all which will be Matter of great Moment, filling you all with exceeding Amazement and great Aſtoniſhment; his Voice will be loud and audible, that all may hear him, and his Doctrine full of Knowledge; undoubtedly you will return home taught with profound Underſtanding. Which Miracle, if you chance to ſee or hear, you will not forget, and ſo by Conſequence, for the Future, be endowed with ſound Judgment, and moſt excellent Wiſdom, moſt eloquent Expreſſions, and what not: Then neglect not this great and moſt beneficial Opportunity, but for that Time ſet all your Affairs aſide: And take this Advice from Mr. *Lacy*, and the inſpired Prophets, together with Mrs. *Mary* of *Turnmill-ſtreet*, a ſhe Propheteſs, and the young Woman who ſells Penny-pyes, who, in Hopes of obtaining all your Company, remains Yours; not queſtioning but to give you all Content with this rare Show.

Eſquire

Esquire *Lacy*'s Reaſons why Doctor *Emms* was not raiſed from the Dead, on the Twenty-fifth of *May*, according to the *French* Prophets Prediction. *London*, printed for *J. L.* in *Barbican*, 1708. *Folio*, containing one Page.

WE are not unſenſible of the harſh Cenſures and uncharitable Reflexions that are caſt upon us and our Brethren, the Prophets, in not raiſing from the Dead our late ſpiritual Brother Dr. *Emms*, on the preciſe Time we foretold; therefore, to prevent, as much as in us lies, all further Clamour and unnatural Violence that may be occaſioned thereby, we have thought fit to give our Reaſons for this Omiſſion, in the following Order:

Firſt, and principally, we were threatened with a popular Rage and Violence, which the Laws of God and Nature allows all Mankind to avoid, having been practiſed by good and holy Men in all Ages of the World, even our Saviour himſelf, *John* x. 39, *&c.* who further confirms this Truth, *Matt.* x. 33, by adviſing his Diſciples, when they were perſecuted in one City, to flee into another. And, if it was lawful for the Apoſtles and Chriſt himſelf to avoid the Fury of their wicked and unbelieving Adverſaries, we hope no Man can reaſonably blame us from deferring the Accompliſhment of the ſaid intended Miracle. *Jonah* propheſied the Deſtruction of *Nineveh* in forty Days, but it was deferred near forty Years, on their Repentance.

Secondly, The ſecret Decrees of the prophetical Spirit are treaſured up in the Fountain of Wiſdom, and conſequently paſt Man's finding out, eſpecially by a rebellious and gainſaying People.

Thirdly, Raiſing the Dead, Reſtoring the Blind and Lame to their Sight and Limbs, are great Miracles, and only performed by Faith, Prayer, and Faſting; but, where a rude, enraged and revengeful Multitude is gathered together in Defiance of Heaven itſelf, all Acts of Devotion are obſtructed, and even ſuſpended till a more ſeaſonable Time.

Fourthly, Though Prophetick Periods do not always take Place, according to the punctual Warnings of the agitated Spirit in the Child of Adoption, yet, like a great Conqueror, who ſometimes meets with Difficulties and Miſcarriages in his March, in due Time break through all Obſtruction, for the more glorious Accompliſhment of the Promiſes.

Fifthly, and *Laſtly*, Had we been peaceably ſuffered to appear on the Day and Hour we predicted, it would then have been decided who were the Cheats and Impoſtors (Names we have been notoriouſly loaded with) but when open Rage, Mob, Fury, and even Death itſelf not only threatened, but looked us in the Face; ſuch a Time, we are ſure, was inconſiſtent for the Undertaking of any Thing that related to a publick Satisfaction; for, had the Miracle really been wrought in ſuch a confuſed Medley of ungovernable Rabble, inſtead of being acknowledged as ſuch, we had run the Hazard of being torn in Pieces, and perhaps occaſioned a fatal and general Diſorder among the People; for whoſe Sake, more than for Fear of our own Lives, we prudently delayed Attempting the ſaid weighty Undertaking till a more favourable Opportunity; though we could freely have ſacrificed our Lives for the Sake of Spiritual Truth, if ſuch a Diſpenſation had been either neceſſary or convenient; but (conſidering the Madneſs of the Age, the Malice of the Mob, and the Rage of many Malecontents againſt the preſent Government, who, in all Probability, would have took the Advantage of ſuch a Confuſion, in order to have promoted their long-wiſhed for Treaſons and wicked Deſigns) we preferred the publick Peace and Safety of the Government before our own Intereſt and Reputation, which, however ſo much ſhaken in this Particular, ſhall never diſcourage us from being loyal and obedient to our Superiors, notwithſtanding our

being

being rendered obnoxious to them by ſpiteful and malicious Agents, who are always fiſhing in troubled Waters, to bring about their own notorious and pernicious Purpoſes, though, to the Scandal of themſelves, and Ruin of their Chriſtian Brethren, whom they hate for no other Reaſon than being honeſter than themſelves.

To conclude: Let Men of carnal Principles have what Sentiments they pleaſe of us, we are reſolved to act as the Spirit of Peace and Love within us ſhall dictate and guide us, and as the ſupernatural Agitations of divine Inſpiration ſhall enlighten our Underſtanding.

An exact Account of the Receipts, and Diſburſements expended by the Committee of Safety, upon the emergent Occaſions of the Nation. Delivered in by *M. R.* Secretary to the ſaid Committee, to prevent falſe Reports and prejudicate Cenſures. *London*, Printed for *Jeremiah Hanzen*, 1660. *Folio*, containing twelve Pages.

May it pleaſe your Honours,

I AM come here, according to Order, to preſent unto you an exact Account of what Money was diſburſed by the Committee of Safety, in the ſhort Time of their Sitting. Truly, I would fain juſtify myſelf, and thoſe who were my Maſters, for I deſire to appear an honeſt Man outwardly, whatever I am inwardly. I know, and am not ignorant, what a good Thing it is to be a good Steward; for I know you love good Stewards, and have thrown out the Family of the *Stewards*, becauſe you thought them not to be good Stewards. I make no Queſtion, but your Honours will find this to be a juſt and true Account; for I learned Subtraction, Multiplication, and Addition, while I was at *Drury-Houſe*; and, I thank God, I attained alſo to ſome ſmall Knowledge of the Golden Rule: I I could have wiſhed with all my Heart it had been more, yet I intended to have perfected my Knowledge in the Committee of Safety, had my Time not been ſo ſhort; however, I intreat your Honours to conſider, that the Committee of Safety could be at no ſmall Charges, in Regard of the Expences that wait upon Authority. We had many Mouths to feed, many wanting Brethren, that were in Charity to be relieved; and Charity, your Honours know how laudable a Thing it is. All Men love Money, all Men ſeek for it, and are not well till they have it; and would you have the Committee of Safety more than Men? Truly, I can aſſure your Honours, they were but Men at their higheſt, and now they are God knows what; it is thought, ſome of them now wiſh they were Women: It is true, Changes have been very advantageous to a great many Men in theſe Times, but there are no Changes now can do them Good, but ſuch Metamorphoſes, as the Poets ſpeak of. I myſelf wiſh I had been changed into an Elder-tree, to have been cut out into Pot-guns, when I firſt fingered a Penny of their Money. Truly, I think the Curſe of *Simon Magus* fell upon them; for no ſooner was their Money ſpent, but they were forced to run away; ſo that I may ſay of them, That they and their Money periſhed together. How it periſhed, I hope your Honours will hereby receive full Satisfaction; I would have your Honours contented with this Account, which I have here brought; but I aſſure your Honours, if you will not, I can bring you no other. I have one Word more, by Way of Petition: That your Honours would be pleaſed to conſider my Condition; and, if I have laid out any Money out of my Purſe (as you may hereby perceive that I have) that you will be pleaſed to reſtore it me again, and give me ten times as much more. It is a ſad Thing to be poor and

needy. 'O Hunger, Hunger, ſaid the famous Champion of *England*, more ſharp than the Stroke of Death, thou art the extremeſt Puniſhment that ever Man endured; if I were now King of *Armenia*, and chief Potentate of *Aſia*, yet would I give my Diadem, my Scepter, with all my Provinces, for one Sliver of brown Bread.' I ſpeak this to ſhew you how much it concerns every Man, and as well myſelf, as any Body elſe, to prevent Poverty; which makes me urge my Petition to you once again, That you would not only not take away what I have got, but rather, as I ſaid but juſt now, give me ten times more. May it pleaſe your Honours, I have done; the Lord bleſs you, and incline your Hearts to Pity and Compaſſion.

Received, out of the Treaſuries of the *Exciſe*, *Cuſtoms*, and the *Exchequer*, Four-hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds.

Diſburſed as followeth:

The ACCOUNT.

Imprimis, For three-and-twenty long Clokes, at ſeven Pounds ten Shillings *per* Cloke, to cover the Committee of Safety's Knavery, One-hundred ſeventy-two Pounds ten Shillings.

Item, For ſix Dozen of large fine *Holland* Handkerchiefs, with great *French* Buttons, for the Lord *Fleetwood*, to wipe away the Tears from his Excellency's Cheeks, at twenty Shillings *per* Handkerchief, Seventy-two Pounds.

Item, For four new Perriwigs for his Lordſhip, at ſix Pounds a Perriwig, together with a Dozen Pounds of Amber Powder, with four wooden Blocks, and half a Dozen of Tortoiſeſhell Combs, Forty-one Pounds ten Shillings.

Item, For a ſilver Inkhorn, and ten gilt Paper-books, covered with green Pluſh and *Turky* Leather, for his Lady to write in at Church, Seven Pounds, three Shillings, and three Pence.

Item, Paid his young Daughter's Muſick-maſter and Dancing-maſter, for fifteen Months Arrears, due at the Interruption of the Parliament, Fifty-nine Pounds five Shillings.

Item, For twelve new Braſs Nails that were wanting in his Coach, and Removing all his Excellency's Horſes Shoes, and Blooding his Pad Nag, One-hundred and ſixty Pounds, one Shilling, and two Pence.

Item, For four rich Mantles for his Lady, two laced, and two embroidered, and a brave new Gown made to congratulate her Huſband's new Honour, Two-hundred and ſeventy Pounds.

Item, Beſtowed by her Order, upon the Journeymen Taylors, and given to him that brought Home and tried on her ſaid Gown, ſeven Pieces in Gold, Seven Pounds fourteen Shillings.

Item, For Changing an old Faſhion Caudle Cup, and three Silver Skillets that were melted, Ten Pounds.

Item, For the Uſe of his Excellency's Rooms, his Chairs and Cuſhions, as alſo for Candles and *Scotch* Coals, while the Committee of Officers ſat in his Houſe, Five-hundred Pounds.

Item, For an innumerable Company of Pectoral Rolls and Lozenges, to dry up his Excellency's Rheum, at two Pence a-piece, Thirty Pounds, two Shillings, and two Pence.

Item, Paid the Apothecary's Bill, for Pills and Clyſters for the laſt Autumn, Eighty-one Pounds twelve Shillings.

Item, For two Rolls of *Spaniſh* Tobacco for Colonel *Sydenham*, at twenty Shillings *per* Pound, according to the Protector's Rate; and five black Pots to warm Ale in, at twelve Pence a-piece; together with ten Groce of glazed Pipes, at nine Shillings the Groce, Forty-five Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence.

Item, For two gilt Horn-books for his great Son, at two Shillings and ſix Pence a-piece, Five Shillings.

Item, Beſtowed upon the Lord *Lambert*, to buy him the ſeveral Pictures of *Moſes*, *Mahomet*, *Romulus* and *Remus*, *Cæſar*, and all thoſe that were the firſt Founders of large Empires and Kingdoms, Five-thouſand Pounds.

Item, Preſented to the Lord *Lambert* the Root of a Tulip, and a certain *Eaſt-Indian* Flower with a hard Name; which, for their Rarity, coſt Two-hundred and fifty Pounds.

Item, Paid the ſaid Lord, who is now no Lord, to be ſpent, the Lord knows how, in a certain Northern Expedition which came to nothing, Six-thouſand Pounds.

Item, Laid out for ſeven rich new Gowns, beſpoke at *Paris* for the Lady *Lambert*, to be worn

worn seven several Days one after another, at her Husband's Coming to the Crowns, every Gown valued at sixty Pounds one with another, Four-hundred and twenty Pounds.

Item, For Pins and Gloves for the said Lady, Eighty-three Pounds nine Shillings.

Item, For seven new Whisks, laced with *Flanders* Lace of the last Edition, each Whisk valued at fifty Pounds, Three-hundred and fifty Pounds.

Item, For four-hundred Packs of *French* Cards, with Pictures, to play at *Best* and *Picquet* withal, Two-hundred Pounds.

Item, For a new Pair of Spurs for Colonel *Clark*, and a new Whip with a silver Handle, and a Coral Whistle at the End of it to call the Ostler, Three Pounds six Shillings.

Item, For Vamping the said Colonel's Riding-boots, and for new Spur-leathers, Ten Pounds.

Item, Laid out, for Wedding-clothes for the Lord *Lambert*'s Daughter, Eleven-hundred and fifty Pounds.

Item, Given to the Lord *Wareston*, to buy him a House and Land here, because his Lordship had expressed a very great Dislike of his own Country, and was then resolved never to have gone thither any more, One-thousand Pounds.

Item, Given to the Lord *Strickland*, for his very ordinary Service, a Dozen of gilt Nutmegs, at six Pence three Farthings a-piece, Six Shillings and four Pence.

Item, Given to Colonel *Berry*, to buy him a three-handed Sword, Five-hundred Pounds.

Item, Given to Lord-mayor *Tichburne*, to buy him a Hobby-horse and a clear Conscience, Three-thousand Pounds.

Item, Paid to a Spectacle-maker, for a Spectacle with one Glass for Colonel *Hewson*, Four-hundred Pounds.

Item, Paid for three great Saddles for the Lord *Lawrence*'s Son, and for Provender for his lofty Steeds, ever since the Protector's Political Death, Five-hundred Pounds.

Item, Reimbursed to the said Lord *Lawrence* several Sums of Money, which his eldest Son squandered away upon Poets, and Dedications to his Ingenuity, to the Value of Five-hundred Pounds more.

Item, Paid Sir *Harry Vane*, to defray the extraordinary Charges of his fruitless Voyage into the *Hope*, Eight-hundred Pounds.

Item, Given the Gunner, for four Salutes, as he went off the Admiral, ten Pieces in Gold, to the Value of Twelve Pounds.

Item, Paid the Scrivener, for Writing out the League made betwixt him and the Lord *Lambert*, when they joined their Forces together, Fifteen Pounds.

Item, For a great sharp Knife, to cut his Meat according to his Stomach, with an Agate Handle, Two Pounds, four Shillings, and one Penny.

Item, For Caudles, devoured by his Lady every Morning, for these last three Months, Sixty Pounds, seven Shillings, and two Pence.

Item, Allowed Sir *Harry Vane*, Five-hundred Pounds, to pay for the Exchange of Money which he transferred into *Holland*.

Item, Allowed him Five-hundred Pounds more, to buy him *Fortunatus*'s Cap.

Item, Given to Colonel *Cobbett*, Three-hundred Pounds, to buy him *Mambrino*'s Helmet, and the Sword which St. *George* pulled out of the Rock, in all Four-hundred Pounds.

Item, Disbursed to the Lady *Thomas*, at the Request of her Father-in-law, Four-hundred and seventy Pounds, to make her Husband a new Pair of Horns, his old ones being now worn out.

Item, For new Chairs for the Council-Chamber, and for Brushing the Hangings, and Airing the Room, for Fear of any Infection that the Lord *Lambert*'s Enemies might leave behind them, Two-hundred and one Pounds, three Shillings, and six Pence.

Item, for Switches which the Lord *Lambert* wore out when he interrupted the Parliament, and for making clean his Boots the next Day, Forty-three Pounds.

Item, Bestowed upon Mr. *Holland* Nine-hundred Pounds to buy him six new iron Chests, to lock up his Money in.

Item, Paid the Herald for a new Coat of Arms for Major General *Desborough*, with this Motto, *God speed the Plough*, Fifty-eight Pounds.

Item, Paid, for new Matting one of his Bed-Chambers, Sixteen Pounds, two Shillings, and two Pence,

Item, Paid the Lord *Whitlock* One-hundred Pounds for his great *Swedish* Cat, that it might be kept in the *Tower* as one of the Lord *Lambert*'s Chattels, for the publick Benefit and Satisfaction of the Nation.

Item, Paid the Fellow that cut the Lord *Lambert*'s Corns, the Day before he went out of Town, five Pounds ten Shillings.

Item, for a Tinder-box for the Lord *Lambert*, with a thousand Card-matches to light his Candles with, when he waked in the Night, Sixteen Pounds, fifteen Shillings, and ten Pence.

Item, For half a Score new Lasts for the Committee, to set their Consciences upon when they began to pinch them, Thirty Pounds seven Shillings.

Item, Taken by Mr. *Cor. Holland* Five-thousand Pounds, to satisfy himself for an old Debt owing him by King *James*, paid no less than twice before.

Item, Taken by the Lord *Whitlock*, to satisfy himself for his Ambassy into *Swedeland*, Twenty-thousand Pounds.

Item, Given to Mr. *Thankful Owen*, a small Collop to etch out his Fortunes, Four-hundred Pounds.

Item, Given to Mr. *Brandrith* a thousand Pounds, because he had never any Thing given him before.

Item, Presented by the whole Committee to the Lady *Lambert* a Tooth-pick Case of Gold, beset all over with Diamonds, Rubies, and Emeralds, that cost Fifteen-hundred Pounds.

Item, For a Bundle of Rods, and Urine to soak them in, which Rods were prepared for those that voted the Lord *Lambert* out of Commission, Seventy Pounds, ten Shillings, and five Pence.

Item, Given to Cardinal *Mazarine* Fifty-thousand Pounds, to shew him there was Money stirring then in *England*, as well as in the Protector's Time.

Item, Bestowed upon Colonel *Salmon* Five-hundred Pounds, to buy him Borage-water, and Syrup of Gilly-flowers, to keep up his Heart, by Reason of his continual Sighing.

Item, Laid out of my own Purse Two-hundred and fifty Pounds, for several Collations and Dinners both in *Fish-street*, and elsewhere.

Item, For Bottles of Wine spent in my own House, One-hundred Pounds.

Item, For Banqueting-stuff, and Sweet-Meats of all Sorts, for my Wife to entertain Visitants, and for six new *Flanders* laced Smocks, Three-hundred Pounds.

Item, For a Neck-lace of Oriental Pearl, and three Diamond-rings, and a Silver Warming-pan, Four-hundred Pounds, ten Shillings, and six Pence.

Item, For a new great Powdering-tub, and a Suit of Tapestry Hangings, Sixty-one Pounds five Shillings.

Item, Laid out One-hundred thousand Pounds, which was carried down to the Banks of the River *Tweed* by Way of Temptation, which, being utterly refused, was afterwards distributed into private Quarters, which is all the Account I am able to give of it.

Item, Paid the Under-Clerks of the Committee several Sums of Money spent in Ale-houses, and Bawdy-Houses, according to their several Accounts, amounting in all to One-hundred eighty three Pounds.

Item, Paid *Politicus* Five-hundred and five Pounds, to make good several Sums of Money by him lost in Bowling Greens, and at the Comb-makers Ordinary.

Item, For Capers, Samphire, and Olives, and ten Bushels of *Kentish* Pippins for Lambs-wool, being all very scarce Commodities in the North, to furnish the Lord *Lambert*'s Table, Seven-hundred Pounds, six Shillings, and two Pence.

Item, For a hundred Bottoms of Packthread, but for what Use I know not, One-hundred and three Pounds.

Item, For Ink, Paper, Pens, Wax, and blue Dust, One-thousand Pounds.

Item, For a Hundred-thousand Pounds of great Candles, and given in as a Gratuity to the Chandler's Boy, for Bringing them in, Two-thousand five-hundred Pounds.

Item, Paid to Link-boys, for Lighting the Commissioners and Council of Officers Home to their Lodgings, Ninety-four Pounds.

Item, Paid unto the Centinels, for Pissing near the Guard, Fifty-seven Pounds, three Shillings, and six Pence.

Item, For *East India* Night-Gowns for the Commissioners, and the rest of the Officers, and for Night-caps for them, Two-hundred and thirty-three Pounds.

Item, Paid the Chaplains for three Fast-Days, and for Pome-citron to keep the Commissioners empty Stomachs from wambling, Seven-hundred eighty-nine Pounds.

Item, For twelve pair of cut-finger'd Gloves for myself to write in, ten Pounds.

Item, For Coffee, which the Commissioners drank every Morning, especially when they had got a Dose over Night, Three-hundred and forty Pounds ten Shillings.

Item, Towards the Repairing the Ruins of *Troy*, Twenty-thousand Pounds.

Item, For Whips, Tops, and Jointed-babies, for the Commissioners younger Children, Eighty-nine Pounds seven Shillings.

Item, For Writing out the Inſtrument of Government ſeven Times over, Fifty Pounds.

Item, Allowed Colonel *Hewſon*, for his Charges at the Seſſions houſe, Four-hundred ninety-five Pounds.

Item, For three blue Beans in a blue Bladder, Ninety-three Pounds.

Item, Paid to *Lilly*, for Caſting the Nativities of the Commiſſioners Children, Five-hundred Pounds.

Item, Given to Sir *Harry Vane* Three-thouſand Pounds, to raiſe a Regiment of Anabaptiſts.

Item, Beſtowed by his Appointment upon Inciters, Promoters, and Inſtigators, One-thouſand Pounds.

Item, Given, as a Preſent to the Pope, Twenty-thouſand Pounds by the ſaid Sir *Harry*, for ſeveral and ſundry Courteſies done him by his Holineſs.

Item, For a hundred new Cords, which were to be uſed when the Lord *Lambert* came to Town, and alſo for new Setting the Ax in the *Tower*, Two-hundred and four Pounds, five Shillings, and ten Pence.

Item, For a very ſtrong Padlock to be hung upon the Parliament Houſe Door, and a ſilver Key, which was to be delivered to St. *Peter*, to be by him kept till the Lord *Lambert* ſhould call to him for it, One-hundred and ten Pounds, twelve Shillings, and eight Pence.

Item, Given the Porter of *Wallingford* Houſe, for Letting the Officers in and out, and Sitting up all Hours in the Night, One-hundred Pounds.

Item, For Drawing the Mortgage of my Lord *Lambert*'s Houſe and Lands, and for Fees to the Council, Two-hundred Pounds.

Item, For a new Riding-hat for his Lordſhip, becauſe he was told that that, which he wore in the Day of his Wrath, made him look like a *Finſbury* Archer, Ten Pounds.

Item, Beſtowed in New-years Gifts one upon another, every one giving out of the publick Stock, Seven-thouſand Pounds.

Item, For a Paddle, Staff, and brown Bill, for Major-General *Desborough*, when his Worſhip pleaſes to walk his Grounds, ſeven Pounds ten Shillings.

Item, Paid to Mr. *Salaway* for Raiſins, Currants, and Prunes, at exceſſive Rates, for the Keeping of *Chriſtmas*, Two-thouſand Pounds.

Item, Laid out for Turbants, Saſhes, and Scimitars for the Lord *Lambert*, and the reſt of his Adherents, Nine-thouſand five-hundred fifty-ſix Pounds, which made Men think they would have turned *Turks*, had they come into Power.

Item, To the great Officers in the Commonwealth of *Oceana*, the *Polemarch*, the *Strategus*, and my Lord *Epimonus*, Ten-thouſand Pounds, to buy them Figs, Melons, and yellow Hats.

Item, Given in Charity to the State of *Venice*, who are the Bulwark of *Chriſtendom*, Twelve-thouſand Pounds.

Item, Laid out upon a great Hog-trough to be ſet up in *Rumford*, as a Trophy of their publick Magnificence, Three-thouſand Pounds.

Item, Sent into *Lapland* for the Retaining of a certain Necromancer, who was to aſſiſt them in the Carrying on their great Work, Five-thouſand Pounds.

Item, For black Wool and Civet, to ſtop the Ears of the Committee and Council of Officers from hearing any Thing that might tend to their own, or the Good of the Nation, fifty Pounds.

Item, Laid out for a new Scepter, for his intended Highneſs the Lord *Lambert*, Five-hundred Pounds.

Item, For Granado's to fire the City, One-hundred Pounds.

Item, Paid for a Pound of *May*-butter, made of a Cow's Milk that fed upon *Hermon* Hill, given to the Lady *Lawrence* for pious Uſes, Eighty-ſeven Pounds ten Shillings.

Item, Given to a Projector, toward a certain Deſign which he had to bring over an inchanted Caſtle, to ſecure the Lord *Lambert*'s Foes in, Five-thouſand Pounds.

Item, Paid to another Projector, towards a Deſign which he had to look into the Middle of the Weſtern Ocean, for a great *Spaniſh* Galleon that was ſunk with the Weight of the Gold that ſhe carried, ſome thirty Years ago, Two-thouſand five-hundred Pounds.

Item, For a fair pair of Tables, with ſeveral Bales of Dice, that thoſe Commiſſioners, who cared not to trouble themſelves with the Affairs of the Nation, might not want ſomething to paſs the Time away withal, Fifty-ſeven Pounds five Shillings.

Item, For nine Mill-ſtones for the Lord *Lambert*'s nine Worthies to wear about their Necks inſtead of *Georges*, and for blue Ribbons to hang them in, Five-hundred Pounds.

Item, For one of the Emperor of *Ruſſia*'s caſt Furr-Gowns, for the Lord *Wareſton* to wear while he was Preſident of the Committee, Seven-hundred and fifty-four Pounds.

Item,

Item, for a Shoe-maker's Meaſure to be provided by Colonel *Hewſon*, for the Commiſſioners to take the Length of the People's Feet, Twenty-three Pounds.

Item, For a Ton of Sallet Oil, to make their Tongues glib, when they were to talk with the Aldermen and Common-council, Two-hundred and thirty-three Pounds, twelve Shillings, and ſix Pence.

Item, Paid the Lord *Fleetwood*, for Scraps given to the Beggars at his Door, Three-hundred Pounds.

Item, For twenty pair of Caſtanets, for the Ladies to dance Serrabands at Sir *Harry Vane*'s Son's Wedding, Fifty Pounds.

Item, Paid to the Army, never a Farthing.

Item, Paid to the Navy, as much.

The Sum total, amounting to Four-hundred thirty-thouſand Pounds.

Thus your Honours may ſee how vainly and profuſely we have ſquandered away a very conſiderable Sum, which your Honours had carefully laid up for better and more important Uſes. I ſhall only ſay this, in the Behalf of my Maſters, that, if you pleaſe not to be rigorous with them, and to call them to any further Account, they will take it not a little courteouſly, and be bound to pray for your Honours; though if your Honours think fit to do otherwiſe, I do believe the whole Nation in general will be more indebted to your Juſtice.

A WINTER DREAM.

----Quæ me ſuſpenſum inſomnia *terrent?* Virg.
Sæpe futurarum præſagia ſomnia *rerum.*

Printed *Anno Domini* QuanDo ReX AngLoruM *VeCtI* victItabat CaptIvus, 1649. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

The Printer to the Reader.

BEcauſe the Interpretation of this Dream may be obvious to all Capacities, I have preſumed, with the Author's Leave, to prefix here the Names of thoſe Countries he hints at.

1. The States of *Holland.*
2. *High Germany.*
3. The Kingdom of *Naples.*
4. The Republick of *Venice.*
5. The Kingdoms of *Spain.*
6. The Kingdom of *France.*
7. The Kingdoms of *England*, and the Confuſions thereof, by Way of Apology.
8. The *Scots.*

IT was in the Dead of a long Winter-night, when no Eyes were open but Watchmen and Centinels, that I was fallen ſoundly aſleep; the Cinque Outports were ſhut up cloſer than uſually, and my Senſes ſo treble-locked, that the Moon, had ſhe deſcended from her watery Orb, might have done much more to me than ſhe did to *Endymion*, when he lay ſnoaring upon the Brow of *Latmus*'s Hill; nay, be it ſpoken without

without Prophaneneſs, if a Rib had been taken out of me that Night, to have made a new Model of a Woman, I ſhould hardly have felt it.

Yet, though the Couſin-german of Death had ſo ſtrongly ſeized thus upon the exterior Parts of this poor Tabernacle of Fleſh, my inward were never more active, and fuller of Employments, than they were that Night:

Pictus imaginibus, formiſque fugacibus adſtat
Morpheus, *& variis fingit nova vultibus ora.*

Methought my Soul made a Sally abroad into the World, and fetched a vaſt Compaſs; ſhe ſeemed to ſoar up and ſlice the Air, to croſs Seas, clamber up huge Hills, and never reſted till ſhe had arrived at the *Antipodes*: Now, ſome of the moſt judicious Geometricians and Chorographers hold, that, the whole Maſs of the Earth being round like the reſt of her Fellow-Elements, there are Places, and poiſing Parts of the Continent; there are Peninſula's, Promontories, and Iſlands upon the other Face of the Earth, that correſpond and concenter with all thoſe Regions and Iſlands that are upon the Superficies which we tread; Countries that ſymboliſe with them in Qualities, in Temperature of Air and Clime, as well as in Nature of Soil: The Inhabitants alſo of thoſe Places, which are ſo perpendicularly oppoſite, do ſympathiſe one with another in Diſpoſition, Complexions, and Humours, though the Aſtronomers would have their Eaſt to be our Weſt, and ſo all Things *vice verſa* in Point of Poſition, which Diviſion of the Heaven is only Man's Inſtitution.

But, to give an Account of the ſtrange Progreſs my Soul made that Night, the firſt Country ſhe lighted on was a very low flat Country, and it was ſuch an odd amphibious Country, being ſo indented up and down with Rivers, and Arms of the Sea, that I made a Queſtion whether I ſhould call it Water or Land; yet, though the Sea be invited and uſhered in into ſome Places, he is churliſhly penned out in ſome others; ſo that, though he foam and ſwell, and appear as high Walls hard by, yet they keep him out, maugre all his Roaring and Swelling.

As I wandered up and down in this watery Region, I might behold from a ſtreight ſtrong Dike, whereon I ſtood, a ſtrange Kind of Foreſt, for the Trees moved up and down; they looked afar off, as if they had been blaſted by Thunder, for they had no Leaves at all; but, making a nearer Approach unto them, I found they were a numberleſs Company of Ship-Maſts, and before them appeared a great Town* incorporated up and down with Water; as I muſed with myſelf upon the Sight of all this, I concluded that the Inhabitants of that Country were notable induſtrious People, who could give Law ſo to the angry Ocean, and occupy thoſe Places where the great *Leviathan* ſhould tumble and take his Paſtime in: As my Thoughts ran thus, I met with a Man, whom I conjectured to be betwixt a Merchant and a Mariner; his Salutation was ſo homely, the Air alſo was ſo foggy, that methought it ſtuck like Cobwebs in his Muſtachoes; and he was ſo dull in Point of Motion, as if his Veins had been filled with Butter-milk in lieu of Blood: I began to mingle Words with him, and to expoſtulate ſomething about that Country and People; and then I found a great deal of downright Civilities in him: He told me that they were the only Men who did Miracles of late Years; thoſe innumerable Piles of Stones, you ſee before you in ſuch comely neat Fabricks, is a Place (ſaid he) that, from a Fiſh-market in Effect, is come to be one of the greateſt Marts in this Part of the World, which hath made her ſwell thrice bigger than ſhe was fifty Years ago; and, as you behold this floating Foreſt of Maſts before her Mole, ſo, if you could ſee the Foundations of her Houſes, you ſhould ſee another great Foreſt, being reared from under Ground upon fair Piles of Timber, which, if they chance to ſink in this marſhy Soil, we have an Art to ſcrue them up again. We have, for ſeventy Years and above, without any Intermiſſion, except a ſhort-lived Truce that once was made, wreſtled with one of the greateſt Potentates upon Earth, and borne up ſtoutly againſt him, gramercy our two next neighbour Kings, and their Reaſon of State, with the Advantage of our Situation. We have fought ourſelves into a free State, and now quite out of that ancient Allegiance we owed him; and though we pay twenty Times more in Taxes of all Sorts, than we did to him, yet we are contented: We have turned War into a Trade, and that, which uſeth to beggar others, hath benefited us: Beſides, we have been, and are ſtill, the

* *Amſterdam.*

Ren-

Rendezvous of moſt diſcontented Subjects, when, by the Motions of unquiet Conſciences, in Points of Religion, or, by the Fury of the Sword, they are forced to quit their own Countries, who bring their Arts of Manufacture and Moveables hither; inſomuch that our Lombards are full of their Goods, and our Banks ſuperabound with their Gold and Silver which they bring hither in Specie. To ſecure ourſelves, and cut the Enemy more Work, and to engage our Confederates in a War with him, we have kindled Fires in every Corner; and, now that they are together by the Ears, we have been content lately, being long wooed thereunto, to make a Peace with that King to whom we once acknowledged Vaſſalage; which King, out of a Height of Spirit, hath ſpent five-hundred Times more upon us for our Reduction, than all our Country is worth; but now he hath been well contented to renounce and abjure all Claims and Rights of Sovereignty over us; inſomuch that, being now without an Enemy, we hope, in a ſhort Time, to be Maſters of all the Commerce in this Part of the World, and to eat our Neighbours out of Trade in their own Commodities: We fear nothing but that Exceſs of Wealth, and a Surfeit of Eaſe, may make us careleſs, and breed Quarrels among ourſelves, and that our General, being married to a great King's Daughter, may ——

Here he ſuddenly broke the Thread of his Diſcourſe, and got haſtily away, being hailed by a Ship that was ſailing hard by.

Hereupon my Soul took Wing again, and cut her Way through that foggy condenſed Air, till ſhe lighted on a fair, ſpacious, clear, Continent, a generous and rich Soil, mantled up and down with large Woods, where, as I ranged to and fro, I might ſee diver's fair Houſes, Towns, Palaces, and Caſtles, looking like ſo many Carkaſes, for no human Soul appeared in them: Methought I felt my Heart melting within me, in a ſoft Reſentment of the Caſe of ſo gallant a Country; and, as I ſtood at Amaze, and in a Kind of Aſtoniſhment, a goodly Perſonage makes towards me, whom, both for his Comportment, and Countenance, I perceived to be of a finer Mould than that Companion I had met withal before: By the Trace of his Looks, I gueſſed he might be ſome Nobleman that had been ruined by ſome Diſaſter: Having accoſted him with a fitting Diſtance, he began in a maſculine ſtrong-winded Language, full of Aſpirations and tough Colliſions of Conſonants, to tell me as followeth: Sir, I find you are a Stranger in this Country, becauſe you ſtand ſo aghaſt at the Devaſtations of ſuch a fair Piece of the Continent; then know, Sir, becauſe I believe you are curious to carry away with you the Cauſes thereof, that theſe rueful Objects, which you behold, are the Effects of a long lingering War, and of the Fury of the Sword, a cruentous Civil War, that hath raged here above thirty Years: One of the Grounds of it was the unfortunate Undertaking of a Prince, who lived not far off, in an Affluence of all earthly Felicity; he had the greateſt Lady to his Wife, the beſt Purſe of Money, the faireſt Stable of Horſes, and choiceſt Library of Books, of any other of his neighbour Princes. But, being by deſperate and aſpiring Counſels put upon a Kingdom, while he was catching at the Shadow of a Crown, he loſt the Subſtance of all his own ancient Poſſeſſions: By the many powerful Alliances he had (which was the Cauſe he was pitched upon) the Fewd continued long; for, among others, a *Northern* King took Advantage to ruſh in, who did a World of Miſchiefs; but, in a few Years, that King and he found their Graves in their own Ruins, near upon the ſame Time: But now, may Heaven have due Thanks for it, there is a Peace concluded; a Peace which hath been fourteen long Years a moulding, and will, I hope, be ſhortly put in Execution; yet it is with this fatal Diſadvantage, that the ſaid *Northern* People, beſides a Maſs of ready Money we are to give them, are to have firm Footing, and a warm Neſt, ever in this Country hereafter, ſo that I fear we ſhall hear from them too often: Upon theſe Words this noble Perſonage fetched a deep Sigh, but in ſuch a generous Manner, that he ſeemed to break and check it before it came half forth.

Thence my Soul taking her Flight over divers huge and horrid cacuminous Mountains, at laſt I found myſelf in a great populous Town; but her Buildings were miſerably battered up and down: She had a World of Palaces, Caſtles, Convents, and goodly Churches: As I ſtepped out of Curioſity into one of them, upon the Weſt Side there was a huge Grate, where a Creature all in White beckoned at me; making my Approach to the Grate, I found her to be a Nun; a lovely Creature ſhe was, for I could not diſtinguiſh which was whiter, her Hue or her Habit, her Veil or her

Face:

Face: It made me remember (though in a Dream myſelf) that Saying, If Dreams and Wiſhes had been true, there had not been found a true Maid to make a Nun of, ever ſince a cloiſtered Life began firſt among Women. I asked her the Reaſon how ſo many ugly Devaſtations ſhould befall ſo beautiful a City? She, in a dolorous gentle Tone, and ruthful Accents, the Tears trickling down her Cheeks like ſo many Pearls, ſuch pearly Tears that would have diſſolved a Diamond, ſobbed out unto me this Speech: Gentle Sir, it is far beyond any Expreſſions of mine, and indeed beyond human Imagination, to conceive the late Calamities which have befallen this fair, though unfortunate City: A pernicious popular Rebellion broke out here, upon a ſudden, into moſt horrid Barbariſms, a Fate that hangs over moſt rich popular Places, that ſwim in Luxury and Plenty; but, touching the Grounds thereof, one may ſay, that Rebellion entered into this City, as Sin firſt entered into the World, by an Apple: For, our King, now in his great Extremities, having almoſt half the World banding againſt him, and putting but a ſmall Tax upon a Basket of Fruit, to laſt only for a Time, this Fruit-Tax did put the People's Teeth ſo on Edge, that it made them gnaſh againſt the Government, and ruſh into Arms; but they are ſenſible now of their own Follies, for, I think, never any Place ſuffered more in ſo ſhort a Time: The Civil Combuſtions abroad, in other Kingdoms, may be ſaid to be but ſmall Squibs, compared to thoſe horrid Flakes of Fire which have raged here, and much ado we had to keep our *Veſtal* Fire free from the Fury of it: In leſs than the Revolution of a Year, it conſumed above fourſcore thouſand Souls within the Walls of this City: But it is not the firſt Time of forty, that this luxurious fooliſh People hath ſmarted for their Inſurrections and Inſolencies; and that this mad Horſe hath overthrown his Rider, and drawn a worſe upon his Back; who, inſtead of a Saddle, put a Pack-ſaddle and Panniers upon him. But, indeed, the Voluptuouſneſs of this People was grown ripe for the Judgment of Heaven: She was then beginning to expoſtulate with me about the State of my Country, and I had a mighty Mind to ſatisfy her; for I could have correſponded with her, in the Relation of as ſtrange Things; but, the Lady Abbeſs calling her away, ſhe departed in an Inſtant, Obedience ſeemed to be there ſo preciſe and punctual.

I ſteered my Courſe thence through a moſt delicious Country, to another City, that lay in the very Boſom of the Sea: She was, at firſt, nothing elſe but a Kind of Poſy, made up of dainty green Hillocks, tied together by above four-hundred Bridges, and ſo coagulated into a curious City. Though ſhe be eſpouſed to *Neptune* very ſolemnly once every Year, yet ſhe ſtill reſerves her Maidenhead, and bears the Title of the Virgin City in that Part of the World: But I found her tugging mainly with a huge Giant, that would raviſh her. He hath ſhrewdly ſot on her Skirts, and a great Shame it is, that ſhe is not now aſſiſted by her Neighbours, and that they ſhould be together by the Ears, when they ſhould do ſo neceſſary a Work, conſidering how that great Giant is their common Enemy, and hath lately vowed ſeven Years Wars againſt her; eſpecially conſidering, that, if he comes once to raviſh her, he will quickly ruin them; ſhe, to her high Honour be it ſpoken, being their only Rampart againſt the Incurſion of the ſaid Giant, and, by Conſequence, their greateſt Security.

From this Maiden City, methought, I was in a trice carried over a long Gulf, and ſo through a Midland Sea, into another Kingdom, where I felt the Clime hotter by ſome Degrees; a rough-hewn Soil, for the moſt Part, it was, full of craggy barren Hills; but, where there were Vallies and Water enough, the Country was extraordinarily fruitful, whereby Nature, it ſeems, made her a Compenſation for the Sterility of the reſt. Yet, notwithſtanding the Hardſhips of the Soil, I found her full of Abbies, Monaſteries, Hermitages, Convents, Churches, and other Places of Devotion: As I roved there a While, I encountered a grave Man in a long black Cloke, by the Faſhion whereof, and by the Brims of his Hat, I perceived him to be a Jeſuit: I cloſed with him, and queſtioned with him about that Country: He told me, the King of that Country was the greateſt Potentate of that Part of the World; and, to draw Power to a greater Unity, they of our Order could be well contented, that he were univerſal Head over Temporals, becauſe it is moſt probable to be effected by him, as we have already one univerſal Head over Spirituals: This is the Monarch of the

the Mines, I mean of Gold and Silver, who furniſhes all the World, but moſt of all his own Enemies with Money, which Money foments all the Wars in this Part of the World: Never did any earthly Monarch thrive ſo much in ſo ſhort a Tract of Time; but of late Years he hath been ill-favouredly ſhaken by the Revolt and utter Defection of two Sorts of Subjects, who are now in actual Arms againſt him, on both Sides of him, at his own Doors. There hath been alſo a long deadly Feud betwixt the next tramontan Kingdom and him, though the Queen that rules there be his own Siſter, an unnatural odious Thing: But it ſeems God Almighty hath a Quarrel of late Years with all earthly Potentates; for, in ſo ſhort a Time, there never happened ſuch ſtrange Shocks and Revolutions: The great Emperor of *Ethiopia* hath been outed, he and all his Children, by a petty Companion: The King of *China*, a greater Emperor than he, hath loſt almoſt all that huge Monarchy by the Incurſion of the *Tartar*, who broke over the Wall upon him: The grand *Turk* hath been ſtrangled, with Thirty of his Concubines: The Emperor of *Muſcovy* hath been content to beg his Life of his own Vaſſals, and to ſee before his Face divers of his chief Officers hacked to Pieces, and their Heads cut off and ſteeped in Strong-water, to make them burn more bright in the Market-Place. Beſides the above-mentioned, this King hath alſo divers Enemies more, yet he bears up againſt them all indifferently well, though with infinite Expence of Treaſure; and the Church, eſpecially our Society, hath ſtuck cloſe unto him in theſe his Exigents: Whence may be inferred, that, let Men repine as long as they will at the Poſſeſſions of the Church, they are the beſt Anchors to a State in a Storm, and in Time of Need, to preſerve it from ſinking: Beſides, Acts of Charity would be quite loſt among Men, did not the Wealth of the Church keep Life in them. Hereupon, drawing a huge Pair of Beads from under his Cloke, he began to ask me of my Religion; I told him I had a long Journey to go, ſo that I could not ſtay to wait on him longer; ſo we parted, and methought I was very glad to be rid of him ſo well.

My Soul then made another Flight over an Aſſembly of hideous high Hills, and lighted under another Clime, on a rich and copious Country reſembling the Form of a Loſenge, but methought I never ſaw ſo many poor People in my Life: I encountered a Peaſant, and aſked him what the Reaſon was that there ſhould be ſo much Poverty in a Country where there was ſo much Plenty? Sir, they keep the Commonalty poor in pure Policy here; for, being a People, as the World obſerves us to be, that are more humorous than others, and that love Variety and Change, if we were ſuffered to be pampered with Wealth, we would ever and anon riſe up in Tumults, and ſo this Kingdom ſhould never be quiet, but ſubject to inteſtine Broils, and ſo to the Hazard of any Invaſion: But there was of late a deviliſh Cardinal, whoſe Humour, being as ſanguine as his Habit, and working upon the Weakneſs of his Maſter, hath made us not only poor, but ſtark Beggars, and we are like to continue ſo by an eternal War, wherein he hath plunged this poor Kingdom, which War muſt be maintained with our very vital Spirits; but, as dejected and indigent as we are, yet, upon the Death of that ambitious Cardinal, we had riſen up againſt this, who hath the Vogue now, with whom he hath left his Principles, had not the fearful Example of our next tranſmarine Weſtern Neighbours, and the Knowledge we have of a worſe Kind of Slavery of thoſe endleſs arbitrary Taxes, and horrid Confuſions they have fooled themſelves lately into, utterly deterred us, though we have twenty Times more Reaſon to riſe than ever they had; yet our great City hath ſhewed her Teeth, and gnaſhed them ill-favouredly of late; but we find ſhe hath drawn Water only for her own Mill, we fare little the better, yet we hope it will conduce to Peace, which hath been ſo long in Agitation. I cannot remember how I parted with that Peaſant, but, in an Inſtant, I was landed upon a large Iſland, and methought it was the moſt temperate Region I had been in all the While; the Heat of the Sun there is as harmleſs as his Light; the Evening Serenes are as wholeſome there as the Morning Dew; the Dog-days as inocuous as any of the two Equinoxes. As I ranged to and from that fair Iſland, I eſpied a huge City, whoſe Length did far exceed her Latitude, but neither, for Length or Latitude, did ſhe ſeem to bear any political Proportion with that Iſland: She looked, methought, like the Jeſuit's Hat whom I had met withal before, whoſe Brims were bigger than the Crown, or like a Petticoat, whoſe Fringe was longer than the Body.

As I did caſt my Eyes upwards, methought I diſcerned a ſtrange Inſcription in the Air, which hung juſt over the Midſt of that City, written in ſuch huge viſible Characters, that any one might have read it, which was this: *Woe be to the bloody City.*

Hereupon a Reverend Biſhop preſented himſelf to my View; his grey Hairs and grave Aſpect ſtruck in me an extraordinary Reverence of him; ſo, performing thoſe Compliments which were fitting, I aſked him of the Condition of the Place; he, in a ſubmiſſive ſad Tone, with Clouds of Melancholy waving up and down his Looks, told me: Sir, this Iſland was reputed few Years ſince to have been in the completeſt Condition of Happineſs of any Part on Earth, inſomuch that ſhe was repined at for her Proſperity and Peace by all her Neighbours, who were plunged in War round about her; but now ſhe is fallen into as deep a Gulf of Miſery and Servitude, as ſhe was in a Height of Felicity and Freedom before: Touching the Grounds of this Change, I cannot impute it to any other than to a Surfeit of Happineſs; now there is no Surfeit ſo dangerous as that of Happineſs: There are ſuch horrid Diviſions here, that, if they were a Foot in Hell, they were able to deſtroy the Kingdom of Satan: Truly, Sir, there are crept in more Opinions among us about Matters of Religion, than the Pagans had of old of the *Summum bonum*, which *Varro* ſaith were three-hundred; the Underſtandings of poor Men were never ſo puzzled and diſtracted; a great While there were two oppoſite Powers, who ſwayed here in a Kind of Equality, that People knew not whom to obey; many Thouſands complied with both, as the Men of *Calecut*, who adore God and the Devil, *Tantum Squantum*, as it is in the *Indian* Language; the one for Love, the other for Fear: There is the moſt monſtrous Kind of wild Liberty here that ever was upon Earth; that, which was complained of as a Stalking-horſe to draw on our Miſeries at firſt, is now only in Practice, which is mere arbitrary Rule; for now both Law, Religion, and Allegiance are here arbitrary. Touching the laſt, it is quite loſt; it is permitted that any one may prate, preach, or print what they will in Derogation of their anointed King; which Word *King* was once a Monoſyllable of ſome Weight in this Iſland, but it is as little regarded now as the Word *Pope*, among ſome, which was alſo a mighty Monoſyllable once among us; the Rule of the Law is, that the King can do no Wrong; there is a contrary Rule now crept in, that the King can receive no Wrong; and truly, Sir, it is a great Judgment both upon Prince and People; upon the one, that the Love of his Vaſſals ſhould be ſo alienated from him; upon the other, that their Hearts ſhould be ſo poiſoned, and certainly it is the Effect of an ill Spirit; both the one and the other, in all Probability, tend to the Ruin of this Kingdom. I will illuſtrate this unto you, Sir, by an Apologue, as followeth:

There happened a ſhrewd Commotion and Diſtemper in the Body natural, betwixt the Head and the Members; not only the noble Parts, ſome of them, but the common inferior Organs alſo banded againſt him in a High-way of unnatural Preſumption: The Heart, which is the Source of Life, with the *Pericardium* about it, did ſwell againſt him; the Liver, which is the Shop of Sanguification, gathered ill Blood; all the Humours turned to Choler againſt him; the Arms lifted up themſelves againſt him; neither Back, Hams, or Knees would bow to him, nay, the very Feet offered to kick him; the twenty-four Ribs, the Reins, the *Hypochondrium*, the *Diaphragma*, the *Miſeraic*, and emulgent Veins were filled with corrupt Blood againſt him; yea, the *Hypogaſtrium* and the Bowels made an inteſtine War againſt him. While the Feud laſted, it happened that theſe tumultuary Members fell out amongſt themſelves; the Hand would have all the Fingers equal, nay, the Toes would be of even Length, and the reſt of the ſubſervient Members would be independent: They grew ſo fooliſh, that they would have the Fundament to be where the Mouth is, the Breaſt where the Back, the Belly where the Brain, and the Yard where the Noſe is; the Shoulders ſhould be no more ſaid to be backwards, nor the Legs downwards; a bloody Quarrel fell betwixt the Heart and the Liver, which of them received the firſt Formation, and whether of the two be the chiefeſt Officine of Sanguification, which Queſtion bred ſo much Gall betwixt the *Ariſtotelians* and the *Galeniſts*; while this Spleen and ſtrange Tympany of Pride laſted, it cauſed ſuch an Ebullition and Heat in the Maſs of Blood, that it put the Microcoſm, the whole Body, in a high burning Fever, or Frenzy rather, which, in a very ſhort Time, grew to be a Hectick, and ſo all periſhed by a fatal Conſumption.

I fear

I fear the ſame Fate attends this unfortunate Iſland, for ſuch as was the Condition of that natural Head, this Apologue ſpeaks of, the ſame is the Caſe of the politick Head and Body of this Iſland: Never was ſovereign Prince ſo banded againſt by his own Subjects; never was the Patience of a Prince ſo put upon the Tenter; he is ſtill no leſs than a Captive; his Children are in Baniſhment in one Country, his Queen in another, the greateſt Queen of Blood upon Earth; a Queen that brought with her the greateſt Portion that ever Queen did in Treaſure; yet, in twenty Years and upwards, her Jointure hath not been ſettled as it ſhould be; nor hath ſhe been crowned all this While, according to matrimonial Articles; notwithſtanding that, for the Comfort of this Nation, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Throne, ſhe hath brought forth ſo many hopeful Princes.

But now, Sir, becauſe I ſee you are ſo attentive, and ſeem too much moved at this Diſcourſe, as I have diſcovered unto you the general Cauſe of our Calamities, which was not only a Satiety, but a Surfeit of Happineſs; ſo I will deſcend now to a more particular Cauſe of them; it was a Northern Nation that brought theſe Cataracts of Miſchief upon us; and you know the old Saying,

Out of the North
All Ill comes forth.

Far be it from me to charge the whole Nation herewith; no, but only ſome pernicious Inſtruments, that had inſinuated themſelves, and incorporated among us, and ſwayed both in our Court and Councils. They had a Hand in every Monopoly; they had, out of our *Exchequer* and *Cuſtoms*, near four-hundred thouſand Crowns in yearly Penſions, *viis & modis*; yet they could not be content, but they muſt puzzle the Peace and Policy of this Church and State; and, though they are People of different Intellectuals, different Laws, Cuſtoms, and Manners unto us, yet, for Matter of Conſcience, they would bring our Necks into their Yoke, as if they had a greater Talent of Reaſon, and clearer Illuminations; as if they underſtood Scripture better, and were better acquainted with God Almighty, than we, who brought them firſt from Paganiſm to Chriſtianity, and alſo to be Reformed Chriſtians: But, it ſeems, Matters have little thriven with them; nay, the viſible Hand of Heaven hath been heavily upon them divers Ways, ſince they did lift their Hands againſt their native King: For, notwithſtanding the vaſt Sums they had hence, yet is the Generality of them as beggarly as ever they were; beſides, the Civil Sword hath raged there as furiouſly as here, and did as much Execution among them. Moreover, the Peſtilence hath been more violent and ſweeping in their chief Town, than ever it was ſince they were a People. And now lately there is the notableſt Diſhonour befallen them, that poſſibly could light upon a Nation, in that ſeven Thouſand of ours ſhould, upon even Ground, encounter, kill, ſlay, rout, and utterly diſcomfit, thrice as many of theirs, though as well appointed and armed as Men could be: And truly, Sir, the Advantages, that accrue to this Nation, are not a few, by that Exploit; for, of late Years, that Nation was cried up Abroad to be a more martial People than we, and to have baffled us in open Field in divers Traverſes; beſides, I hope a ſmall Matter will pay now their Arrearages here and elſewhere; but principally, I hope they will not be ſo buſy hereafter in our Court and Council, as they have been formerly.

Another Cauſe of our Calamity is a ſtrange Race of People ſprung up among ourſelves, who were confederate with thoſe of the North: They would make God's Houſe clean, and put out the Candle of all ancient Learning and Knowledge; they would ſweep it only by the Light of an *Ignis fatuus*; but it is viſibly found, that they have brought much more Rubbiſh into it; and whereas, in reforming this Houſe, they ſhould rather find out the Groat that is loſt, they go about to take away the Mite that is left, and ſo put Chriſt's Spouſe to live on mere Alms. True it is, there is a Kind of Zeal that burns in them (and I could wiſh there were as much Piety) but this Zeal burns with too much Violence and Preſumption; which is no good Symptom of ſpiritual Health, it being a Rule, That, as the natural Heat, ſo the ſpiritual ſhould be moderate, elſe it commonly turns to a Frenſy; and that is the Thing, which cauſeth ſuch a Giddineſs and Diſtraction in their Brains. This, proceeding from the Suggeſtions of an ill Spirit, puffs them up with ſo much mental Pride; for the Devil is ſo cunning a Wreſtler, that he oftentimes lifts Men up to give them the greater Fall: They think they have an unerring Spirit, and that their Dial muſt needs go true, howſo-

ever the Sun goes; they would make the Gospel, as the Caddi's make the Alcoran, to decide all civil temporal Matters under the large Notion of Slander, whereof they to be the Judges, and so in Time to hook in all Things into their *Classis*. I believe, if these Men were dissected, when they are dead, there would be a great deal of Quicksilver found in their Brains:

Proh Superi, quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ Noctis habent! ——

But I could pity the Giddiness of their Brains, had they not so much Gall in their Breasts, were they not so thirsting after Blood, so full of Poison and irreconcileable Malice; insomuch that it may be very well thought, these Men are a-kin to that Race which sprung out of the Serpent's Teeth: These are they which have seduced our great Council, and led this foolish City by the Nose, to begin and foment this ugly War; insomuch that, if those numberless Bodies, which have perished in these Commotions, were cast into her Streets, and before her Doors, many thousand Citizens Noses would bleed of pure Guilt.

Not to hold you long, these are the Men who have baffled common Sense, blasted the Beams of Nature, and offered Violence to Reason; these are they who have infatuated most of the People in this Island; so that, whereas, in Times past, some called her the Isle of *Angels*, she may be termed now the Isle of *Gulls*, or more properly the Isle of *Dogs*, or rather, indeed, the Isle of *Wolves*, there is such a true Lycanthropy come in among us; I am loth to call her the Island of *Devils*, though she hath been branded so Abroad.

To conclude, Sir, the Glory of this Isle is quite blasted; it is true, they speak of Peace, but, while the King speaks to them of it, they make themselves ready for Battle; I much fear, that, *Ixion*-like, we embrace a Cloud for Peace, out of which there will issue out Centaurs, and Monsters, as sprung out of that Cloud.

Touching that ancientest holy Order, whereof you see me to be, I well hoped, that, in Regard they pretended to reform Things only, they would not have quite extirpated, but regulated only, this Order: It had been enough to have brailed our Wings, not to have feared them; to have lopped and pruned, not to have destroyed Root and Branch of that ancient Tree, which was planted by the Hands of the Apostles themselves. In fine, Sir, we are a lost People; it is no other *Dædalus*, but the high Deity of Heaven, can clue us out of this Labyrinth of Confusions; can extricate us out of this Maze of Miseries. The Philosopher saith, it is impossible for Man to quadrate a Circle; so it is not in the Power of Man, but of God alone, to make a loyal Subject of a Roundhead. Among other Things, that Strangers report of this Island, they say, That Winter here hath too many Tears in his Eyes. Alas! Sir, it is impossible he should have too many, now, to bewail the lamentable base Slavery, that a free-born People is come to; and, though they are grown so tame, as to kiss the Rod that whips them, yet their Task-masters will not throw it into the Fire.

Truly, Sir, as my Tongue is too feeble to express our Miseries, so the Plummet of the best Understanding is too short to fathom the Depth of them.

With this, the grave venerable Bishop, giving me his Benediction, fetched such a Sigh that would have rended a Rock asunder; and suddenly vanished, methought, out of my Sight up towards Heaven. I presently after awoke about the Dawnings of the Day, when one could hardly discern Dog from Wolf; and my Soul, my *Animula vagula blandula*, being re-entered through the horn Gate of Sleep into her former Mansion, half tired after so long a Peregrination; and, having rubbed my Eyes, distended my Limbs, and returned to a full Expergefaction, I began to call myself to Account, touching those Worlds of Objects my Fancy had represented unto me that Night; and, when by Way of Reminiscence I fell to examine and ruminate upon them, Lord, what a Mass of Ideas ran in my Head! but, when I called to Mind the last Country my Soul wandered in, methought I felt my Heart like a Lump of Lead within me, when I considered how pat every Circumstance might be applied to the present Condition of *England*: I was meditating with myself, what Kind of Dream this might be; whereupon I thought upon the common Division that Philosophers make of Dreams; that they are either Divine, Diabolical, Natural, or Human.

For the First, they are Visions more properly or Revelations, whereof there are divers Examples in the holy Oracles of God, but the

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puddled Crannies of my Brain are not Rooms clean enough to entertain ſuch: Touching the ſecond Kind, which come by the Impulſes of the Devil, I have heard of divers of them, as when one did riſe up out of his Sleep, and fetched a Poniard to ſtab his Bedfellow; which he had done, had he not been awake; another went to the next Chamber a Bed to his Mother, and would have raviſhed her; but I thank God this Dream of mine was not of that Kind: Touching the third Species of Dream, which are natural Dreams, they are according to the Humour which predominates; if Melancholy ſway, we dream of black darkſome devious Places; if Phlegm, of Waters; if Choler, of Frays, Fightings, and Troubles; if Sanguine predominate, we dream of green Fields, Gardens, and other pleaſant Repreſentations; and the Phyſician comes often to know the Quality of a Diſeaſe by the nocturnal Objects of the Patient's Fancy.

Human Dreams relate to the Actions of the Day paſt, or of the Day following, and ſome Repreſentations are clear and even; others are amphibious, mongrel, diſtorted, and ſqualid Objects, according to the Species of Things in troubled Matters; and the Object is clear or otherwiſe, according to the Tenuity or the Groſſneſs of the Vapours which aſcend from the Ventricle up to the Brain.

Touching my Dream, I think it was of this laſt Kind; for I was diſcourſing of, and condoling the ſad Diſtempers of our Times, the Day before: I pray God ſome Part of it prove not prophetical; for, although the *Frenchman* ſaith, *Songes ſont Menſonges*, Dreams are Deluſions, and that they turn to Contraries, yet the *Spaniard* hath a Saying,

Et ciego ſonnava que via,
Y era lo que querria.
The blind Man dream'd he did ſee Light,
The Thing he wiſh'd for happen'd right.

Inſomuch that ſome Dreams oftentimes prove true; as St. *Auſtin* makes Mention of a rich Merchant in *Milan*, who being dead, one of his Creditors comes to his Son to demand ſuch a Sum of Money which he had lent his Father; the Son was confident it was paid, but, not finding the Creditor's Receipt, he was impleaded and like to be caſt in the Suit, had not his Father's Ghoſt appeared to him, and directed him to the Place where the Acquittance was, which he found the next Day accordingly. *Galen* ſpeaks of one that dreamed he had a wooden Leg, and the next Day he was taken with a dead Palſy in one whole Side. Such a Dream was that of *William Rufus*, when he thought he had felt a cold Guſt paſſing through his Bowels; and the next Day he was ſlain in the Guts, by the Glance of an Arrow, in *New Foreſt*, a Place where he and his Father had committed ſo many Sacrileges. I have read in *Artemidorus*, of a Woman that dreamed ſhe had ſeen the Pictures of three Faces in the Moon like herſelf, and ſhe was brought to Bed of three Daughters a little after, who all died within the Compaſs of a Month. Another dreamed, that *Xanthus*'s Water ran red, and the next Day he fell a Spitting Blood.

To this, I will add another foretelling Dream, whereof I have read, which was thus: Two young Gentlemen travelling Abroad in ſtrange Countries, and being come to a great Town, the one lay far in the City, the other in an Hoſtry without the Walls in the Suburbs: He in the City did dream in the Dead of Night, that his Friend which he had left in the Suburbs ruſhed into his Chamber, panting and blowing, being purſued by others; he dreamed ſo again, and the third Time he might ſee his Friend's Ghoſt appearing at his Bed's Side with Blood trickling down his Throat, and a Poniard in his Breaſt, telling him: Dear Friend, I am come now to take my laſt Farewel of thee, and, if thou riſe betimes, thou ſhalt meet me in the Way going to be buried; the next Morning, his Friend going with his Hoſt towards the Inn in the Suburbs where he left his Friend, they met with a Cart laden with Dung in the Way, which being ſtaid and ſearched, the dead Body was found naked in the Dung.

I will conclude with a notable Dream that *Oſman* the great *Turk* had, not many Years ſince, a few Days before he was murthered by his Janizaries, 1623. He dreamed that, being mounted upon a huge Camel, he could not make him go, though he ſwitched and ſpurred him never ſo much; at laſt the Camel overthrew him, and, being upon the Ground, only

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the Bridle was left in his Hand, but the Body of the Camel was vaniſhed: The *Muſti* not being illuminated enough to interpret this Dream, a *Santon*, who was a Kind of Idiot, told him, the Camel repreſented the *Ottoman Empire*, which he not being able to govern, he ſhould be overthrown, which two Days after proved true.

By theſe, and a Cloud of Examples more, we may conclude, that Dreams are not altogether impertinent, but ſomething may be gathered out of them; though the Application and Meaning of them be denied to Man, unleſs by ſpecial Illumination:

Somnia *venturi ſunt præſcia ſæpe diei.*
By Dreams we oft may gueſs
At the next Day's Succeſs.

Thus have you a rough Account of a rambling Noctivagation up and down the World: I may boldly ſay, that neither Sir *John Mandeville*, nor *Coryat* himſelf, travelled more in ſo ſhort a Time: Whence you ſee what nimble Poſtillions the animal Spirits are; and with what incredible Celerity the Imagination can croſs the Line, cut the Tropicks, and paſs to the other Hemiſphere of the World; which ſhews, that human Souls have ſomething in them of the Almighty, that their Faculties have a Kind of ubiquitary Freedom, though the Body be never ſo under Reſtraint, as the Author's was.

The laſt Country, that is here aimed at, is known already; I leave the Application of the reſt to the diſcerning Reader, to whom only this Dream is addreſſed.

News from *Hell*, *Rome*, and the Inns of Court, wherein is ſet forth the Copy of a Letter written from the Devil to the Pope. The true Copy of the Petition delivered to the King at *York*. The Copy of certain Articles of Agreement between the Devil, the Pope, and divers others. The Deſcription of a Feaſt, ſent from the Devil to the Pope, together with a ſhort Advertiſement to the high Court of Parliament, with ſundry other Particulars. Publiſhed for the future Peace and Tranquillity of the Inhabitants of Great *Britain*, by *J. M.* Printed in the Year of Grace and Reformation, 1641. *Quarto*, containing Twenty-two Pages.

To our dearly beloved Son, the moſt pious and moſt religious Primate of the *Roman* Church, and to all our dearly beloved Children the Cardinals and lordly Biſhops in *Europe*.

Haſte, Haſte, Poſt, Haſte.

Your intire Prince and God of this World, *Lucifer*, Prince of Darkneſs and Superſtition, King of *Styx* and *Phlegethon*, ſupreme Lord of *Gehenna*, *Tartaria*, *Colmakia*, *Samoyedia*, *Lappia*, *Corelia*, and *Colmagoria*, Prince *Abyſſus*. and ſole Commander of *Seberia*, *Altenia*, *Pecheora*, and of all the infernal Furies and their Punies, the Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Seminaries,

Sendeth Greeting.

Moſt

Moſt

DEarly beloved Son, and you our dutiful Children, whoſe Sanctity we reverence, whoſe Perſons we adore, whoſe Wiſdoms we admire, at whoſe Policies we wonder, at whoſe Power we muſe, and at whoſe invincible Stratagems we ſtand amazed.

Nor can we, in the firſt Place, but extol, applaud, and moſt highly commend thee our dear Son, for the extraordinary Care in the Advancement of our Kingdom.

And, as next in Place, the extraordinary diligent and vigilant Care of all our beloved Children the lordly Biſhops, in the Advancement of our Regal Power to the great Enlargement of our infernal Dominions, by their rare and ſubtle Plots and Stratagems.

And in a more ſpecial Manner we are pleaſed, through our infernal Grace and Favour, to extol them for this their preſent and excellent Invention, in ſowing Diſcord amongſt the *Engliſh* Hereticks, as alſo in provoking the *Scotch* Hereticks to an apparent Oppoſition againſt their King, yea ſo far as to an Invaſion of the Territories of *England*, all which Services are moſt dear and acceptable unto us.

In Reſpect of which Services, as alſo for their Fidelity to us, and our Kingdom, we have cauſed our principal Secretary of State, *Don Antonio Furioſo Diabello*, to make an eſpecial Inrolment of their Names in our Calendar amongſt thoſe our dear Servants the Plotters of the Gunpowder Treaſon, and the moſt renowned the Complotters of the former Invaſion of *England*, in the Year of Grace 1588, and ſince the Creation of the World 5609; both which Services, although their Events were no Ways anſwerable to our Royal Expectation, yet thoſe Inſtruments, that ſo freely adventured themſelves in them, ſhall be ever renowned in our Court infernal, and moſt acceptable to our Perſon.

And, for the better Encouragement of theſe our truſty and well beloved Servants in the ſpeedier Advancement of this Work, now intended for the utter Extirpation of all Hereticks, and Increaſe of our Regal Power, we are pleaſed by this our Royal Manual to give unto them Aſſurance of our Aid and beſt Aſſiſtance, in the moſt efficacious Manner that our Princely Power can extend unto; and, becauſe our former Stratagems, put in Execution by our beloved Couſin and Counſellor the King of *Spain*, were by him no Ways effected according to our Princely Expectation, we have now therefore impoſed our Princely Command upon our beloved Servant the King of *France*, at the humble Suit made unto us, by our Children the lordly Biſhops, and by ſome of our Servants of greateſt Quality in the Realm of *England*, as alſo by our Servants the Jeſuits and *Roman* Catholicks of *England*, to have a puiſſant Army in Readineſs, for the Invaſion of *England*, at ſuch a Time, as thoſe our Children and Servants ſhall conceive it moſt convenient and efficacious.

And further our Will and Pleaſure is, that you our dear Son ſhall ſtill perſiſt to ſtir up and encourage our Children the Archbiſhops, as alſo thy Diſciples and our loyal Subjects and Servants, the Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Seminaries, to this Work, that they with all their Might, together with our powerful Policies granted unto them, may ſtrive to effect this Work with all Celerity, that we may once more ſee our Kingdom of Superſtition re-eſtabliſhed, in the Monarchy of *Great-Britain*, and *Ireland*.

The Motives, to be preſſed, inducing them to the expeditious Effecting of the ſame are principally their Reſpect to our Kingly Honour, and, next, their own Increaſe of Greatneſs, for we promiſe and aſſure them, by the Word of a King infernal, that every of them ſhall reign as Princes under us, not only over the Bodies and Eſtates of Men, but alſo over their Souls, by and through the many infernal Graces by us moſt freely and benignly conferred on them; and hereby, to make them the more ſenſible of theſe our ſeveral Graces conferred on them, we are pleaſed therefore here at preſent to expreſs but ſome few of them in particular, as, namely, Pride, Vain-glory, Hypocriſy, Self-love of themſelves, and of this preſent World, Love of Will Worſhip, and Advancement of Idolatry, together with that ſpecial Gift of Covetouſneſs, the only Pillar to all the reſt of our infernal Graces conferred on them.

Thirdly, In Reſpect of the clear Paſſage by us made for them, by ſetting the Hereticks for this long Time at Variance amongſt themſelves, by our truſty Servants the Lawyers, and Advancement of Idolatry amongſt them; the only Means, in our Princely Wiſdom, conceived to be to the Breaking of the Bond of Unity and Peace, thereby to provoke the

great God of Heaven to leave them to themſelves, and to our powerful Stratagems: We are likewiſe pleaſed to take ſpecial Notice of that Service by our Children the lordly Biſhops, in working the Diſſolution of the Aſſemoly of Parliament, in *May* laſt paſt, 1740, by which Means nothing was effected for the Good of Hereticks, either concerning their Church or Commonwealth; ſo as the Succeſs of this Deſign of ours was no Way hindered. You are likewiſe to let them know from us, that the Noblemen of *England* are diſheartened, the Gentry daunted, the Commonalty divided, the Number of our Servants the *Roman* Catholicks infinitely increaſed, and the Realm in general greatly oppreſſed, not only by the ſundry Monopolies, but alſo by the invincible oppreſſing Power of our Children the lordly Biſhops, the Multitude of our Servants, corrupt Judges, baſe-minded Lawyers, ſeditious Attornies, and wooden-headed Doctors of our Civil Law, Proctors, Prothonotaries, Regiſters, Advocates, Sollicitors, and Apparators, whom we have cauſed to ſwarm, like to the *Egyptian* Locuſts, over all the Land, for the Sowing of Diſcord, and Blowing the Coals of Contention amongſt all the Inhabitants of the ſame; they having all of them, long ſince, received Inſtructions by ſome of our infernal Spirit, ſent forth from us to that Effect.

You are likewiſe to let them know, that, out of our princely Reſpect to them, and their damnable Actions, for our Honour, we are pleaſed to take ſpecial Notice of that Service which they moſt willingly endeavoured to effect, for the Confuſion of all the Hereticks inhabiting *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the *Netherlands*, by the late, conceived, Invincible Armada, procured from *Spain* in the Year of our Reign 5660, which, through the Providence of the celeſtial Powers then over them, and the Diſturbance of *Martin Harper Trump*, here below, failed of that Succeſs which we, together with them, expected and hoped for, to our no leſs Sorrow than theirs.

Nor can we but applaud the diligent Care taken by our Children and Servants of greateſt Quality in that Kingdom, in preventing the Diſcovery of that invaſive Plot, by the Hereticks, and their ſmall well-meaning State, through their ſpeedy Flight to *Dover* Road, and private Conference there with *Don Oquindo*, the Generaliſſimo of *Spain*, to that Effect: All which was moſt exquiſitely performed, eſpecially by our *Hiſpaniolized* Lack-*Latin* Lord, our dearly beloved Servant.

And, *laſtly*, Our Hope is, that this preſent Plot, ſet on Foot by theſe our truſty and well-beloved Children and Servants, aforenamed, and by their earneſt Endeavours, and our Aſſiſtance, once effected, will crown all our Labours, to our unſpeakable terreſtrial Glory, and their eternal Favours, by us to be conferred on them in our Royal Palace of Perdition, where we have already impoſed our Royal Command upon our truſty and well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, *Peoter Tretyacove*, Chancellor; *Evane Becklemeeſheve*, our Knight Marſhal; *Richardo Slowe*, Treaſurer; and Don *Serborus*, grand Porter of our ſaid Palace, to give them free Admitance into our Royal Preſence.

Thus, no Ways doubting of your ſingular Care and Diligence, in fulfilling this our Royal Will and Pleaſure hereby expreſſed, we do further impoſe our Royal Favour and Princely Reſpect to be by you preſented unto our truſty and well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor your preſent Nuncio in the Court of *England*, as alſo unto our beloved Children and Servants, the Biſhops, Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Seminaries, our faithful Agents in this invincible Plot, and alſo to all our faithful Subjects and Servants, the *Roman* Catholicks of *England*.

We are pleaſed to remain your Royal Sovereign, and Patron of all your damnable Plots and Stratagems now in Hand.

Given at our infernal Palace of Perdition, this Firſt of *September*, and in the 5661ſt Year of our moſt damnable Reign.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above-written, we are credibly informed of the Intention of a moſt ſcandalous Petition, to be delivered by a ſmall Number of heretical Lords unto their King at *York*, which doth not a little touch our Honour, and the Diſcovery of this our preſent Stratagem: Our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, that there be ſome ſpeedy Courſe taken for the Suppreſſing of the ſame, and the Authors thereof ſeverely puniſhed, and *Pomfret* Caſtle allotted unto them for their Abode, until our Will and Pleaſure be further known, and this our Deſign be effected: Of which fail you not, as you tender our Royal Favour, the Succeſs of this our Deſign, and your own Safety. Farewel.

Antonio

Antonio Furioſo Diabelo, Principalio Secretario.

Conſider this, and mark the Subſtance well,
It ſeems a Letter from the Fiend of Hell:
Whate'er the Form or Method ſeem to be,
Th' Intent thereof was quite the contrary.
Had not this rung a Knell in ſome Men's Ears,
They had ne'er been freed from their ſlaviſh Fears
Of Tyranny, Oppreſſion, and the Biſhops Pride;
Judges, and Lawyers; a wicked Crew, beſide,
Of Doctors, Proctors, that the Realm did ſway,
Trod under Foot God's Truth, turn'd Night to Day:
Strove to confound *Great Britain*'s Monarchy,
Juſtice and Truth pervert, advanc'd Impiety;
And all, by this, *Rome*'s Doctrine to prefer,
Obey the Pope, and ſerve King *Lucifer*:
That is the Cauſe, why them he doth applaud,
That he thereby, with them, may have the *Laud*,
And Honour due, unto his Servants all,
That ſtrive, by him, to work *Great Britain*'s Fall.

A true Copy of the Petition, which was, by the Lords, preſented unto the King at York, September *the Twelfth*, 1640.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Petition of your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, whoſe Names are hereunder ſubſcribed, in the Behalf of themſelves and divers others.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

THE Senſe of that Duty we owe to God's ſacred Majeſty, and our neareſt Affection to the Good and Welfare of this your Realm of *England*, have moved us, in all Humility, to beſeech your Royal Majeſty to give us Leave to offer to your Princely Wiſdom the Apprehenſion, which we, and others your faithful Subjects, have conceived of the great Diſtemper and Danger now threatening this Church and State, and your Royal Perſon, and of the fitteſt Means to remove and prevent the ſame. The Evils and Dangers, whereof your Majeſty may be pleaſed to take Notice of, are theſe: That your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon is expoſed to Hazard and Danger, in this preſent Expedition againſt the *Scotch* Army; and that, by Occaſion of this War, your Majeſty's Revenues are much waſted, your Subjects burdened with Cote and Conduct-money, Billeting of Soldiers, and other military Charges; and divers Rapines and Diſorders committed, in ſeveral Parts of this your Realm, by the Soldiers raiſed for that Service; and the whole Realm full of Fears and Diſcontentments.

The ſundry Innovations in Matters of Religion; the Oath of Canons lately impoſed upon the Clergy, and others of your Majeſty's Subjects; the great Increaſe of Popery, and employing of Popiſh Recuſants; and others ill affected unto Religion are eſtabliſhed in Places of Power and Truſt, eſpecially in Commanding of Men and Arms, both in the Field, and in ſundry other Counties of this your Realm; which by the Laws they are not permitted to have any Arms in their own Houſes. The great Miſchief that may fall upon this Kingdom, if the Intention, which hath been credibly reported, of the Bringing in of *Iriſh* and foreign Forces ſhould take Effect; the heavy Charge of Merchants, to the great Diſcouragement of Trade; the Multitude of Monopolies, and other Patents, whereby the Commodities and Manufactures of this Kingdom are much burdened, to the great and univerſal Grievances of your People, the great Grief of your Subjects, with the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments, and the late and former Diſſolving of ſuch as have been called, without the happy Effects, which otherwiſe they might have produced. For Remedy whereof, and Prevention of the Danger that may enſue to your Royal Perſon and the whole State, they do in all Humility and Faithfulneſs beſeech your Majeſty, That you will be pleaſed to ſummon a Parliament in ſome ſhort and convenient Time, whereby the Cauſes of thoſe and other great Grievances, which your People ſuffer under, may be taken away, and the Authors and Counſellors of them may be brought to ſuch legal Trial, and condign Puniſhment,

niſhment, as the Nature of their Offences ſhall require; and that the preſent War may be compoſed, by your Majeſty's Wiſdom, without Bloodſhed, in ſuch a Manner as may conduce to the Honour of your Majeſty's Perſon and Safety, the Comfort of your People, and Uniting of both the Realms againſt the common Enemies of the Reformed Religion.

And your Majeſty's Petitioners ſhall, &c.

The Names of ſuch Earls and Barons, as ſubſcribed this Petition, *viz.* Earls *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Eſſex*, *Mulgrave*, *Warwick*, *Bolingbroke*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, and *Exeter*. Viſcounts: Lord *Say* and *Seal*, *Mandifield*, *Brooke*, *Hertford*, *North*, *Willoughby*, *Saville*, *Wharton*, *Lovelace*, and *Saint John*.

Articles of Agreement, made, concluded, and done, this Twenty-eighth of September, *in the Year of Grace* 1641, *and of the World* 5662, *by and between the High and Mighty Prince,* Lucifer, *King of* Styx *and* Phlegethon, *the Holy and moſt Superſtitious Primate of the* Roman *Church, the Cardinals, Biſhops, Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Seminaries, of the one Party; and Judge* Bribery, *Lawyer* Corruption, *Attorney* Contention, *Sollicitor* Sedition, *Juſtice* Connivance, *Jailor* Oppreſſion, *and State* Negligence, *of the other Party, in Manner and Form following:*

IMPRIMIS,

IT is this Day mutually agreed, by and between the ſeveral Parties above-named, That there ſhall be a League Offenſive and Defenſive concluded and confirmed by both Parties, at or before *Holy-rood* Day next enſuing the Date hereof.

Item, That, whereas there hath been lately, by the ſubtle Practices of ſome Parliamentary Reformiſts, a Diſcord and Diſſenſion raiſed between the State Eccleſiaſtick and the State of the Inns of Court, whereby there hath happened no ſmall Prejudice unto the Eccleſiaſtick State; the like whereof is to be doubted may alſo fall upon the State of the Inns of Court, and ſo, conſequently, upon the Crown and Dignity of our Sovereign Lord, King *Lucifer*: It is, therefore, mutually agreed, that all former Controverſies and Contentions between both Parties ſhall ceaſe, and that all Unity, Peace, and Concord ſhall be embraced, on either Side, according to the Expreſſions in the precedent Article, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, his Crown and Dignity.

Item, It is agreed, That the ſaid State of the Inns of Court, and the State Eccleſiaſtick aforeſaid, ſhall jointly and ſeverally uſe the uttermoſt of their Strength, Power, and Policy, to reſiſt and ſuppreſs all ſuch Proceedings of this preſent Parliament, which ſhall any Way tend to the Reformation and Suppreſſion of Oppreſſion, Extortion, Bribery, Contention, and Tradition; and that they ſhall and will, with all their Might, Power, and Policy, endeavour, and ſtrive to broach, advance, and maintain all the ſaid ſeveral Impieties again, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, his Crown and Dignity.

Item, It is agreed by and between our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, and the whole State Eccleſiaſtick, of the one Part, and Judge *Bribery*, That forthwith, upon the Diſſolution of this preſent Parliament, he the ſaid Judge *Bribery* is then again to put in Practice the Taking of Bribes, paſſing of falſe Judgment, and maintaining his falſe and corrupt Sentences, and Decrees, to be Things ſacred and infallible; oppreſſing the Innocent by cloſe Impriſonment, and alſo favouring all *Jeſuits*, Prieſts, and Seminaries, if any of them happen by the Inſtruments of Juſtice to be laid hold on; animating and inſtructing all Attornies, Sollicitors, and Clerks, for and to the Sowing of Strife and Contention amongſt the People of the Land, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, his Crown and Dignity.

Item, It is agreed by and between our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, and Lawyer *Corruption*, That he the ſaid Lawyer ~~*Corruption*~~ ſhall, notwithſtanding any Parliamentary Reformation, ſtill perſiſt in taking Fees, both of Plaintiff and Defendant, nor ſhall ever bring any honeſt Cauſe to its Period, until he hath, in Fees, devoured the whole Subſtance, both of Plaintiff

tiff and Defendant; neither ſhall he the ſaid Lawyer *Corruption*, ever, at any Time, give any true and prevalent Advice to any his Clients, but ſhall delude and delay them until he hath drained them as aforeſaid, to the utter Ruin of them, their Wives and Children, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, and the Propagation of his Crown and Dignity.

To their own preſent, rich Impiety, and aſſured ſucceſsful Perdition.

Item, It is agreed and concluded, by and between our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, and Attorney *Contention*, That he the ſaid Attorney *Contention* ſhall and will, at all Times, in all Places, and upon all Occaſions, uſe his beſt Diligence, to ſow Debate, Strife, Variance, and Contention amongſt the People of the Land, without Exception of Perſons; yea, he ſhall not omit to ſet the Father againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father; as alſo one Brother againſt the other, to the utter Ruin of their Eſtates, Houſes, and Families; to that End, he ſhall diſpoſe of himſelf and all his Imps, into all the Quarters and ſeveral Corners of the Kingdom; neither ſhall there be any Market-town, or Place of Habitation, but he ſhall ſeat himſelf there, to the Intent and Purpoſe aforeſaid, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, his Crown and Dignity, and to the Advancement of the ſaid Science of Iniquity.

Item, It is agreed by and between our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, and Sollicitor *Sedition*, That he the ſaid Solicitor *Sedition* ſhall and will, at all Times, uſe his beſt Endeavour to ſtir up, animate, and encourage all People of what Condition, Degree, and Profeſſion ſoever, unto Suits in the Law; and that he the ſaid Sollicitor *Sedition* ſhall and will prove faithful unto all Lawyers and Attornies, and ſhall and will be ſlow in the Proſecution of any Man's Cauſe whatſoever, and ſpin out the Thread thereof to its full Length, eſpecially in the Courts of Equity, by Multiplicity of begetting Orders, and by not omitting to have this Clauſe inſerted into every of his Orders, *viz.* unleſs Cauſe be ſhewed to the contrary, at the next Court Day by the Defendant; as alſo by falſifying of Orders through the corrupting of Regiſters, and corrupting of Council in an honeſt Cauſe, by deceiving his Clients through falſe and unjuſt Bills of Charges, by bribing the Judges of the ſeveral Courts, and the Maſters of the *Chancery*, richly, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, his Crown and Dignity, and the eternal Damnation of Sollicitor *Sedition*.

Item, It is agreed and concluded *in perpetuum*, between our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, and Jailor *Oppreſſion*, That, whereas, through the Rigour of the Law, many poor Chriſtian Souls are committed unto his Keeping and ſafe Cuſtody for ſundry Cauſes, and ſometimes for no juſt Cauſe at all, he the ſaid Jailor *Oppreſſion* ſhall and will, by himſelf, his Clerks and Servants, be void of all Mercy and Compaſſion towards them, and ſhall and will, as much as in him lieth, endeavour to work the utter Ruin of the Eſtates and Lives of all ſuch as ſhall be committed to his Cuſtody; and, to that End, he the ſaid Jailor *Oppreſſion* ſhall, nor will not be ſlack, in giving Bribes, otherwiſe ſtiled *New-year's Gifts*, yearly unto all the Judges of the Courts of Juſtice, for and towards the better Encouragment and Animation of them, to the Commitment of all ſuch to Priſon as are or ſhall be brought before them on the leaſt Occaſion; and that he the ſaid Jailor *Oppreſſion* ſhall be ever ready to yield his daily Attendance on the Judges in their Courts, thereby to ſtir them up to be mindful of him to that Effect; and laſtly, it is agreed and concluded, that he the ſaid Jailor *Oppreſſion* ſhall and will, by himſelf and his Servants, ſet ſuch Snares and Gins for all thoſe committed to his Cuſtody, that they, being once intrapped within his Priſon-doors, ſhall never find the Way out, during the Continuance of their Lives, or of their Eſtates, at leaſt, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, his Crown and Dignity, and to the eternal Perdition of Jailor *Oppreſſion*.

Item, It is agreed by and between our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, and Juſtice *Connivance*, That he the ſaid Juſtice *Connivance* ſhall not, nor will have any Regard or Reſpect to the Juſtneſs of any poor Man's Cauſe, nor ſhall ever incline his Ear to any his juſt Complaints, but ſhall and will ever connive and bear with the Oppreſſor, Defrauder, and Deceiver; and that he the ſaid Juſtice *Connivance* ſhall and will ever prefer the Value of a Gooſe, a Pig, a Capon, a Brace of Partridges, a good fat Sheep, a Boar at *Chriſtmas*, or a Letter from a Friend, written in Favour of Sir *Oppreſſor*, Mr. *Defrauder*, and *Dick Deceiver*, far before Juſtice itſelf, or the Juſtneſs of any honeſt Man's Cauſe whatſoever; nor that he the ſaid Juſtice *Connivance* ſhall ever execute Juſtice in any poor Man's Cauſe, but, on the contrary, he ſhall oppreſs them,

and have his Mittimuſſes ready written by his Clerk, Mr. *Double Fees*, for the ſpeedy Commitment of them to Priſon; neither ſhall he ever incline his Ear to hear their juſt Complaints againſt the ſeveral golden Perſons of Worſhip aforeſaid, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, his Crown and Dignity, and the Benefit of Jailor *Oppreſſion*.

Item, It is agreed by and between our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, and *State Negligence*, That he the ſaid *State Negligence* ſhall ever prefer his own Peace and preſent Benefit, before the Welfare and future Proſperity of his King and Country; and alſo, that he the ſaid *State Negligence* ſhall not at any Time, take Notice of the illegal Proceedings in any of the Courts of Juſtice, nor ſhall addict himſelf, or ever endeavour to ſuppreſs, nor prevent, by any good or wholſome Laws, the Practice of Tyranny, Oppreſſion, Injuſtice, Extortion, Bribery, Contention, Idolatry, and the like, but ſhall and will ſolely addict himſelf unto the Paſtimes of Hunting, Hawking, Gaming, and Whoring, and the utter Rejection of the preſent and future Benefit and Welfare of his native Country, to the Honour of our Sovereign Lord King *Lucifer*, the Proſperity of his religious Vicegerent, and the Peace and Tranquillity of all his Servants the Jeſuits, Prieſts, Seminaries, and *Roman* Catholicks of *England*.

In Witneſs of the Truth of theſe Preſents, and of every Particular contained in the ſame, the Parties above-named have hereunto ſet their Hands and Seals, the Day aforeſaid, and in the 5662d Year of the Reign of our moſt damnable Sovereign Lord, King *Lucifer*, &c.

Signed, ſealed, and delivered in the Preſence of us

William Laud, Biſhop.
Niſi prius Crauly, *Judge*.
Bribing Long, Juſtice.
Corrupt Fountain, Lawyer.
Jumping Jumper, Attorney.
James In Grain, Jailor.
Robert Kilfart, Sollicitor.

And *Rudine Haphudibraſs Cytinkycloparius*, Notarius Publicus.

Here followeth a brief Relation of a great Feaſt, which, from Lucifer *Prince of Hell, was, by the Hands of Cardinal* Peguſious, *preſented to the View, Diſpoſal, and Approbation of the Pope of* Rome, *in the Year of Jubilee*, 1641.

Pope. MY Lord Cardinal *Peguſious* and you, the reſt of my holy Brethren, I beſeech you view theſe excellent Varieties, and Variety of Excellencies, well dreſſed and moſt exquiſitely ſet forth and garniſhed. But the Contents of every Diſh, I believe, is beſt known to you my Lord *Peguſious*, from whom I deſire to be ſatisfied concerning the Contents, Qualities, and Operation of every ſeveral Diſh.

Cardinal. May it pleaſe your Holineſs, theſe Varieties of Diſhes, which your Holineſs here thus ſet forth, were all of them prepared for the only Table of our High and Mighty Monarch, King *Lucifer*, your Holineſs's ſole Patron and Protector; a certain Number of which Diſhes his Majeſty hath graciouſly been pleaſed to cauſe them to be preſented to your Holineſs's Diſpoſal, and the Reſidue of them only to your Holineſs's View and Approbation, being to be preſerved for his Majeſty's own peculiar Palate.

Pope. I beſeech you, my Lord Cardinal, let me have them brought hither before me, in Order, according to the Appointment of my Sovereign, and moſt munificent Patron.

Card. Your Holineſs's Will and Pleaſure ſhall be accompliſhed, and here, in the firſt Place, may it pleaſe your Holineſs to take Notice, that the firſt Diſh, by his Majeſty's Appointment, to be preſented to your Holineſs's Diſpoſal, is this large *Latin* Charger, containing twenty-two lordly *Engliſh* Biſhops, ſtewed with the Fire of Contention, on the Chafing-diſh of Exaſperation, and ſeaſoned with the ſeveral Spices of Man's Invention, as with the Spice of the Maſs, Prieſthood, Holy-Days, Altars, Candles, Rails, Holy-bread, Holy-water, Holy-aſhes, devout Prayer for the Dead, Invocation of Saints, *Offerings* at the Altars, Excommunications, and the ſtrong and operative Spice of the high Commiſſion. It is alſo garniſhed about with the ſeveral heretical D[illegible]

trines of all the new intitled Prieſts of *England*; and this Diſh his Majeſty hath appointed to be diſpoſed of by your Holineſs.

Pope. I will ſurely taſte of it; it looks lovely; Oh, admirable! It is a moſt LAUDable Diſh of Meat: I can find nothing wanting in this Diſh, but only three Grains of the Spice of Accompliſhment, and then it had been devoutly ſeaſoned for my Palate; but, I pray, What is the next Diſh, my Lord?

Card. The next Diſh, may it pleaſe your Holineſs, is a Silver Charger, comprehending all the Contrivers and Complotters of the Diſſenſion between *England* and *Scotland*, of the laſt *Spaniſh* Invaſion of *England*, and the Practiſers with the *French*, for the Subverſion of all the Hereticks in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: It is ſeaſoned with all our Jeſuitical Practices, Church-policies, and all our *Engliſh Roman Catholick* Treacheries, and garniſhed with all our *Engliſh Roman* Statiſts: This Diſh of Meat is now almoſt cold, and therefore at this Preſent unfit for your Holineſs's Palate; it only wants the Breath of the Earl of *Strafford*'s fiery Zeal to heat it, by a laudable Blaſt or two.

Pope. However, I pray let me taſte of it: Oh, the Lamentation of a Sinner! Pity, Pity, yea a thouſand Pities is it, that this Diſh had not been kept hot and ſeaſoned to the Proof, that we might have ſung moſt laudably, *te Lucifer Laudamus*. But, my Lord Cardinal, What is the next Diſh?

Card. May it pleaſe your Holineſs, this Diſh contains a certain Number of falſe and corrupt Judges; it is ſeaſoned with the Spice of aged deteſtable Covetouſneſs, Bribery, Extortion, Oppreſſion, Injuſtice, Unmercifulneſs, and with Perverſion of all the Statute-laws, garniſhed with Ship-money, Foreſt-money, Loan-money, and a Multitude of *Niſi prius's*; but this Diſh is, by his Majeſty's ſpecial Order, to be preſerved for his own peculiar Palate.

Pope. His Majeſty's Will be done: I ſhall be ever ready and obedient to all his Majeſty's Commands, nor will I preſume to taſte of it, but only paſs my Judgment on it, that it is a Princely Diſh, fit only for his Majeſty's Table.

What is the next, I pray, my Lord.

Card. The next, may it pleaſe your Holineſs, is a large golden Charger, containing a very great Number of baſe-minded, covetous, unjuſt, extorting, and oppreſſing Lawyers, who value every Word, by them uttered at a Bar of Juſtice, at a far higher Price, than your Holineſs doth your Bulls, iſſued forth for Remiſſion of Sins; and theſe Caterpillars his Majeſty King *Lucifer* hath brought into ſuch great Eſteem with all the Inhabitants of *England*, as that no Man of Quality thinks his Houſe to ſtand, unleſs it be ſupported by one of thoſe Vermin Pillars, and Brood of Contention: This Diſh is ſeaſoned with the Spice of extorting Fees from one twenty-one Shillings Piece, to five, to ten, yea, to twenty; eſpecially by thoſe, who are ſtiled the Judge's Favourites; all this is given ſometimes but for the Speaking of two or three Words; it is likewiſe ſeaſoned with the Taking of Fees on both Sides, deluding Clients, ſpinning out the Thread of an honeſt Cauſe to its full Length, until the Purſe-ſtrings, both of Plaintiff and Defendant, crack; and then they are tied together, by a Commiſſion into the Country, where theſe Caterpillars are reverenced and feared like ſo many Gods by all the People: This Diſh is garniſhed with ſome ten-thouſand peſtiferous pettifogging, ſeditious, ten-groat Attornies; one of whoſe perfidious Bills of Charges, in one Term, advances itſelf ſometimes unto the Sum of five, ten, twenty, yea, thirty Pounds; eſpecially, when he finds his Client naturally inclined to the Conditions of an Aſs; and, on every of theſe Garniſhes, hangs five Coney-catching deceitful Sollicitors, properly termed Lawyers *Limetwigs*, *Traps*, or *Nets*, to catch the poor ſilly Creatures called *Clients*; and this Diſh his Majeſty hath alſo reſerved for his own Table.

Pope. It is a Princely Diſh, indeed, and fit only for the peculiar Table of ſo great a Monarch, as is our moſt damnable Sovereign, King *Lucifer*; the Operation and Vertue of which Diſh is able to ſeaſon a whole Kingdom, to be fit Meat for his Majeſty's Palate, eſpecially if there be but the operative Spice added to it, called, *the Action of the Caſe*.

But what is this Diſh, my Lord Cardinal?

Card. May it pleaſe your Holineſs, this Diſh contains a certain Number of baſe Muckworms, ſtiled Doctors of our Civil Law, Chancellors, and Officials: This Diſh is alſo ſeaſoned with unjuſt Spice of Extortion, Oppreſſion, Fraud, and Deceit, and garniſhed about with a moſt damnable Crew of Proctors, Notaries, Regiſters, Delegates, Advocates, Sumners, and petty Apparitors; theſe have, for many Years, proved notable Inſtruments of Striſe and Vexation

tion unto the Inhabitants of *England*, and, thro' their deceivable Ways, have mightily oppreſſed the People, being not much inferior unto the precedent of the golden Charger.

But to this Diſh, may it pleaſe your Holineſs, there hath happened this Year a very great Miſchance in the Cooking; for, when we thought it ſhould have been moſt laudably boiled up to its greateſt Height of Catholick Operation, there happened a Spider to fall into it, through a ſudden Blaſt of Reformation, which hath made it ſomewhat dangerous now for your Holineſs to taſte of; for the Lamb, that was moſt richly ſeaſoned in it, is now, through this ſudden and unexpected Misfortune, putrefied; and the Duck, being a Watery Fowl, is quite diſſolved; and this Diſh, by his Majeſty's ſpecial Order, is to be left now to your Holineſs's Diſpoſal.

Pope. I am much bound to his Majeſty for his gracious Favour to me herein; I ſhall be very careful, through Deliberation, and mature Conſideration, to ſtudy, for the fitteſt Diſpoſal thereof, during the Time of my Vicegerency here, and then return it again to his Majeſty's Diſpoſal. But I pray you, my Lord Cardinal, What do theſe Copper Veſſels contain?

Card. May it pleaſe your Holineſs, this covered Meſs is a Gallimawfry; or, as the *Fleming* calls it, a *Hodgepodge*, wherein are ſundry Meats ſtewed together; it contains a certain Number of Beaſts, called corrupt Maſters of the *Chancery*, and half a Dozen corrupt Clerks of the *Chancery*; alſo one-hundred and fifty of their puny Clerks, commonly termed Attornies in *Chancery*; it alſo contains ſix new Attornies of the Court of *Requeſts*, and ſome ſixty of their puny Clerks: This Hodgepodge is ſeaſoned with the Spice of Bribery, falſe Witneſſes, ſtiled *Knights of the Poſt*, a Spice greatly in Requeſt in thoſe Courts, eſpecially in the Examiners Office, and the late *Coventry* Affidavit Office; but his Majeſty's ſpecial Command is, to have this covered Meſs preſerved in its preſent Condition, leſt Contention ſhould ſeize amongſt the Inhabitants of *England*, and Unity and Peace take Place, which cannot but tend much to his Majeſty's Detriment, and Loſs of Dominion, in that Kingdom; and, to that End, he hath cauſed the ſame to be ſealed up, and to be conveyed from *Coventry* to *Mancheſter* by the Golden Finch.

Pope. Good, my Lord Cardinal, I beſeech you, let his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure herein be very carefully accompliſhed, for it concerns much his Majeſty's Honour and our Safety.

But what is this Diſh, my Lord?

Card. This, may it pleaſe your Holineſs, is likewiſe a Hodgepodge, containing Meats of ſundry Sorts and Operations; it contains a certain Number of Prothonotaries, Regiſters, and Clerks of the *Star-chamber*, *Chancery*, Court of *Requeſts*, *King's-bench*, *Common-pleas*, and the *Exchequer*; this Gallimawfry is ſeaſoned with Subornation of falſe Witneſſes, falſifying of Orders and Decrees; it is garniſhed with the ſubtle Practices of the Renter-Warden of the *Fleet*, and his Imps, as alſo with *Killvert*, *Killfart*, *Killbennet*, *Killbiſhop*, and the like Inſtruments of Lawyers Gain; the Operation of this Diſh chiefly conſiſts in the Confuſion of Men's Eſtates, to extract Gold out of all Men's Purſes, to ſuppreſs Virtue and Peace, and to advance Iniquity and Contention; to wrong and oppreſs every Man, and to do Right to no Man.

And this Meſs is alſo to be reſerved for his Majeſty's Table.

Pope. Good, my Lord Cardinal, I pray you let me taſte of this Meſs, the Operation whereof, by your Relation, appears to be admirable. I wiſh, from my Heart, that I might alſo grow capable of that Vertue of extracting Gold out of the *Engliſh* Nation, as ſome of my Predeceſſors have done before me. I confeſs, the Study of this Art was begun by my Phyſician moſt laudably; but, alas! and Woe is me, it was marred by a robuſtious Storm of Wind out of the *North*, and quite ſpoiled by a vehement Shower of Puritanical Rain. And what is this next Meſs, my Lord?

Card. May it pleaſe your Holineſs, this is alſo a Hodgepodge, containing ſundry coarſe Meats, as Scriveners, Brokers, Uſurers, Jailors, Bailiffs, Serjeants, Informers, perjured Churchwardens, Juſtices of the Peace, and Bumbailiffs; this Meſs is ſeaſoned with Parchment, Deceit, Extortion, Uſury, Oppreſſion, Murdering of Chriſtian Souls in Priſons, thro' Famine, falſe Information, Injuſtice, Neglect, and Tyranny; and is garniſhed with a Number of irreligious Mayors, Sheriffs, Fœderies, Eſcheaters, Clerks of the Aſſize, Clerks of the Peace, Conſtables, and Headboroughs. But this Meſs is, by his Majeſty's Order, to be diſpoſed of unto his Servants.

Pope. Indeed, my Lord Cardinal, methinks this Meſs hath a very bitter Reliſh with it, elſe my Mouth is quite out of Taſte; I conceive

ceive it to be a Mess fit only for his Majesty's Hell-hounds. But what is this last Mess?

Card. I conceive this Mess to be very well known to your Holiness, for it is seasoned with most of those operative Spices, that all the Meat dressed in your Holiness's Kitchin, is seasoned with; this Mess contains divers justicial Birds of *Middlesex*, as namely, the Long, the Hearn, the Snipe, the Hooker, the Jay, and the like of them; seasoned with the Fees and Bribes of all the Whores and Thieves that live in *Westminster*, *Covent-Garden*, *Holborn*, *Grubstreet*, *Clerkenwell*, *Rosemary-lane*, *Turnbull-street*, *Ratcliff*, *Southwark*, *Bankside*, and *Kentstreet*; this Dish is also garnished with the New Year's Gifts of the Whores, Thieves, and Cutpurses dwelling in the forenamed several Places; but this Mess is, by his Majesty, reserved for his own peculiar Palate.

Pope. Oh *Venerable Bede!* Oh holy *Garnet!* Oh sanctified *Faux!* Oh reverend *Beckett!* Oh beloved *Ravilliack*, *Campion*, *Watson*, *Parsons*, *Moreton*, *Sands*, and admired *Bellarmine*, I call you all to witness this Day, Whether you, or any of you, have ever, as yet, been capable of such a delicious Feast, adorned with so many Varieties, beautified with so many several Rarities, and seasoned with such delectable Spices; *Sancte Benedicte ora pronoebis.*

And thus, rendering all humble and hearty Thanks, with all Reverence in all Obedience, unto his Majesty, our most damnable Prince and Protector, *Lucifer*, King of *Styx* and *Phlegethon*, I remain his Majesty's humble Servant, and Vicegerent, at his Majesty's sole Disposal during Life,

Papa Romanorum.

Advices and Motives to the Honourable Assembly in Parliament. E. S. I. E. W. J. S.

THE Stake's three Crowns, four Nations Gamesters are;
There's Three to One, and yet no Man that dare
Take these great Odds? The Cause is, as they say,
The Fourth knows both our Stock, and Cards we play.
This turns the Odds, and makes most Gamesters think
We're but in Jest, and play our Cards, and wink.
The Set goes hard, when Gamesters think it best,
Tho' three Men vie it, the fourth sets his Rest.
My Masters, you that undertake the Game,
Look to't, your Country's Safety, and her Fame
Are now at Stake; be careful how you cut,
And deal, as known Occasions put you to't.
The Cards are strangely shuffl'd, for your Parts,
'Tis Odds you ever get the Ace of Hearts:
Yet the five Fingers, and some Helps beside,
Lie in the Pack dispers'd, be those your Guide,
That you possess, to tell you what you want,
Lest the Mistake of one poor Trick should daunt
Your Spirits quite, and make you fling away
Your Liberty, [illegible] to be lost by Play.
Detest foul Juggling, now 'tis in your Powers;
Let none but square Play pass, the Game is yours;
For here you see, Hell, *Rome*, and all their Train,
Plot to confound all your good Laws again.
Then have a Care, expel *Rome*'s Imps, make sure,
Your Laws and Liberties may still endure
To future Ages; Posterities then may
Have Cause to bless your Memories for aye.

1. LAMENT, lament, you Bishops all,
Each wear his blackest Gown;
Hang up your Rochets on the Wall,
Your Pride is going down.
2. It needs must grieve each *Romish* Heart,
To hear this sad Relation;
All Canons are not worth a Fart,
Made in the Convocation.
3. The Bishops holy Synod, and
The Priests of *Baal*, that there
Consented, and concluded all,
Are now in grievous Fear
4. To be depriv'd of Priestly Style,
Of Coat Canonical;
And quite be banished this Isle,
They fear they must be all.
5. Ah! poor, *Et cætera*, is now dead,
Which grieves the Bishops most;
What they would have immortal made,
Hath now giv'n up the Ghost.
6. Alas! that new begotten Oath,
Like Snow against the Sun,
It did begin to melt away,
When th' Parliament begun.

7. All

7. All Ceremonies are good cheap,
And I will tell you how:
The Tippet, Hood, and *Surplice eke*,
Are good for nothing now.
8. And, which I know more woeful *is*,
And moſt their Courage quails,
There was a grievous Murther made,
Amongſt their holy Rails.
9. Oh! when this ſad and and heavy News
Unto that Synod came,
The Birds and Beaſts were in a Muſe,
Aſs, Wren, and Duck, and Lamb.
10. And then a doleful Ditty theſe
Did thus lament together,
Alas! we muſt all run away,
When ſhall we run, and whither?
11. Shall we, with *Windebank*, to *France*,
Or fly to *Holland*, where
The *Finch* is flown, for us a Place,
Before-hand, to prepare?
12. No, quoth the Duck, we'll fly to *Rome*,
And there reſt without Fear
Of Parliament, and then the Lamb
May come up in the Rear.
13. And there we'll drink a Health to all
The Puritans Confuſion,
That have thus ſtrongly wrought our Fall
By Parliament Concluſion.

THE Judges, and the Lawyers all,
Attornies, Proctors, Clerks,
Sollicitors, and Advocates,
Muſt now ſtand in their Sarks,
And Penance do for all their Faults;
Their Bribes they muſt reſtore;
Their Cheats and Tricks, which they did uſe,
They practiſe muſt no more.
The People long they have beguil'd,
And many a one undone;
God's Curſe their Wealth for this doth melt,
As Snow is by the Sun.
Their Children and Poſterity
The Gallows doth devour;
Themſelves have made a League with Hell,
To reign ſtill by his Power.
God is the God of Unity,
Of Love and Peace alone;
But theſe Men, *for Deceit and Strife*,
The like of them there's none.

Probatum eſt.

Received by me, *Fountain of Iniquity*, this 22d of *September*, 1641, by the Help of Judge *Bribery*, and the Furtherance of Lawyer *Impiety*, of *Romanus Treachery*, the Sum of ten Pounds of damnable Simplicity, nine Pounds of ſuperſtitious Ignorance, ſeven Pounds of Idolatrous Folly, ſix Pounds of wilful Stupidity, and three Pounds of Perverſeneſs, to and for the Uſe of *Impatience*; and, by his Appointment, to be delivered unto *Genteel Prodigality*, to and for the Uſe of Miſtreſs *Inconſtancy*, Daughter and ſole Heir unto Miſtreſs *Leachery*, the Grand-child of Miſtreſs *Bawdry*, dwelling next Door unto Miſtreſs *Beggary*.

By the new Priſon near the Whipping Thong,
At no great Diſtance from Mr. Juſtice Long.

Long hath a long Time been a Knave,
Receiving Bribes from every Slave;
Long ever hath a Shelter been full ſure,
For every Thief, a Cutpurſe, and a Whore;
Long knows full well his *Chriſtmas* how to keep,
On Coſt of Whores, thoſe are his only Sheep:
His Capons, Woodcocks, Hearns, Snipes, and Jays,
Providers of good Chear on all Aſſays.
Long may he feaſt his Body, fill his Purſe
By ſuch a Crew of helliſh Imps. God's Curſe
Aſſuredly will fall on him and his,
And prove his fatal Recompence for this.
Long may he be a Knave, of ſuch great Fame,
To all Whores Glory, his own eternal Shame.

The

The Life of that incomparable Man, *Fauſtus Socinus Senenſis*, deſcribed by a *Polonian* Knight. Whereunto is added an excellent Diſcourſe, which the ſame Author would have had premiſed to the Works of *Socinus*; together with a Catalogue of thoſe Works. *London*: Printed for *Richard Moone*, at the *Seven Stars* in *Paul's Church-yard*, 1653. *Octavo*, containing forty-two Pages.

To the READER.

THE *Life of* Socinus *is here expoſed to thy View, that by the Peruſal thereof thou mayeſt receive certain Information concerning the Man, whom Miniſters and others traduce by Cuſtom, having, for the moſt Part, never heard any Thing of his Converſation, nor ſeen any of his Works; or, if they have, they were either unable or unwilling to make a thorough Scrutiny into them, and ſo no Marvel, if they ſpeak Evil of him. To ſay any Thing of him here by Way of Elogy, as that he was one of the moſt pregnant Wits that the World hath produced; that none, ſince the Apoſtles, hath deſerved better of our Religion, in that the Lord Chriſt hath chiefly made Uſe of his Miniſtry, to retrieve ſo many precious Truths of the Goſpel, which had a long Time been hidden from the Eyes of Men by the Artifice of Satan; that he ſhewed the World a more accurate Way to diſcuſs Controverſies in Religion, and to fetch out the very Marrow of the Holy Scripture; ſo that a Man may more avail himſelf by reading his Works, than perhaps by peruſing all the Fathers, together with the Writings of more modern Authors; that the Virtues of his Will were not inferior unto thoſe of his Underſtanding, he being every Way furniſhed to the Work of the Lord; that he opened the right Way to bring Chriſtians to the Unity of the Faith and Acknowledgment of the Son of God; that he took the ſame Courſe to propagate the Goſpel, that Chriſt and the Apoſtles had done before him, forſaking his Eſtate, and his neareſt Relations, and undergoing all Manner of Labours and Hazards, to draw Men to the Knowledge of the Truth; that he had no other End of all his Undertakings, than the Glory of God and Chriſt, and the Salvation of himſelf and others, it being impoſſible for Calumny itſelf, with any Colour, to aſperſe him with the leaſt Suſpicion of worldly Intereſt; that he, of all Interpreters, explaineth the Precepts of Chriſt in the ſtricteſt Manner, and windeth up the Lives of Men to the higheſt Strain of Holineſs: To ſay theſe and other the like Things (though in themſelves true and certain) would, notwithſtanding, here be impertinent, in that it would foreſtal what the* Polonian *Knight hath written on this Subject. To him, therefore, I refer thee, deſiring thee to read his Words without Prejudice, and then the Works of* Socinus *himſelf; and though thou beeſt not thereby convinced that all which* Socinus *taught is true (for neither am I myſelf of that Belief, as having diſcovered that, in ſome leſſer Things,* Socinus, *as a Man, went awry, however, in the main, he hit the Truth) yet for ſo much of Chriſt, as thou muſt needs confeſs, appeareth in him, begin to have more favourable Thoughts of him and his Followers.*

J. B.

TO purſue the Life of *Fauſtus Socinus*, in a brief and perfunctory Manner, would be below the Dignity of ſo great a Man; but to do it, fully and elaborately, would perhaps be above our Strength. For to relate the Praiſes of renowned Men by Snatches, and in a negligent Faſhion, is an Injury to Virtue; and, if there was ever any, certainly this is the Man who deſerveth to be deſcribed, not only with Care, but alſo with Wit. Yet ſince it is better, that excellent Endowments ſhould be commended below their Merit, than wholly paſſed over in Silence: It is unreaſonable, either that the Meanneſs of the Relators ſhould prove prejudicial to famous Men, or the Greatneſs of thoſe, who are celebrated, be any Prejudice to the Wit of the Writers. But, as for myſelf, Pardon is due to me upon another Account, being cumbered with many Cares, and hurrying my Diſcourſe, within the Limits prefixed, to a Pittance of Time.

Socinus was born in *Sene*, a moſt famous City of *Tuſcany*; the Nobility of his Stock was ancient, and the Splendor of his Alliances exceeding the Condition of a private Man. His Father, beſides the Honours of his own Family, was, on his Mother's Side, further ennobled by the *Salvetti*, which Family ſometimes flouriſhed with ſo great Power amongſt the *Florentines*, that *Pandulphus Petruccius*, being expelled out of *Sene*, was chiefly beholden to the Aſſiſtance and Wealth of *Paulus Salvettus* for the Reſtitution of his Country, and ſhortly after of his Princedom. By which Benefit, being obliged, he conferred on him the Freedom of the City, and perſuaded him to leave his Country, and dwell at *Sene*. This *Paulus* was Father to *Camilla*, who, being married to *Marianus* the Younger, was Mother to *Alexander* and *Lælius Socinus*, and Grandmother to *Fauſtus*. His Mother, born to the Hope of more than a private Fortune, was Daughter to *Burgeſius Petruccius* (ſometimes Prince of the Commonwealth of *Sene*) and to *Victoria Piccolomnea*, who being the Daughter of *Andreas Piccolomineus*, Lord of *Caſtilio* and *Piſcaria*, and Niece to Pope *Pius the Second*, and *Third* of that Name; and either Siſter or Kinſwoman to Cardinal *John Piccolomineus*, to the Dukes of the *Amalphitani*, to the Marquiſſes of *Capiſtranum*, to the Earls of *Calanum*, and many other *Italian* Princes, married into the Houſe of the *Petruccii*, which then held the Fortune of the Princedom of *Sene*. But *Burgeſius*, ſucceeding his Father *Pandulphus*, and not long after by a fatal Change expelled out of his Country, did not long ſurvive his Dignity. Nevertheleſs Cardinal *Raphael Petruccius* was his Succeſſor in the Government of his Country, and held for a While the Helm of that Commonwealth. But *Victoria*, being left a Widow, ſuffered not her Mind, which, in the Splendor of her former Height, ſhe had never lifted up, to be quailed with ſo diſaſtrous a Viciſſitude of Things. So that, for the Space of fifty-ſix Years, wherein ſhe ſurvived the Life and common Fortune of her Huſband, ſhe did with ſingular Modeſty, and approved Integrity and Chaſtity, endure the ſolitary Condition of Widowhood. Her Daughter *Agnes*, whom according to the Dignity of ſo great a Family, ſhe had trained up in moſt holy Manners, ſhe gave in Marriage to *Alexander Socinus*, a young Man of noble Extraction, but private Condition. He was the Father of our *Fauſtus*, and born in ſuch a Family, as had, for a long Time, not by Arms and Power, but by Wit and Scholarſhip, ſeemed to hold a Kind of Princedom in one Sort of Learning. For this very *Alexander* was called the Maſter of Subtleties; and his Father *Marianus* the Younger, the Prince of Lawyers; and *Bartholomew*, the Uncle of *Marianus* the Younger, was by *Angelus Politianus*, ſtiled the *Papinian* of his Age; finally *Marianus* the Elder, *Bartholomew*'s Father, a moſt grave Lawyer, is by *Æneas Sylvius* ſo highly extolled, that the Narration almoſt exceeds Belief.

The Son of this *Marianus* was *Alexander* the Elder; the Grandchild *Marianus* the Younger; the Great Grandchildren, *Alexander* and *Lælius*, the one (as we ſaid) the Father; the other, the Uncle of our *Fauſtus*. Both of them, for Greatneſs of Wit, and Endowments of Learning, exceeding famous; but to whom that of the Poet may juſtly be applied,

Theſe to the Earth the Fates will only ſhow,
Cauſing them preſently away to go.

For *Alexander* having a marvellous Sharpneſs of Wit, together with a divine Memory and excellent Eloquence, had ſcarce fulfilled the one and thirtieth Year of his Age, but he was ſuddenly ſnatched away, to the great Grief of all

all *Italy*. And *Lælius*, having in a ſhort Race of Life, performed very great Matters, exceeded not the ſeven and thirtieth Year of his Age.

The Memory of this Man I judge worthy to be exceedingly admired by Poſterity, who, in ſo ſhort a Space as he lived, not only ſmelt out ſo many grievous Errors, which had privily crept into the Church, but, pulling them out of their very Holes, firſt ſhewed the Way how to kill them. He, being by his Father *Mariano* put upon that Study which was hereditary to his Name, thought that the Knowledge of human Laws was to be fetched out of the very Fountains of God's Law. To which Purpoſe, whilſt he diligently turned over the ſacred Volumes, he without Difficulty found that very many of thoſe Doctrines of the Church, which are commonly received, are quite oppoſite to the Divine Teſtimonies. And that ſo much the more eaſily, becauſe moſt of them are alſo repugnant to Reaſon, and ſuch Principles, as Nature itſelf hath implanted in us. Inaſmuch therefore, as the Height of his excellent Wit and Sharpneſs of his Judgment were accompanied with a ſingular Probity of Mind, having detected the Errors of the Church, he did not (as the greateſt Part do) abuſe them to the Contempt of the Scripture and Religion; but rather uſed the Authority of the Scripture, and of the Chriſtian Religion, to heal the Diſeaſes of the Church, which could not be cured, unleſs the Errors were detected. Wherefore, in that Study, to which his ſublime and pious Mind was carried with inflamed Speed, a great Light, not without the Divine Aſſiſtance, ſuddenly broke out unto him, eſpecially becauſe, to fetch out the Senſes of the Scripture, he brought with him the Knowledge of the Oriental Tongues, the *Hebrew* and *Greek* chiefly, and alſo the *Arabick*. Whether, therefore, it were for Fear of Danger, as it is likely, or that he might more exactly ſtudy purer Divinity, and the Tongues, he ſoon paſſed out of *Italy* into *Switzerland* and *Germany*.

He left his Country very young, not being above one and twenty Years old. In the next four Years, having travelled over *France*, *Britany*, *Belgium*, all *Germany* and *Poland*, he took up his Dwelling at *Zurich*. Whereupon although he was often drawn away with publick and private Affairs; yet did he ſpend the chiefeſt Part of his Exile there, being endeared to ſundry Princes in all Parts, and favoured alſo by certain Kings.

There was not a noted Scholar in that Time (than which, none ever abounded more with learned Men) but he had by his Carriage won not only his Friendſhip, but his Familiarity alſo. Whereby it came to paſs, that the inbred Goodneſs of his Judgment was accompanied with a ſingular Prudence and Sweetneſs of Behaviour. Which Endowments are acknowledged in him, as by very many other famous Men, ſo chiefly by *Philip Melanchthon*, in his commendatory Letters, which he wrote to him as he was departing. And indeed what Correſpondence was between him and the moſt renowned Men of that Age, chiefly *Calvin*, *Melanchthon*, *Bullinger*, *Brentius*, *Muſculus*, *Munſter*, *Zanchius*, *Vergerius*, *Caſtellio*, *Beza*, *Martyr*, *Ochinus*, *Cœleus*, and ſundry others, their frequent Letters unto him do teſtify, the Copies whereof, in a great Number, have come to our Hands. He did not more deſire to enjoy their Friendſhip, for the Safe-guard of his Fortune, than to make Uſe of the ſame to the Benefit of the Church. Wherefore he did, by his Queſtions, much urge and exerciſe thoſe redoubted Doctors of the then flouriſhing Divinity: I have a Letter written with *Calvin*'s own Hand, wherein he openly profeſſeth that he was put into Choler by him, and, inſtead of an Anſwer, ſends him back a Check and Threatening:

'It is not fit, ſaith he, that you ſhould expect until I anſwer thoſe portentous Queſtions 'which you object. If you are diſpoſed to 'fly through thoſe airy Speculations, I beſeech 'you, ſuffer me, an humble Diſciple of Chriſt, 'to meditate on ſuch Things, as tend to the 'Edification of my Faith. And indeed I will 'by my Silence gain what I deſire, namely, 'that you be not henceforth troubleſome to 'me. Now that ſo gallant a Wit, as the 'Lord hath beſtowed on you, ſhould not only 'be unprofitably taken up with ſlight Matters, 'but alſo corrupted with pernicious Figments, 'is a very great Grief. What I not long 'ſince teſtified, I again ſeriouſly warn you of: 'That, if you do not timely correct this Itch of 'Enquiring, it is to be feared, you will draw 'on yourſelf great Torments. Should I, under 'a Shew of Indulgence, cheriſh ſuch a Vice, 'as I know to be very hurtful, I ſhould be

'perfidious and cruel towards you. Wherefore I had rather you ſhould be a little offended with my Roughneſs, than be drawn away, with the ſweet Allurements of Curioſity, beyond all Recovery. The Time will come, I hope, when you will rejoice, that you were ſo boiſterouſly awakened.'

Jan. 1, 1552. *Yours,*

John Calvin.

Neither was the Truth of this Threatening either uncertain or contemptible: For, in the Month of *October*, the next Year, *Servetus* was burned at *Geneva*: Nevertheleſs, the Gravity of *Lælius*, and his incredible Modeſty in the greateſt Endowments of Learning and Wit, together with his Dexterity of Carriage, had ſo diſarmed the Anger of thoſe that were in a Chafe, that they did not endure to hate the Man, although, otherwiſe, they could not brook his Freedom. Which Thing may teach them, whom over-much Freedom of Truth betrayeth into needleſs Dangers, that that very Truth, which they maintain, is more ſecured by the circumſpect Mildneſs of Prudence, than by unbridled Zeal. So that they, who of their own Accord meet Dangers, ſeem to make greater Haſte to their own Praiſe, than to the Advancement of the publick Good. And certainly, if there be any, this is the Place where the Simplicity of the Dove is to be mingled with the Subtlety of the Serpent: Unleſs we ſuſpect the Counſel of our Saviour condemning their unadviſed Raſhneſs, who oftentimes have very bad Succeſs in caſting-down their Pearls where they cannot be eſtimated according to their Worth. The Truth is, *Lælius* remained intire and inviolate amongſt the capital Enemies of his Opinion; yet did he not ſuffer the Senſe of his Judgment to periſh within the Cloſet of his Conſcience. Wherefore, to thoſe whom he liked, he feared not to entruſt the Things that had been diſcovered to him by God: But, chiefly, he inſtructed his Countrymen, the *Italians*, who, by a pious and voluntary Exile, were ſcattered through ſeveral Regions of *Germany* and *Poland*. I find, in the Commentaries of the *Polonian* Churches, that he came twice into our Country; Firſt, about the Year 1551, when he was ſix and twenty Years old, at what Time he is ſaid, not without great Succeſs, to have converſed with very many of the *Polonian* Nobility; and to have cauſed *Francis Liſmaninus*, the *Corcyræan*, Confeſſor to *Bona Sforzia*, the Queen, and who was then (if I be not miſtaken) the Provincial of the Minorites, and firſt lifted up an Enſign of Revolt from the Pope in this Kingdom, to caſt away his Cowl: But then, in a few Months Space, departing into *Moravia*, he retired thence to the *Switzers*. His ſecond Coming into *Poland* I find to have happened, after the Death of his Father *Marianus*, who died at *Bononia*, in the Year 1556. For not long after, about the Years 1558 and 1559, he deſired Letters of Recommendation from the Kings of *Poland* and *Bohemia*, that he might the more ſecurely treat with his Friends in *Venice* concerning his Patrimony. Then, indeed, it appeared, to the greateſt Part of the *German* and *Polonian* Nobility, in what Favour he was. For, in his Caſe, there was very great Canvaſſing both with *Ludovicus Priulus* the Doge of *Venice*, and *Coſmus* the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*. Almoſt about the ſame Time, a grievous Storm, ariſing upon a Suſpicion of Hereſy, did with a perilous Guſt ſhake the whole Houſe of the *Socini*. After the Death of *Alexander*, *Lælius* had three Brethren ſurviving: Of whom *Celſus* lived at *Bononia*, *Cornelius* and *Camillus* together with *Fauſtus*, Son to his Brother *Alexander*, dwelt at *Sene*. Amongſt theſe alſo *Lælius*, a marvellous Artiſt in ſuggeſting the Truth, had ſcattered the Seeds thereof; and, though he were ſeparated by the remote Diſtances of Countries, yet did he by effectual Induſtry ſo cheriſh them, that, being unknown as yet, and abſent, he drew the Wives of ſome to his Party. Nor were there wanting, amongſt his other Familiars and Friends, *ſuch as were* either Partners in the ſame Deſign, or privy thereunto. But the fair Hope of that Crop was blaſted in the very Blade, *Cornelius* being taken, and the reſt either ſcattered, or chaced away. This Fear drove *Fauſtus* alſo, then very young, not only out of his native City, but out of *Italy* itſelf: Who having lived a While at *Lyons* in *France*, *Lælius* was in the mean Time extinguiſhed by an untimely Death at *Zurich*. *Fauſtus*, being certified of his Death by the Letters of *Marius Beſozzus*, had much ado to prevent the Snares laid for his Papers, yet got the Poſſeſſion thereof, having been already by him informed of very many Things, which he afterwards, in long Progreſs of Time, did by his ſharp Wit and indefatigable Study

• poliſh,

poſſible. The Death of *Lælius* happened on the third Day after the Ides of *May*, 1562, and in the thirty-ſeventh Year of his Age. That ſo great a Wit was not long-lived, will not ſeem ſtrange to him who ſhall conſider how ſoon it was ripe. He had hardly paſſed the Age of a Stripling, when he left *Italy*. Within the ſix and twentieth Year of his Life, having travelled almoſt through all the Regions of the Weſt, he was, by his great Renown, made known to moſt of the chief Nobility in ſundry Parts; and perhaps to all learned Men every where. It was well nigh fifteen Years that he was abſent from his Country. Out of ſo ſmall a Space of Life far Journies challenge a great Part, by Means of which, his Exile became profitable to many in ſundry Coaſts of *Europe*. Add his perpetual Commerce with ſo many great Men, together with his continual Intercourſe of Letters, and when you have ſubtracted theſe Things, How ſmall a Pittance of Time, I pray you, was left for his Studies? And now, being amazed, we muſt enquire, What was that ſo profound Leiſure? What ſo vigorous Induſtry? What ſo ready Wit? What ſo vaſt Underſtanding, as was ſufficient to maſter ſo many Tongues, ſo many Sciences, and withal to recollect the Mind to itſelf, and manage the greateſt Affairs? To premiſe theſe Things touching *Lælius*, had I not liſted of my own Accord, Neceſſity itſelf did require. For he it was who by his Guidance and Counſel drew *Fauſtus* himſelf and others to enter into that Way, which they afterwards followed.

Now I return to *Fauſtus*, intending in the firſt Place to relate, in Brief, the Courſe and chief Occurrences of his Life; then to compriſe his chief Actions; and laſtly to add a few Words concerning the Habit of his Mind and Body, as far as I have by a curſory Enquiry attained the Knowledge thereof.

He was born, two Hours and almoſt three Quarters before Sun-riſing, on the Nones of *December*, 1539, well-nigh fourteen Years younger than his Uncle *Lælius*. He died in the Year 1604, a little before the Beginning of the Spring, being ſixty-five Years old.

He firſt ſpent twenty, and a little after twelve Years of Age in his Country; about three in his Retirement at *Lyons*; the other thirty in voluntary Exile. He ſeemeth to have loſt his Parents at that Age, which is moſt apt for the Improvement of Learning and Wit. For he complaineth how he employed his Labour in the Studies of good Arts very ſlightly, and without the Guidance of a Teacher. And elſewhere, how he had not learnt Philoſophy, nor ever was acquainted with School-Divinity; and confeſſeth that in Logick itſelf he never taſted but only certain Rudiments, and that very late.

It was a Baffle to that proud Age, to be taught by ſo notable an Inſtance, that, even without thoſe Helps, which we, though not without Cauſe, yet oftentimes without Meaſure do admire, there may be great Men, and ſuch as will perform rare Feats. Perhaps alſo it was expedient, that a Wit, born to take Cogniſance of the Opinions of the World, ſhould be tainted with no Prejudices; leſt it ſhould admit ſome String of thoſe Errors, for the Rooting out of which it grew up. For Divinity, being full of Errors, infected alſo Philoſophy itſelf, and almoſt all good Arts. And therefore not only in the Cradle, but alſo in the very Rudiments of the firſt learning the Infancy of the World, hath now for a long Time been deceived, and ſucked in Opinions as true, before it was able to judge whether they were falſe. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that oftentimes it is better to be ſeaſoned with none, than with perverſe Doctrines: Nor is it a Wonder that ſometimes learned Men dote more ſhamefully, and the rude Multitude judgeth more ſincerely: Which I would not have ſo taken, as if I would condemn Learning, but only the Abuſe thereof; nor give a Check, but a Caution to it. With ſuch a ſlight Tincture of Learning, and, as I ſuppoſe, with the Study of the Civil Law, the firſt Age of *Socinus* was taken up, until the three and twentieth Year. Yet had he before ſucked in the Principles of divine Truth, partly by his own ſharp Wit, partly by the Inſtruction of his Uncle *Lælius*, eſpecially when, upon the Riſing of a ſudden Tempeſt, he, as we before hinted, betook himſelf into *France*. Although *Lælius*, confiding in the Wit of his Nephew, did intimate more to his Gueſs, than deliver to his Underſtanding; concealing alſo ſome Things from the young Man, for the Trial of his Judgment, and openly preſaging amongſt his Friends, that theſe Things ſhould more fully and happily by *Fauſtus* be diſcovered to the World. But, when after the Death of *Lælius* he was returned into *Italy*, in that unſteddy Age of his Life, his Youth, floating like a Ship without a Pilot, and carried away with I know not what Winds, almoſt

almoſt grew old amongſt the *Sirens* of the Court. For, being admitted into the Palace of *Francis* the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, and very much endeared to him by honourable Employments, whilſt he there flouriſhed in higheſt Favour and Dignity, he ſpent whole twelve Years in the Court of *Florence*. Then did he loſe, as he with perpetual Groans complained, the moſt flouriſhing Part of his Life; if at leaſt that Time is to be accounted loſt, wherein this ſublime Judgment was formed, not with the ſhadowy Precepts of Learning, but with the ſubſtantial Experiments of Life; wherein alſo that youthful Heat of his evaporated, which, for the moſt Part, hurrieth great Wits to great Falls. And indeed, were we not otherwiſe aſſured of it, yet, from the very Force of his Wit, we might conjecture with how vehement Motions that Nature of his was ſometimes agitated. About the Cloſe of that Time, his Heart was touched with a ſerious Deliberation, concerning the Choice of good Things; which he performed with ſuch Greatneſs of Mind, that he determined, for the Hope of heavenly Things, to trample under Foot all the Commodities of earthly Wiſhes; wherefore without Delay, deſpairing to obtain from the extremely unwilling Princes Leave to depart, he of his own Accord forſook his Country, Friends, Hopes and Riches, that he might the more freely employ himſelf about his own and other Men's Salvation. That his Service had not been ungrateful to the Grand Duke, the Longing after him, being now abſent and in Exile, ſhewed. For ſundry Times by Letters and Meſſengers, chiefly at the Motion of *Paulus Jordanus Urſinus* a Nobleman, who had married the Grand Duke's Siſter, he ſollicited *Socinus* to return, which he with uſual Modeſty, but reſolute Mind, did refuſe. It was the Year of our Lord 1574, and the five and thirtieth of his Age, when he retired out of *Italy* into *Germany*. At his Coming he was entertained by *Baſil*, that courteous Receiver of Chriſt's Exiles, which had long ſince learned to cheriſh in her Lap endangered Innocency. Where he ſtudied Divinity full three Years and upwards, being chiefly intent upon the ſacred Scriptures, to the ſincere Underſtanding whereof whilſt he aſpired with daily Vows and Prayers, he was much helped with a very few Writings of his Uncle *Lælius*, and ſundry ſcattered Notes left by him. Which Thing, though it was in his Power to ſuppreſs it, yet did he always ingenuouſly own and profeſs. As he lived at *Baſil* until the Year 1575, he detained not, within the Cloſet of his private Breaſt, the Truth that had been depoſited with him. And therefore, whilſt he endeavoured to propagate unto others the Light that was riſen to himſelf, he proceeded by Degrees, from Reaſoning with his Friends, to diſcourſe with Strangers, and, having begun his Diſputation concerning *Jeſus Chriſt* the Saviour by Word of Mouth, he afterwards compriſed it in Writing. Which before he could finiſh, being firſt excluded by Sickneſs from his Studies, then by the Peſtilence from his Books left at *Baſil*, he in the mean Time diſpatched at *Zurich*, in the Beginning of the Year 1578, another Diſputation with *Franciſcus Puccius*; and afterwards in the ſame Year, being returned to *Baſil*, he put the laſt Hand to his Book, *concerning the Saviour*. At that Time the *Tranſylvanian* Churches were extremely infeſted with the Opinion of *Franciſcus Davidis* and others, touching the Honour and Power of Chriſt. To remedy with Miſchief, *Georgius Blandrata*, a Man very powerful in thoſe Churches, and with the *Bathorrean* Princes, who had then ruled the Nation, in that very Year of the Lord invited *Socinus* from *Baſil*, to the End he might draw the Ringleader of the Faction, *Franciſcus Davidis*, from ſo groſs and pernicious an Error; which that it might the more commodiouſly be effected, having at a great Rate hired a Lodging for *Socinus*, with *Franciſcus Davidis*, he would have them both for above the Space of four Months to uſe the ſame Houſe and Table. But the ſaid *Franciſcus* took far greater Care how to retain his Credit amongſt thoſe of his Party, than how to ſeek after the Truth. Whereupon adventuring not only to ſpread his Error in private, but publickly to proclaim it in the Pulpit, he drew preſent Danger on himſelf, being ſoon caſt into Priſon by the Command of the Prince of *Tranſylvania*, where he ſhortly after ended his Life. Of whoſe Death, though *Socinus* was altogether guiltleſs, yet did he not eſcape Blame. As if he were not able to vanquiſh the ſaid *Franciſcus* with other Weapons, when notwithſtanding the Diſputations of both are publiſhed: Or that Magiſtrate was ſo addicted to the Cauſe of *Socinus*, as to employ the Weapons of his Authority for him, or any one of his Party. But, if perhaps ſome Perſon, who favoured the Cauſe of *Socinus*, did incite the Princes to deal roughly with the ſaid *Franciſcus*, whereof nevertheleſs I am not certain, yet let not *Socinus* be

blamed

blamed for him, inaſmuch as he could neither know his Counſel, nor approve his Deed. For, to omit ſundry Conſiderations, there could not happen any Thing more contrary to the Mind of *Socinus*, than that ſuch a Doctrine, as could not be defended with the Words and Wit of the ſaid *Franciſcus*, whilſt he lived, ſhould ſeem to be confirmed by the mute, but efficacious Teſtimony of his Death: Eſpecially becauſe, carrying the Face of a Martyrdom, it preſently turned the Eyes of all Men to it. The Diſputation of *Socinus* with him, though written, whilſt the ſaid *Franciſcus* was alive, could notwithſtanding hardly come to Light fifteen Years after. When this Diſputation was finiſhed in *May*, *Anno* 1579, and preſented to the *Tranſylvanian* Churches, *Socinus* could not long tarry there, by Reaſon of a Diſeaſe then raging, which they commonly call the Cholick. Wherefore in the ſame Year, being now forty Years old, he travelled into *Poland*, where he made Suit publickly to be united to the *Polonian* Churches, which acknowledge none but the Father of the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* to be the moſt High God: But, not concealing his Diſſent in certain Doctrines, here ſuffered a Repulſe very roughly and for a long Time.

Nevertheleſs he, being compoſed unto Patience, not ſo much by his natural Inclination, as as by the Reſolution of his Mind, was no Whit enraged with this Diſgrace, nor ever gave any Signs of a diſaffected Mind; but rather undertook to repel with his Wit the Incurſion of divers Adverſaries, who then infeſted thoſe Churches. And firſt of all he received the Charge of *Andreas Volanus*, by reſelling his *Paræneſis*; and upon the ſame Occaſion, at the Requeſt of *Niemojevius*, the ſeventh Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Romans* was explained. Afterwards it pleaſed him to aſſail *Jacobus Palæologus*, whoſe Reputation and Authority did at that Time cheriſh the Relicks of pernicious Errors in Men otherwiſe well minded. Him being ſomewhat roughly handled, not out of Hatred, but Advice, he always excuſed. A little after, when *Volanus* had renewed the Fight, he was again encountered, and withal an Anſwer made to the Poſitions of the College of *Ponſa*. Whilſt *Socinus* undergoeth ſo much Fighting and Hatred for the Patronage of the Truth, amongſt ſo many Enemies there wanted not ſome Calumniators. *Stephanus* was then King of *Poland*. A Pickthank blows his Ears with the Report of a Book written againſt the Magiſtrate; adding that it would be a very diſhonourable thing to ſuffer a wandering *Italian* Exile to eſcape Scot-free with ſo bold an Enterpriſe. He hinted at the Book againſt *Palæologus*: Which though it required no other Teſtimony of its Innocency, than the Reading, yet did he think good to decline the Danger.

Whereupon, he departed from *Cracovia*, where he had now lived four Years, to a Nobleman, named *Chriſtophorus Morſinus*, Lord of *Pawlicowia*; in which Place he defended his Innocency, not ſo much by Skulking, as by the Privilege of Nobility in our Nation: For that Suburb-farm is a few Miles diſtant from *Cracovia*. It ſeemed a wiſer Courſe to clear himſelf from the Crimes laid to his Charge, rather out of that Place, than out of Priſon; nor was he entertained in that hoſpitable Houſe, for that Nick of Time only, but there cheriſhed for above three Years: And, to the End that the Courteſy ſhewed to an Exile and Stranger might be more abundant, a little While after, the Daughter of the Family, a noble Virgin, was, at his Suit, given him in Marriage; ſo that, being of a Stranger become a Son-in-law, he ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed his Security in thoſe Places, by Affinities and Friendſhips. Whilſt he lived in the Country, he wrote many notable Pieces, and chiefly that againſt *Eutropius*, conſtantly defending the Fame and Cauſe of that Church, which had, with moſt unjuſt Prejudice, condemned him, and cauſed him, though innocent, continually to ſuffer many Indignities. His Daughter *Agnes* was born to him in the Year of our Lord 1587, and forty-eighth of his Age; of whom, being, after her Father's Death, married to *Staniſlaus Wiſzowatius*, a *Polonian* Knight, there are as yet remaining Nephews and Nieces. In *September* the ſame Year, he loſt his Wife *Eliſabeth*; which ſad and diſaſtrous Chance was followed with a grievous Fit of Sickneſs, ſo obſtinate, that, for certain Months, it cauſed the Uſe of his Studies to ceaſe: And, that no Kind of Calamity might be wanting, almoſt about the ſame Time, by the Death of *Franciſcus*, the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, the Revenues of his Eſtate, which he received yearly out of *Italy*, were quite taken away from him. Indeed, a little before, by the Bitterneſs of Accuſers, and Threats of Popes, his Eſtate came into Danger; but, by the ſtrenuous Endeavour of *Iſabella Medicea*, the Grand Duke's Siſter (who

was

was married to the aforeſaid *Paulus Jordanus Urſinus*) whilſt ſhe lived, and afterwards by the Favour of *Franciſcus* the Grand Duke, it came to paſs, that, during his Life, *Socinus* received the yearly Income of his Eſtate. For, indeed, his old Deſerts were ſtill ſo freſh in Memory, that thoſe Princes, though long ſince forſaken, and oftentimes rejected, did yet, in a moſt difficult Matter, gratify the Letters and Prayers of a condemned and exiled Perſon: Yea, Letters full of Courteſy were ſent unto him, and he bidden to be of good Chear for the future, as long as they lived, ſo that, in ſetting forth Books, he ſuffered not his Name to appear. But thoſe Princes were then taken away by a Deſtiny diſaſtrous to *Socinus*. And, that all Things might ſeem to have conſpired to the Perplexity of the Man, being a Widower, ſick, and ſtripped of all his Fortunes, he was moleſted with the very Times of our Commonwealth, which were then exceeding turbulent, becauſe divers did contend who ſhould be the King of *Poland*; ſo that the Adverſaries, thereupon, took greater Licenſe to themſelves. *Socinus* was now returned to *Cracovia*, and ſought Solace, in the Midſt of ſo many Evils, from the Employment, which God had impoſed on him, to purge the Church of ſuch Errors as were then riſe in her. Wherefore, although he had been formerly accuſtomed to frequent Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, yet, in the Year 1588, in the Synod of *Breſte* (which is a Town on the Borders of *Lithuania*) he diſputed with greater Earneſtneſs and Fruit, than before, touching the Death and Sacrifice of Chriſt, touching our Juſtification, touching the Corrupted Nature of Man, and, finally, with the *Davidians* and *Budneiſts*, touching the Invocation of *Jeſus Chriſt*. This was the Year, wherein the Care and Charge of the Church at *Luclavicia* was committed to *Petrus Statius*, Son of *Petrus Statorius* of *Thornville*; whoſe Family, having heretofore been naturaliſed into the Nobility of our Nation, hath, even at this Day, ſome Men ſurviving, who have been inveſted with great Honours, in our Country. He, being no leſs ſharp in Judgment, than ready in Speech, being once admitted into the Friendſhip of *Socinus*, yielded willingly to his Opinion. A little before, alſo, he had privately drawn many of the chief ones into his Opinion, and there was daily an Acceſſion made of ſuch Men as complied with them. Nevertheleſs, certain Men of very great Authority ſtill ſtood off, as, *Niemojevius* and *Czechovicius*, together with the greateſt Part of the ancient Miniſters. The Report is, That *Securinius* was the firſt that adventured openly to maintain the Tenets of *Socinus*, to which he had aſſented; not long after, others followed: Which Party was exceedingly ſtrengthened by the Acceſſion of the three *Lujenecii*, *Andreas*, *Staniſlaus*, and *Chriſtophorus*; who, being Brethren of noble Deſcent, and born to very great Hopes, and brought up partly in the King's Court, and partly in the Society of the greateſt Peers, were, by a ſacred Inſtinct, tranſported from the Midſt of the Allurements of this Life to the Care of Religion. Theſe Men, as they had, by a moſt inflamed Zeal, trodden under Foot all the Impediments of Piety, ſo, with an equal Candour and Greatneſs of Mind, they ſubſcribed to the known Truth,

And now others of the Paſtors came in a Vie to the Party, eſpecially the Juniors, who were leſs retarded with the Prejudice of inveterate Opinions and Authority; and that, by Reaſon of an Accident very notable for the Newneſs thereof, which gave a memorable Proof, how great the Force of the Truth is. Amidſt a great Jarring of Opinions, this was a laudable Agreement of that Church, That thoſe Men contended only with Arguments, and not with Hatred: And, though they deteſted one another's Opinion, yet did they not condemn one another; and therefore, keeping mutual Tolerance intire, they oftentimes diſputed very eagerly; and this was the chief Work of their Synods.

Wherefore, *Anno* 1585, in the Synod of *Lublin*, the Opinion of *Socinus*, touching the ſeventh Chapter of the *Romans*, was exceedingly agitated: There were ſome that defended it; but as great a Number of Paſtors that oppoſed it: One whereof, named *Nicolaus Zitinius*, being willed by others of the ſame Party to explain that Chapter contrary to the Mind of *Socinus*, and having, to that Purpoſe, ſtoutly managed the Matter, falling in his Diſcourſe upon thoſe Words, wherewith the Apoſtle giveth Thanks to God for his Freedom, ſtood like a Man amazed. And by and by, What is that Freedom? ſaith he. What is that Benefit, which drew from the Apoſtle ſo great Thanks? Was it, That he was of Neceſſity detained in ſo great a Servitude of Sin? Certainly, ſuch a Thing as this can, at no Hand, gain Approbation with me.

me. I therefore, ſaith he, in like Manner give very great Thanks to the Father of Lights, in that he would have the Light of his Truth ariſe unto me, who am now freed from Error. Afterwards, entering upon a contrary Way of Explaining, he accurately diſputed for the Orthodox Opinion. When they, whoſe Cauſe he had undertaken, being amazed, did rebuke him; his Anſwer was, That he could not reſiſt the Judgment of a convinced Mind. This Buſineſs was of great Moment for the Propagation of the Truth; nor did their Endeavours leſs conduce thereunto, who had lifted up the Standard unto others to embrace it. Amongſt them the Eloquence of the foreſaid *Petrus Stoinius* did excel. That elegant Tongue only had God beſtowed on thoſe Churches, equal to the Wit of *Socinus*, and able to deliver, in a popular Manner, his ſubtle Senſes, that were above the ruder Sort, and to commend them unto all by his flexanimous Speech. Him, therefore, as the chief Interpreter of his Mind, did *Socinus* make Uſe of, to the notable Advantage of God's Church: And, indeed, certain Things happened, which did inforce a ſtricter Union with him. *Socinus*, ſojourning at *Cracovia*, began, long ſince, to be environed with ſuch Dangers on every Side, as are, for the moſt Part, wont to accompany the faithful Servants of Chriſt. How great an Indignity was there offered to him by that inſolent Soldier *Vernecus*, he himſelf ſignifieth in a certain Letter? But above all, after the Printing of his Book, *Touching the Saviour*, the Adverſaries again began to ſhew the Rancour of their Hatred. Whereupon, in the Year 1598, the Scholars, having ſtirred up the Dregs of the Rabble, took *Socinus*, being then ſick and minding the Recovery of his Health, and pulling him out of his Chamber half naked, drag him in a contumelious Manner through the Market, and the moſt noted Streets, the greateſt Part, in the mean Time, crying out, To have him brought to Execution. At length, having been grievouſly handled in that furious Rout, he was, with much ado, reſcued out of the Hands of the raging Multitude, by *Martinus Vadovica*, Profeſſor of *Cracovia*. The Plundering of his Goods and Houſhold Stuff, together with other Things liable to Spoil, did not ſo much grieve him, as the irreparable Loſs of certain Writings, concerning which, he often did profeſs, that he would redeem it with the Expence of his Life. Then periſhed together a notable Labour of his againſt *Atheiſts*, which he had undertaken to refute the ingenious Devices of a certain great Man. But when, to ſo barbarous an Example of Cruelty, Threats were alſo added, he departed from *Cracovia* to *Luclavicia*, unto a certain Village, famous for his laſt Habitation and Death, and diſtant about nine Miles from *Cracovia*; where having, for certain Years, uſed the Table and Houſe of a Nobleman, named *Abrahamus Blonſcius*, he lived a Neighbour to *Stoinius*. Both, therefore, affording mutual Help near at Hand, in Chacing away the Relicks of Errors, had now brought almoſt that whole Church to an unanimous Conſent in all Opinions; for even *Niemojevius* himſelf having, in moſt Things, already given Aſſent to *Socinus*, condemned his own Miſtakes with ſuch Ingenuity, as can never ſufficiently be extolled.

Czechovicius only could not be removed from his Opinion: Who, as the better Part prevailed, conniving, though with much ado, at other Things, a little after began to make a Stir about the Opinion, concerning Baptiſm, which nevertheleſs being ſuddenly, according to the Wiſh of *Socinus*, laid aſleep, did afterwards vaniſh of its own Accord. Having thus fully purged the Church from Errors, as if his Life had been prolonged hitherto for this Purpoſe only, he was at the End of Winter, in the Sixty-fifth Year of his Age, taken away at *Luclavicia*, by a Death not ſo untimely to himſelf, as ſad to his Followers. His laſt Words at his Death were theſe; namely, That he no leſs full of Envy and Troubles, than of Days, did, with a joyful and undaunted Hope, incline to the Period of his appointed Time, which ſhewed to him both a Diſcharge from his Sorrows, and a Reward of his Labours.

Petrus Stoinius, who had been the Aſſociate of his Life and Labours, was alſo the Praiſer, and in the Year following, the Companion of his Funeral. For, as if he had already ended the appointed Taſk of his Life, he followed *Socinus*, being hardly forty Years old.

Having paſſed over the Race of *Socinus*'s Life, through which we have made a ſhort Cut, it remaineth, that we ſtop a While in conſidering what he did and performed.

No Man in our Memory did better deſerve of all the Chriſtian World, but chiefly of the *Polonian* Churches. For *firſt*, by ſetting out ſo many Works, he opened the genuine Meaning of the Holy Scriptures in innumerable Places.

Next, he only ſhewed how to confirm with ſolid Arguments, and ſkilfully to defend, from

ſubtle Cavils and Sophiſms, thoſe Opinions touching the Perſon of God and Chriſt, which he found already riſe in *Poland*. After that he happily extinguiſhed ſome impious, other prophane Opinions, whoſe deadly Poiſon did by Stealth inſinuate itſelf into the Boſom of the Church. No Man did more vigorouſly quell *Judaizers*; he alſo exploded the Opinion of the *Chiliaſts*, and many other fanatick Dreams beſides. As for the Errors, received from the Reformed Churches, which did in a great Number, as yet reign in that Church, he did with a marvellous Felicity, root them out. Such were that of Juſtification, that of Appeaſing the Wrath of God, that of Predeſtination, that of the Servitude of the Will, that of Original Sin, that of the Lord's Supper and Baptiſm, together with other miſconſtrued Doctrines. *Finally*, having taken away pernicious Errors, that he might not alſo leave any Fopperies in the Church, he exterminated very many Superſtitions about indifferent Things: Of which Sort was the over-much Affectation of mean Clothing, and the Eſchewing of Magiſtracy, and Refuſing to proſecute ones own Right, even without a Deſire of Revenge, and what other like Spots there were, cauſed by the inconſiderate Zeal of their firſt Fervor.

Having explained the Order of his Life, and his Actions, it remaineth that we add a few Things concerning the Habit of his Mind and Body. To relate the Praiſes of his Wit and Judgment is a ſuperfluous Labour, inaſmuch as there are ſo many Monuments thereof extant. As for his Learning, the more pertinaciouſly he hid it, the more impatiently it breaketh out. It was ſomewhat late, but more ſolid. Nor are there wanting, in his Writings, the Footſteeps of a happy Memory alſo. I cannot paſs by one Proof thereof, which he gave in his Diſputation with *Chriſtianus Francken*. This Fellow, in the Seſſion of the Synod of *Chmelnica*, deſiring to ſhew a Proof of his Learning and Wit, did, in a more arrogant Manner than was meet, challenge thoſe Paſtors to diſpute, ſlighting the mean Learning of every one. And that he might with very Plenty, puzzle and overwhelm him that was to diſpute, having beforehand provided himſelf, he together propoſed fifty Arguments, againſt the Adoration of Chriſt. This Matter troubled ſome, and they, though the Church had ſo often rejected *Socinus*, did yet enjoin him to make an Anſwer. He, attentively hearing the Man, who had on a ſudden entered upon an unjuſt Way of arguing, and did, with one Breath almoſt, pour out ſo many prepared Shafts, was admoniſhed to take in Writing, at leaſt, the Heads of the Reaſons, to which an Anſwer was to be returned. But he, in Confidence of his Memory, ſlighted the Aſſiſtance of his Pen, and patiently heard the Man uttering thoſe Reaſons of his, as long as he pleaſed; and by and by, in the ſame Order, repeating the long Series of his Arguments, gave ſuch a ſolid Anſwer to each of them, that the Adverſary had hardly any Thing to mutter againſt him. Whereupon having profeſſed that he was unſkilled and unprepared, he went away confounded, to the Admiration of all. And, becauſe we have touched the Endowments of his Nature, if any Man be curious to know the Figure of his Body alſo, let him know that he wanted not a Form anſwerable to his Diſpoſition, being of ſuch a Stature, as exceeded not the juſt Size, yet was nearer to Tallneſs. The Habit of his Body was ſomewhat ſlender, yet within Meaſure; in his Countenance, the Dignity of his high Forehead and maſculine Beauty of his Eyes did caſt a Glance. Nor did the Comelineſs and Grace of his Look diminiſh the Vigour and Majeſty thereof. He was ſomewhat ſparing of Meat and Sleep, and abſtinent of all Pleaſures, without Affectation; only, in the Conſervation of his Health, he ſeemed ſcrupulous, and oftentimes over-diligent; yet was he, for the moſt Part, of a proſperous Health, but that he was ſometimes troubled with the Pains of the Stone, and with the Cholick. Moreover, being grown ſomewhat old, he complained of the Dimneſs of his Sight, contracted with over-much Watching; the Genius of his Life was gentle and innocent. There was a marvellous Simplicity in his Manners, which was ſo tempered with Gravity, that he was free from all Superciliouſneſs. Whence it came to paſs, that you would ſooner reverence him, than you could fear him. He was very affable, giving Honour to every one exceedingly; and would you deſire to reprove any Thing in him, there was nothing nearer to Diſcommendation, than the over-much Debaſement of himſelf.

The Clothing of his Body was modeſt, but yet neat and ſpruce; and, though he was at a remote Diſtance from Bravery, yet was he leſs averſe from ſlight Ornaments; he was officious towards his Friends, and diligent in all Parts of his Life. He had ſo won the Affection of the Princes,

Princes, in whoſe Service he ſpent Part of his Life, that neither could long Abſence extinguiſh the Deſire of him, nor manifeſt Offence obliterate the Favour to him. Having ſhewed all Manner of Officiouſneſs towards his Uncles, Brethren, and Male-kindred, he chiefly regarded and reverenced *Lælius*. Amongſt his Female-kindred, beſides his Grandmother *Camilla*, a moſt choice Matron, he exceedingly loved his Aunt *Porcia*, and his Siſter *Phyllis*, and that according to their Deſerts. The former of which twain, being, whilſt ſhe lived, an Example of moſt commendable Chaſtity, did by her Diſcretion, and incredible Gentleneſs of Manners, ſo gain the Affection of her Huſband *Lælius Beccius*, a Man of Rank and Quality, that he would often ſay with Tears, that he was unworthy of ſuch and ſo great a Wife. The latter, by the Sanctity of her Manners and Diſcipline in governing the Houſe, had ſo approved herſelf to her Huſband *Cornelius Marſilius*, a great Nobleman, that, at her Death, ſhe left behind her an immortal Deſire of her Company. And, foraſmuch, as we are long ſince ſlipped from the Endowments of Nature, to thoſe which he acquired by his own Induſtry, we muſt not paſs over in Silence ſome of his Virtues, whereby he was eminent above many. I cannot eaſily ſay, whether there was more Fire, or Wit, in ſo vehement a Diſpoſition, ſo prone to Choler had Nature framed him, before he had allayed thoſe violent Motions with Reaſon. Nevertheleſs, he did ſo break and tame his cholerick Temper, that the Mildneſs, which afterwards ſhined forth in him, ſeemed to very many to be the Praiſe of Nature, not of Induſtry. The Commendation of his Patience likewiſe is enhanced, as by the Indignity of his Fortune and Injuries, ſo alſo by his delicate, and conſequently touchy Diſpoſition. No Evil is wont to happen unto ſuch Perſons, without an exquiſite Reſentment; nor is it ſo much to be wondered at, that oftentimes a larger Wit is capable of more Sorrow.

But he in this Fight alſo appeared Conqueror, of his Fortune and Nature, after he had, with a Chriſtian Greatneſs of Mind, borne and undergone ſo many Calamities from Strangers, ſo many Injuries from his Countrymen, Perils from Enemies, Ingratitude from Friends, Envy from the Learned, Hatred from the Ignorant, Infamy from all, Poverty from Fortune, in fine, a continual Repulſe, not without Ignominy from that very Church which he had chiefly beautified. I have almoſt done an Injury to Fortune, in ſeeming to have aſcribed unto her the Cauſe of his Poverty. But I have not now accuſed her Fault, but intimated her Condition; which *Socinus* might, perhaps, by Fortune's Means have eſcaped, would either his Conſcience, or a certain Generoſity of Mind, have permitted him. Certainly he never ſought after the Fame of Holineſs by Beggary. Nevertheleſs, as often as he was able to ſuſtain his Condition with the ſmalleſt Means, he could not be brought to take ſuch Gifts as were freely offered him. Yea, he did of his own Accord, expend his Means on the Poor. Nor was he only converſant in every Kind of Alms, but in every Kind of Liberality alſo; ſo as you may thereby underſtand that his Charity was inflamed with the promiſcuous Love of all Men. Likewiſe he publiſhed certain Books at his own Charges, that he might omit nothing for the Accompliſhment of his ardent Zeal to promote divine Truth, which he had undertaken to propagate, what with ſo many Writings, what with ſo many Letters, what with ſo many private and publick Diſputations, what with ſo many Informations of them, who were in all Places the Interpreters of his Mind; what with ſo many long Journies, moſt of them from the utmoſt Border of *Sileſia*, to the Midſt of *Lithuania*; what with the Loſs of Health, Fame, and Fortunes; what, finally, with the Hazard of his Life. That very Thing, which had been the only Solace to ſuſtain him in the Midſt of ſo great Labours and Perils, did he continually inculcate to the whole Church, as the only Remedy to lead a holy Life, namely, a continual Hope of Immortality, which he thought was to be carefully and delicately cheriſhed. So that when a certain old Man ſhewed a Tomb built for himſelf in Token of Piety, ſaying, that he did perpetually meditate on Death: *Socinus* replied, that he would do more rightly, if he did meditate on the Reaſon of the Reſurrection. Certainly his Prudence ſhined forth in all the Parts of his Life, but chiefly in his Judgment of ſpiritual Things, and was, as it were, a certain Fruit of his Humility and Modeſty, a Virtue ſo inbred and peculiar to his Nature, that, in other Virtues, he may ſeem to have vied with others; in this with himſelf. He never deſpiſed any Man, never attempted any Thing, but with Advice and Circumſpection

cumſpection. In his very Studies alſo he was ſo far from all Self-confidence, that he never eſſayed to write any Thing, but what had been concocted with long and mature Meditation. And this may eaſily be diſcerned in his Works. How often did he go very gingerly through thoſe rough Ways, which others would have ſecurely trodden? So that no Man ſeemeth to have diſtruſted another's Wit, as he did his own; which, as we have ſaid, was then the Reward, and now the Token of his ſingular Modeſty. But eſpecially his Faith did much ſhine forth amongſt other Praiſes. None, in the Memory of Men, was better furniſhed with all Helps whereby we aſcend to Fame, and Wealth, and the higheſt Pitch of this Life: Nature, Fortune, and, finally, Induſtry, had emulouſly accumulated Nobility of Stock, Splendor of Friendſhips, Grace of Princes, liberal Means, Health, Wit, Eloquence, Learning, and a natural Reach capable of the greateſt Matters. Obedience to the Call of God, and the Pledge of Truth intruſted to him, coſt him the Loſs of ſo great Privileges. It was a ſmall Matter to have forſaken ſo many Pledges of the greateſt Hope, had he not alſo, as a Sacrifice devoted to the publick Hatred, wittingly and willingly expoſed himſelf to infinite Miſeries, Want, Hazards, Enmities, univerſal Contempt, Reproaches, Contumelies, and to an execrable Memory of his Name in all Places. Nor indeed looked he for any other Reward at Preſent, or ſhortly after. His Wiſhes reached beyond the Bounds of his Life, yea, beyond the Race of the preſent Age; and his Hope was ſo truly erected towards Heaven, that it reſted on no Prop of earthly Solace. I detract not from the Praiſes due to the Merits of other Men; each of them hath his proper Honour. Yet will I, by their good Leave, ſay, that ſome famous Men have perhaps made an Attempt at ſo ſublime a Proof of Faith, but I cannot tell whether any one hath reached it. For the greateſt Part wanted not Helps whereby their Virtue was ſoon relieved, ſo that they were not long God's Creditors. The Magnanimity of *Luther*, and others, was quickly entertained with the Applauſe and Affections of Princes and People. How many others, otherwiſe poor and obſcure, were, by the Maintenance of God's Cauſe, advanced to Riches and Power? Whom nevertheleſs this Viciſſitude doth not exclude from the Praiſe of Faith, if that which was the Cauſe of their Advancement did grow up to Maturity, together with them.

But they cannot eaſily be admitted into this Number, who, even with the great Detriment of their Eſtates, eſpouſe the Cauſe of God (whether truly ſuch, or pretended) being now in a flouriſhing Condition, and come to Maturity. For they have what to hope for on the Earth, even without Reſpect to Heaven; and in the Expectation of ſuch preſent Rewards you cannot always eaſily diſcern, whether they repoſe greater Confidence in God, than in their own Induſtry.

But *Lælius* and *Fauſtus*, Men of ſo great Judgment, and ſo great Knowledge and Experience of the Age wherein they lived, What Solace could they promiſe themſelves in the Earth whilſt they lived, yea, in the next enſuing Age, for ſo many Labours and Dangers, having profeſſed ſuch Tenets as were ſet off with no Pomp of Authority, no Engagement of Parties, no Connivance at a more diſſolute Life, yea, no other Blandiſhment whatſoever, but were rather diſtaſteful and odious unto all, by reaſon of their Auſterity? Certainly I can here eſpy no Crevice of earthly Hope, which may detract a Whit from the Praiſe of a moſt noble Faith, which, how great ſoever it was, being excluded out of all the Earth, was mounted up to Heaven, and there converſed with the Clemency of God alone.

Ignatius alſo, that I may omit others, in the Memory of our Fathers, contemned his Country, Kindred, Wealth, Honours, and other Allurements, and alſo underwent many Labours and Dangers of his own Accord, having profeſſed a Zeal to God's Glory, and the Warfare of Faith. I ſlight not the Greatneſs of Mind, which ſhewed itſelf in him, or ſome like to him: For neither did they haſten unto Glory, through ſuch a Way as was altogether pleaſant. Nevertheleſs, I do not yet here behold that difficult Proof of a more noble Faith, which we ſeek for. I aſſume not ſo much to myſelf, nor is it at preſent very material, as to pronounce Sentence concerning the Purpoſe of any one's Mind, which will, at length, be performed by an infallible Judge. Wherefore, I regard not what *Ignatius* had in his Mind, ſince for the preſent Buſineſs it is ſufficient, what he might have. It is true, he ſaw the Pope's Affairs in ſome Provinces afflicted, but could not be ignorant, that in moſt,

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or at leaſt in the more powerful ones, and conſequently in his Country, and where he intended to fix his Abode, they were well eſtabliſhed and flouriſhing. Who would affirm, that the immenſe Rewards, which that Church preſently repayeth to her Defenders, were unknown to *Ignatius?* Certainly, the Spur of Glory is very ſharp in generous Minds. Whereſoever an illuſtrious Field of Glory is opened, not only Pleaſures and Riches become ſordid in Compariſon thereof, but very Life itſelf is vilified. And, therefore, even Martyrdoms are eaſily undergone for a proſperous and rich Church, without a more noble Proof of religious Faith; nor, conſequently, can they deſerve more Admiration, than thoſe brave Lads of *Canna* and *Trebia*, who were born for the *Punick* Times; or, if you like not the common Soldiery, than *Codrus*, who feared not to die for his Country. Indeed, whoſoever hath ſought after Eternity of Name in the Church of *Rome*, did wiſely chuſe a Race for his Glory. For the *Roman* Commonwealth heretofore, although ſhe grew great by this Means chiefly, did never propoſe ſo many and ſo great Rewards to Dangers undertaken for her Sake, as the *Roman* Church doth hold forth. For thoſe ſumptuous Beds and Altars were a late Invention of the Commonwealth, and that to gratify the Emperors only: Whereas the Church doth confer upon her Benefactors, not only everlaſting Veneration of Name, but alſo Temples and Orders, and an honourable Place amongſt the canoniſed Saints. What higher Thing can the moſt ardent Thirſt of Glory aſpire unto? Wherefore, when ſo large Offers are propoſed, and almoſt graſped with the Hand, whoſoever, though with ſome Loſs of his Eſtate, entered into that Warfare, hath no great Reaſon to boaſt of his Faith before God. Whilſt the Riches of the *Roman* Church, the Power of ſo many Princes, and the Hugeneſs of the *Spaniſh* Empire diſperſed over the World, came into his Aid, it was an eaſy Matter, even in the greateſt Danger, to run before the Enſigns. That was an Eſſay of a human and military Fortitude, not riſing up to the more ſacred Glory of the Martyrs or Confeſſors of the Primitive Church: For they did ſo ſincerely mind Heaven, that they had nothing left them to be hoped for in the Earth. After their Example, *Lælius* and *Fauſtus* did ſo truſt God with thoſe Things which they loſt for his Sake, that they received hardly any earthly Pledges of the Reward to come, no human Security for the Divine Hope, no Solace. They followed the Faith and Clemency of God alone, in Expectation to receive the ſame a long Time after their Deceaſe: And, having been through the Courſe of their Lives perpetually deſpiſed, and inglorious, and only famous for the Hatred conceived againſt them, they did not ſo much as at their Death receive a Taſte of a more honourable Report. Nevertheleſs, the Beneficence of the moſt faithful God did never turn Bankrupt to any one that had truſted him: Nor would have that noble Pair of his Servants to be buried in perpetual Oblivion, but ſhewed them to the World, on that Side of them where they might be glorioufly known, having brought to Light ſo many famous Monuments of their Wits.

And, although the Wages of their Warfare conſiſted not in this Reward, yet nevertheleſs he hath begun ſo bountifully to aſſert the very Honour of their Name amongſt Men, that it is, perhaps, more to be feared, leſt Poſterity ſhould confer on them too much Dignity, than none at all.

A N

An impartial and brief Deſcription of the *Plaza*, or ſumptuous Market-place of *Madrid*, and the Bull-baiting there; together with the Hiſtory of the famous and much admired *Placidus*; as alſo a large Scheme, being the lively Repreſentation of the Order and Ornament of this Solemnity. By *James Salgado*, a *Spaniard*. *London*, printed by *Francis Clark*, for the Author, *Anno Domini* 1683. *Quarto*, containing forty-ſix Pages.

To the moſt Serene and Mighty Charles the Second, *by the Grace of God, of* Great-Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith*, &c.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

YOUR Royal Name was prefixed to this other Manual of mine the laſt Year, but I had not the Confidence to preſent your Sacred Majeſty with the ſame: It was not that I judged the Subject-matter altogether deſpicable and unworthy of Acceptation, but becauſe my timorous and baſhful Diſpoſition induced me to believe, that it was every way ſufficient to be honoured with the Name of ſuch an ineſtimable and noble Patron; but yet, for all that, my pinching Want has now at length prevailed with me to ſhake off theſe Thoughts, in Regard that ſo great an Honour, attended with ſomething elſe (your Majeſty conceives my Meaning) would, beyond all Peradventure, contribute the more to my preſent ſtraitened Condition. Wherefore I proſtrate myſelf and Labours at your Royal Feet, looking upon it as my greateſt Happineſs, if your Majeſty may be pleaſed to ſpend ſome few Minutes, for a Recreation, in the Peruſal of this ſhort Deſcription of the Bull-baiting at *Madrid*; but, if good Fortune deny me this Honour, I muſt patiently ſhare in the Lot of my Countrymen, who now-a-days are generally unfortunate: However, your Majeſty's long Life, proſperous Reign, and eternal Happineſs ſhall, in all Circumſtances, be the moſt earneſt Prayer of

Your Majeſty's moſt devoted Supplicant,

James Salgado, *a* Spaniard.

To the READER.

Reader,

I *HAVE taken a View of* Spain, France, Italy, *and the* United Netherlands, *but, I muſt confeſs, I did never ſee* (*except here in* England) *ſuch a Crowd of* Authors, Printers, Book-binders, Stationers, Gazettes, Obſervators, Pacquets, Mercuries, Intelligences, *and* Bills *of* Surgeons, *calling themſelves* Doctors, *forſooth, whereas, in very*

very Deed, they ought to be ſtiled Mountebanks: *In a Word, I do not remember to have ſeen a People ſo much buſied with, and fond of Novelties; while, therefore, I ſtood amazed, behold, pinching* Want *and ſimple* Baſhfulneſs (*by Way of Dialogue*) *made their Addreſs unto me; the Former, in theſe following Words: I ſee you are a Stranger, and ought to be encouraged by, and ſheltered under the Protection of the generous* Engliſh *Nation: For that Cauſe, I judge it your near Concernment to come with a full Hand, if you look for any gracious Acceptance. On the other Side,* Shame *replied: Mr.* Salgado, *believe my undiſſembled Simplicity, the* Engliſh *are moſt ingenuous, and of a pregnant Wit; What then can you expect, by publiſhing any Thing, but Scorn and Contempt? For many will be apt to ſay, What meaneth this ugly, pale* Spaniard, *who, with his Whimſies and Trifles, buſies our Printers, and creates us much Trouble? What? anſwered* Neceſſity: *Hunger conſtrains him to take ſuch a Courſe; for Mr.* Salgado, *I am confident, by all laudable Means endeavoureth to eſchew hard Straits, not hunting after airy Praiſe and a great Name: Which the one ſaying ſtopped the Mouth of bluſhing* Shame.

Thus, being paſt Shame, I do ſet this Treatiſe on the Pillory, i. e. *I ſtick not to expoſe it to the Cenſures of carping Criticks; but, methinks, I hear a great many entertaining a Diſcourſe to this Purpoſe: It is not worth our While to take ſtrict Notice of a poor diſtreſſed Man paſt Shame, ſeeing Neceſſity has no Law.*

Wherefore, moſt Noble, Puiſſant, Ancient, and Generous Engliſh, *or rather Angelical Nation (for you are my Tutelar Angels, in Regard that, theſe five Years, and above, I have enjoyed Life and Sanctuary by your Protection and benign Generoſity) I preſent you with this Solemnity of the* Bulls *at* Madrid, *my native Soil. If any Thing therein be amiſs, I claim an Intereſt in the Clemency of your Promiſe; but, if otherwiſe, look upon it as a Teſtimony of my undiſſembled Gratitude. Farewel.*

SIR,

I Am certified by your Letter, that a commendable Curioſity has induced you to travel through *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*; adding further, that, had you not been perſuaded to the contrary by a certain Perſon (one, who I am apt to believe, has no Good-will to my Country) the Pleaſures and Rarities of *Spain* had not eſcaped your impartial and diligent Conſideration: Aſſure yourſelf, none could be more concerned to enjoy your Fellowſhip there, nor readier to do you good Offices, than I, upon Conſideration of the manifold and ſignal Obligations laid upon me by a Perſon of your Worth. But, ſeeing it is to no Purpoſe to repent what is paſt, I ſhall forbear to enlarge on this Subject: Yet, becauſe you ſeem to be not a little diſſatisfied that you had not the good Fortune of ſeeing *Spain*, and more eſpecially the *Eſcurial*, and the yearly Feſtival of *Madrid*, I ſhall endeavour, according to my bounden Duty, to ſatisfy your Curioſity in this Point; inſomuch that, from your Cloſet, you may receive a full View of the *Spaniſh* Court, and its Magnificence, as alſo the goodly and large Fields of *Madrid*, without Expending much, or Expoſing your Perſon to Danger, after the Manner of moſt Travellers who repair thither; and, for your greater Clearneſs in the Matter, I ſend you this large Scheme.

In Deſcribing the Matter in Hand, my Stile ſhall be plain, and the Relation impartial; in regard that I bear no Liking to Diſingenuity, or the Forging of romantick Novelties and Fictions.

As for the *Eſcurial*, we ſhall have a fairer Opportunity to treat on it at another Occaſion: This, in the general, you may know, that (according to the unanimous Conſent of all who have travelled thither) it is a Thing very well worth the While. Our preſent Diſcourſe then ſhall be wholly confined to the *Bull-baiting* (as it is called) at *Madrid*.

It has been the Fate of *Spain*, as that of other puiſſant Nations, not to have eſcaped *Scot*-free of the frequent and noiſome Inroads of many cruel Adverſaries of different Languages, Laws, and Conſtitutions; ſo that ſome *Veſtigia* of the one muſt be ſuppoſed to remain, as well as the other. Thoſe who did

bear chief Sway there, were the *Romans*, *Vandals*, *Goths*, and *Saracens*; inſomuch that the *Spaniſh* Tongue appears to be an Aggregate of the *Latin*, *German*, and *Arabick*. The *Saracens* obtaining the lateſt Conqueſt, their Laws and Language leave the deeper Impreſſion. Among other their Conſtitutions, this Feſtival, which we are about to deſcribe, was one.

You may eaſily object, that it is a cruel and barbarous Recreation; which I am ready to grant, and ſo much the rather, in that its Original is derived from ſuch a barbarous Rabble as the *Turks* were, and are to this Day: Nevertheleſs, an uncontrouled Cuſtom, of long Continuance, has given it the Force and Validity of a Law, and the moſt honourable Deſignation of a Royal Feſtival, which, if any Perſon, of what Quality ſoever, once endeavoured to rectify, he ſhould inevitably incur the Riſque of Reproach and Shame, if not a more ſad Fate. It being therefore altogether extrinſick to any Purpoſe and Concernment, as a private Man, to determine any Thing againſt the Lawfulneſs and Unlawfulneſs of this Solemnity, I ſhall content myſelf, by making a clear Diſcovery thereof, for your greater Satisfaction.

Lincoln's-Inn-Fields are neither ſo large, nor ſpacious, as this Place of publick Reſort at *Madrid*, which is exactly ſquare, being ſurrounded with Houſes, uniform all along in their Dimenſions, erected to the Altitude of five Pair of Stairs, with a great many moſt curious Windows, and Balconies overlaid with the pureſt Gold. Moreover, the Square is level, to the End that the foaming Bulls, and prancing Horſes, may run their Courſes with the greater Eaſineſs and Celerity. From the Ground to the firſt Pair of Stairs, are reared up Theatres made of Timber for the People: The thirty Balconies, ſet a-part for the King and Court, are ſumptuouſly furniſhed with the richeſt Tapeſtry, and choiceſt Velvet, that Money or Art can purchaſe. Here, it is obſervable, that all Noblemen, whoſe Lot it is not to attend the Court for that preſent Quarter, are denied the Privilege of theſe Balconies; wherefore ſuch Perſons may poſſeſs whatever other Places they judge moſt convenient. In *Spain* there are divers Kinds of Councils, as the King's Council, that of the Inquiſition, War, *India*, *Italy*, the *Low-Countries*, and *Arragon*, and conſequently Counſellors of different Degrees and Qualities; for which Cauſe it is appointed, that each of thoſe have their Balconies a-part, beautified with Silks and Tapeſtry of Colours differing, according to the Diverſity of thoſe Offices and Officers.

All Ambaſſadors from foreign Kings and Potentates are treated after the ſame Faſhion, except the Pope's Legate, whoſe Modeſty and Piety, forſooth, lays ſuch a Reſtraint upon him, that that prophane Feſtival, not being of the Church's Appointment, muſt not be honoured with his Preſence. All other Ranks of Perſons, aſſembled thither, may poſſeſs what Seats they are able to purchaſe: This, I ſay, becauſe the general Confluence to this common Play, from all Corners, makes ſuch a Crowd, that, notwithſtanding the great Number of Theatres, Balconies, and Windows, mentioned elſewhere, none can purchaſe a Room in the firſt Pair of Stairs, at a lower Rate than Two-hundred Crowns; yea, and thoſe Places which are not expoſed to the ſcorching Heat of the Sun, after Four o'Clock, muſt be ſuppoſed to amount to a greater Sum of Money. Above the firſt Row of Windows, Places may be got more eaſily. Seeing this Feſtival falls out yearly in the Months of *June* and *July*, any Perſon may imagine, that a refreſhing Shadow cannot be enjoyed without much Money, and great Moyan, becauſe of the then extraordinary Heat of this Place, which ordinarily is known to be a moſt hot Climate. In the Cool of the Evening (a moſt dangerous Seaſon, I confeſs) all Perſons, promiſcuouſly, throng thither; but chiefly about Ten of the Clock at Night, when the Affections are much delighted with a moſt ſweet Melody and Concert of Inſtrumental and Vocal Muſick, and, on all Occaſions of that Nature, the Guitar and Harp are moſt frequently uſed; becauſe generally the *Spaniards* can dexterouſly play on thoſe Inſtruments. Where it is obſervable, that all Muſicians are had in great Account at ſuch a Time, not reſpecting what Perſons they be, which is hardly diſcernible, in Regard that all are diſguiſed by moſt gorgeous Apparel. It is further to be obſerved, that, if the jealous *Spaniard* can eſpy any Man complimenting his Wife with jocoſe Words or Kiſſes, without any Conſideration, he will furiouſly aſſault ſuch a Perſon with Sword and Cudgel, whence ariſe many moſt lamentable Tragedies; for the Preventing of which, the

Law

Law has wiſely appointed a conſiderable Number of *Alquaciles*, whom we here call *Conſtables*, whoſe proper and ſole Office it is, to mediate betwixt thoſe Perſons, rewarding them with Bonds and Fetters for the Commiſſion of ſuch horrid Outrages.

The enſuing Day, about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, no Place can be found empty, whilſt none of the Members of the Court are preſent, but the Mayor and Aldermen.

This Morning Game or Recreation (called *Encierro*, or the Bringing forth of the *Bull*) is thus performed: There is a Gate in *Madrid*, *De la Vega* by Name, nigh to which a large Room is appointed for the Reception of the Bulls, the Day preceding this ſolemn Feaſt, where they are gently fed, rather to render them the more furious, than in the leaſt to ſtrengthen the miſerable Creatures. It is certain, that, for the moſt Part, Bulls are more furious in *Spain*, than any other Part of the World; and there, more eſpecially, ſuch as feed by the Rivers *Tago* and *Jarama*, flowing betwixt *Toledo* and *Madrid*. But, to return to our Purpoſe, there is a long and ſtreight Street, or Lane, adjoining to the Houſe in which the Bulls are ſhut up, and terminating in the Place of publick Reſort, where all Paſſages are carefully ſtopped; only, over-againſt the foreſaid Street, there is another large Room left wide open, whither the mad Animals do throng, finding no other Place of Refuge left them; by which Means, a moſt eaſy Courſe is contrived for Leading them forth to Slaughter. I ſhall not detain you longer, by relating other Paſſages of the *Encierro*; for it is a Matter ſcarce worth our While, as being deſtitute of Order or Ornament, by Reaſon of the Court's Abſence. About Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, twelve Gladiators repair to the Place, where all are permitted to fight, whom Magnanimity, or Boldneſs, ſhall excite thereto; which Liberty would unqueſtionably produce ſad Tragedies, if full Gaols, and empty Purſes, were not ſufficient Means to ſtop ſuch Diſorders. Two Hours after, there appear the Nobility in their ſtately Coaches, all the Ground being ſprinkled over with Water, becauſe of the burning Heat of the Sun.

Which, while it is a Setting, the King and Court, with the Counſellors and Ambaſſadors, are to be ſeen, to the great Satisfaction of all Perſons. Upon the Back of this, the Royal Conſtables, being twelve in Number, in good Equipage, and mounted on Horſes, with the richeſt Harneſs imaginable, drive away all Perſons and Diſorders; inſomuch that, in a very ſhort Time, the Conſtables are to be ſeen, and none elſe in the plain Square. Afterwards, twenty-four Hogſheads of Water are carried in Waggons, reſembling ſo many green Mountains, becauſe of their Bigneſs, and being covered over with moſt fragrant Herbs; thoſe large Veſſels are the Seats of twenty-four Men, who, upon Demand, open the Bung-holes, ſo that, in an Inſtant, the whole Plain is beſprinkled with Water. In the next Place, the King's Life-guard, conſiſting of One-hundred *Spaniards*, and as many *Germans*, attend his Majeſty all along, being armed with Halberts, whom Coats of red and yellow Silk, and Caps of the choiceſt black Velvet, adorn exceedingly.

By this Time, methinks, you have got a pretty clear Idea of what is antecedaneous to the main Thing in Hand: So that, if the moſt ſtately Balconies and Theatres, if the vaſt Number of People, if the Nobility gorgeouſly, I had ſaid wonderfully, arrayed; if the King's Conſtables maintaining good Order, if, in the laſt Place, his Majeſty's Life-guard: I ſay, if each, and all of thoſe be impartially canvaſſed by ſuch a conſiderate Perſon as you are, I doubt not, but you will be conſtrained, upon the moſt ſolid Grounds and Reaſons imaginable, to join with me in the Commendation of this Feſtival, beyond any Recreation in the World. I confeſs, *France* and *Italy* vaunt very much of their ſplendid Games, as they call them; and the *Engliſh*, upon more juſt Grounds, extol the Coſtlineſs of their Prizes, and the Statelineſs of their courſing Horſes: But, in my humble Opinion, what I am a Deſcribing, may claim Right to the Preheminence. Yet, if what has been hitherto ſaid, cannot ſufficiently evince the Truth of this Point, I ſhall endeavour to drive out one foaming Bull, that, by ſeeing the Reſult of ſuch an Enterpriſe, your Curioſity may receive the greater Satisfaction.

We told you, that the Bull was ſhut up in a large Room; therefore the Perſon, whoſe undaunted Courage or Boldneſs ſets him a Work to encounter with this raging Creature, ſtands to his Poſture at the Door of the ſaid Houſe, with a long and ſharp-pointed Lance in his Hand, having one of his Knees

ſet to the Ground: Immediately after the Sound of a Trumpet, a Conſtable runs with all poſſible Speed, and ſets the Door of the Room, where the furious Animal is incloſed, wide open. Way being thus made, and all Perſons attentively looking on, the Man is, by and by, aſſaulted with great Violence; which Onſet, if by Dexterity, or good Luck, he can evade, there is a fair Occaſion preſented him, for Killing or Wounding the Bull to Purpoſe; which, if he miſs to do, his Life or Members are in Jeopardy. It is a thirſting Deſire after ſome imaginary Honour, that ſets ſuch bold Fellows upon the Expoſing of themſelves to thoſe dangerous Circumſtances, rather than the Advantage of getting the Beaſts which they have killed, or wounded to Purpoſe.

That the next Bull may be rendered the more furious, they ſet up a Quantity of Wool, in Figure repreſenting a Man, with a conſiderable Weight at his Legs; which while the Beaſt puſheth in a moſt formidable Manner, the Weight keeps it in a ſtraight Poſition, by which Means the Bull is wonderfully inraged. Sometimes a very deſpicable Peaſant is ſet upon a lean deformed Horſe, and expoſed very often to a violent Death, becauſe of his Antagoniſt's Strength and Rage. For Dragging out the Bulls once killed, ſix Mules of divers Colours are appointed, which, by the Conduct of four Men, accompliſh this Work with all poſſible Velocity and Artifice. Six Foot-men are ordained to encounter with the four Beaſts yet remaining, to whom no other Weapon is granted, but a Dagger with ſome few Rexones in a Bag, which in Length exceed not ſix or ſeven Inches, having Hafts well ordered with Bunches of Garlands, and Points exceeding ſharp, for the more ready Carrying on of the Intendment. Such as be thus ſtated are commonly moſt dexterous, whom it behoves to fight with the Bull Face to Face; he who doth otherwiſe will undoubtedly incur the Riſque of Impriſonment, with moſt abaſhing Reproaches, and the Loſs of a conſiderable Prize. Some Men are ſo nimble, that by a gentle Motion they can eaſily evade the Bull's Fury, and attain their Deſign. Thus Matters go on until ſuch Time as the Trumpet ſounds; then Butchers-Dogs, and Men armed with broad Swords, quickly diſpatch the Strength and Violence of thoſe formidable Animals.

Some Years ago, I remember, upon an Occaſion of this Kind, to have ſeen a Thing admirable indeed, *viz.*

A young Man of twenty Years, encountering with a big Bull, eſcaped all his Comminations by the nimble and dexterous Motion of his Leg; afterwards he did ſpring upon his Back, and, catching Hold of his left Horn, wounded him in ſeveral Places with the Rexones: In which Poſture he continued until the Trumpet was about to ſound; then, and not till then, he diſpatched the foaming Bull with his Dagger, having ſuſtained no Prejudice imaginable. All Perſons preſent were poſſeſſed with a wonderful Opinion of the Youth, becauſe of his ſurpaſſing Agility, Courage, Dexterity, and Boldneſs. But, ſeeing this Example is remarkable, we ſhall inſiſt on it at greater Length hereafter.

It will not be amiſs here to mention what fell out, upon ſuch an Occaſion as this, in the Preſence of *Charles the Firſt*, of bleſſed Memory: Who, while Prince of *Wales*, repaired to the Court of *Spain*, whether to be married to the *Infanta*, or upon what other Deſign, I cannot well determine: However all Comedies, Plays, and Feſtivals, this of the Bulls at *Madrid* being included, were appointed to be as decently and magnificently gone about, as poſſible, for the more ſumptuous and ſtately Entertainment of ſuch a ſplendid Prince. Therefore, after the three Bulls had been killed, and the fourth a coming forth, there appeared four Gentlemen in good Equipage; not long after a briſk Lady, in moſt gorgeous Apparel, attended with Perſons of Quality, and ſome three or four Grooms, walked all along the Square a Foot. Aſtoniſhment ſeized upon the Beholders, that one of the female Sex could aſſume the unheard Boldneſs of expoſing herſelf to the Violence of the moſt furious Beaſt yet ſeen, which had overcome, yea almoſt killed, two Men of great Strength, Courage, and Dexterity. Incontinently the Bull ruſhed towards the Corner where the Lady and her Attendants ſtood; ſhe, after all had fled, drew forth her Dagger very unconcernedly, and thruſt it moſt dexterouſly into the Bull's Neck, having catched Hold of his Horn; by which Stroke, without any more Trouble, her Deſign was brought to Perfection; after which turning about towards the King's Balcony, ſhe made her Obeyſance, and withdrew herſelf in ſuit-

able State and Gravity. Sir, did you ever ſee, or hear, any Example to parallel this? Wonderful indeed! that a faint-hearted feeble Woman, one would think, ſhould ſtand in the Fields undauntedly, after her Attendants had quickly made their Eſcape, yea and have overcome ſuch a furious Creature as that Bull was. This being a Matter of Fact, which I thus branch forth into divers Circumſtances; I hope my Fate ſhall not be ſo bad, as to be called a Lyar: Nevertheleſs, in Regard that I judge you one of my beſt Friends, I will not conceal the Myſtery of the Matter from you. This Perſon was a Man, though in the Habit of a Woman, of great Experience, Agility, and Reſolution, who had been well inured to this hard Labour at ſeveral other Occaſions, whom they appointed to be diſguiſed ſo much the rather, that the Prince of *Wales* might be the more taken with the Thing. But, not inſiſting further on this, I ſhall proceed to the remaining Part of my Relation, with all Brevity and Perſpicuity poſſible.

Noblemen of ſingular Magnanimity, being mounted on Horſes, incomparably nimble and pretty, with coſtly Harneſs beſeeming the Dignity of their Riders, and the Splendor of the Feſtival, appear in great State and Pomp: Whoſe Grooms in a moſt decent Manner carry the Lances, with which their Maſters intend to diſpatch the Bulls. Their Province and Charge is to irritate the Rage and Fury of the formidable Beaſt. Thoſe heroick Minds, managing their Lances moſt dexterouſly, accompliſh their noble Purpoſes, very often by Killing or Wounding the foaming Animals: Which, if they fail to do, then the Horſes ſuſtain great Prejudice, inſomuch that their Riders are diſmounted, whom it behoves, in that Caſe, to encounter with the Bulls on Foot, laſhing them with broad Swords; which, if any decline to do, he is baffled, and branded with the Character of Puſillanimity and Cowardice. You may eaſily imagine, that generous Spirits will prefer Death to ſuch an Ignominy and Reproach. Thus, three or four Perſons of Quality continue, until it be pretty late, at which Time they drive out a Bull, covered all over with artificial Fire, by which he is rendered moſt furious and hurtful: For Curioſity, and Want of further Order, induces the Rabble to approach ſo near unto him, that, by his moſt dreadful Puſhings, many ſuſtain Mutilation, yea, and Death itſelf; inſomuch that a Tragedy is oftentimes the Concluſion of this Solemnity.

In the laſt Place of this Relation, it may be worth the While to give a brief Account of a notable Inſtance of Folly in a young Lady, and paſſionate Temerity in three Gallants, while the King and Nobility were preſent. Three Gentlemen, *Marcus Antonius*, *Charles*, and *Lodovicus*, fell over Head and Ears in Love with a certain Lady of good Extraction and Education, being the only Child of her Parents, and then about the Age of twenty Years, whoſe Name was *Margareta*. Thoſe Rivals could hardly look upon one another without Menaces and Blows, of whom, while any one endeavoured, after the *Spaniſh* Cuſtom, to make a ſweet, pleaſant Melody, in the Hearing of the Lady, then the other two diſturbed him, which did breed many and great Quarrellings in the Streets each Night; inſomuch that the Lady's Parents, and all others, dwelling nigh that Place, were highly offended; which, when *Margareta* had eſpied, having, it ſeems, very little Affection for any of them, ſhe directed Letters to them ſeverally, for Preventing of all ſuch Diſorders for the future; of which Epiſtles the Sum and Tenor follows:

'Gentlemen,

'I Cannot be induced to believe, that Muſick, accompanied with ſcandalous Diſturbances, can be termed a Teſtimony of 'ſincere Affection; yea, it ſeems that you 'aim more, by ſuch a Courſe, to diſgrace and 'baffle my Name, than to teſtify any real 'Reſpect to my Perſon: Therefore, I earneſtly intreat you may be pleaſed to deſiſt 'from ſuch a fooliſh, unmannerly, and ſcandalous Action. But, if all this cannot be 'ſufficient to put a Stop to the Folly of your 'exorbitant Affections, I ſhall poſe you with 'this Experiment: Whoever reſolves to expreſs his Dexterity, Courage, and Agility, 'to all Beholders ſufficiently, and his ardent 'Love towards me, let him buckle with the 'Bull To-morrow, in Preſence of all the Aſſembly; and he who ſhall be ſo fortunate as 'to cut off his Neck, and preſent me with 'his Horns, may be aſſured, by my Subſcription, that I ſhall not decline to own 'him for my Huſband: Which, if any, or

'all of you refuſe to do, get you gone, for 'effeminate Men are none of thoſe I aim at, 'or deſire to be joined unto.

'Farewel, from

'*Margareta.*'

This pertinent and ſmart Letter non-pluſſed all the Rivals, ſeeing, thereby, a Province was preſcribed them, which they never dreamed of, nor judged any Ways honourable; becauſe Noblemen, ſuch as thoſe were, how dexterous ſoever they be, are never deſired to graſp with the Bull on Foot, and very ſeldom on Horſeback; yet, notwithſtanding all Oppoſition and Reluctancy, leſt they ſhould be branded with the deteſtable Character of Puſillanimity, they unanimouſly conſented to the Propoſition, each of them ſignifying a-part, by a moſt paſſionate Letter, that he was abſolutely determined to ſatisfy her Demand, or die. Wherefore, till the Time appointed, they remained with the Rabble, that more eaſy and ſpeedy Acceſs might be attained, to appear in the Performance of a Thing in which their Credit was ſo nearly concerned, where they compoſed themſelves, until the Noblemen, well mounted, were about to encounter with the fifth Bull; at which Time, *Marcus Antonius*, ſtepping down, got moſt nimbly on the Bull's Back, intending, by that Means, to diſpatch him quickly with his broad Sword. Next to him appeared *Charles*, whoſe Buſineſs and Work it was to catch Hold of the Beaſt's Horns, which fell out ſo fortunately, according to his Deſire and Deſign, that the Bull ſtumbled by the firſt Aſſault; ſo that *Antonius* fell to the Ground. *Lodovicus*, eſpying *Charles* ſticking faſt to the Horns, and *Antonius* diſmounted, with a dexterous and ſeaſonable Stroke, cut off the Bull's Neck. *Charles* immediately got to the Lady with the Head, ſignifying, that the Condition of the Compact was fulfilled, and therefore he claimed an Intereſt in her for his Wife. *Lodovicus* did take it very ill to be thus trepanned by ſubtle *Charles*, ſeeing he it was who cut off the Neck, and therefore concluded the Prize to be his, in all Juſtice. *Antonius*, moreover, being the Perſon who firſt gave Proof of his Magnanimity, making Way for the other two, concluded it highly reaſonable, that he ſhould be preferred before either of them; which did breed ſuch a Wrangling among them, that, had not the *Alquaciles*, or Conſtables, interpoſed, they would have committed a moſt lamentable Tragedy; being now led to the King, they gave an Account of the Matter, which, when his Majeſty heard, he commended, in ſome Reſpect, their Valour, but could not approve of their Inconſiderateneſs; ſeeing, therefore, he underſtood it to be Vanity, if not Cruelty, in the fooliſh Lady, rather than any ſincere Love, to demand ſuch a dangerous Attempt, ſtrict Orders were given, that none of the Rivals ſhould perſiſt or proceed in a Courſe ſo very fooliſh. Thus the Debate ended.

We have now impartially deſcribed what is conſiderable in the yearly Feſtival at *Madrid*. I grant, indeed, as before, that it is a Recreation ſcarcely beſeeming *Chriſtians*, whoſe Meekneſs and Gentleneſs ſhould not admit of ſuch barbarous Diverſions: Nevertheleſs, to ſpeak no more of that, it is generally concluded, that Perſons, appointed for ſuch an Exerciſe, ought to be furniſhed, not only with ſuitable Courage, but alſo with Agility and Dexterity, to evade the Aſſaults of a violent Brute, by which Means many become famous.

Here we may obſerve, how much the *Roman* Plays come ſhort of this Game: For Criminals were there compelled to grapple with Boars and Lions, moſt truculent Creatures, of which few can promiſe themſelves the Victory; and thus poor convicted Pannals ſuffered a moſt cruel Death: To which it may be added, that thoſe Games were chiefly deſigned to ſatisfy the bloody and vindictive Humours of the People, who rejoiced in ſuch lamentable Experiments. It is otherwiſe here, in Regard that no Man is conſtrained to undergo this hard Labour; neither are Criminals puniſhed with ſuch a Death; but maſculine and noble Minds deſire an Occaſion of this Kind, whereby Proof may be given of their Agility, and undaunted Courage. However, as I told in the Beginning, it is not my Work to praiſe or condemn this moſt ancient and uncontrouled Cuſtom. All I aimed at was, to ſatisfy your commendable Curioſity, by deſcribing this Feſtival, which is judged in *Spain* a moſt noble Recreation. Our next Buſineſs ſhall be to enlarge a little on the Hiſtory of *Platidus*, of whom Mention was made elſewhere.

The Hiſtory of Placidus.

THIS *Placidus*, a Youth very much admired and praiſed, becauſe of his valiant Exploits, was the Son of *Fadrick* who played the Merchant with one *Antonius* in *Seville*, a City in *Spain* well known, and much commended by Travellers of all Nations and Languages who reſort thither.

Undaunted Courage ſet our *Placidus* a Work to grapple with a moſt violent Brute, after he had remained ſome Time in *Madrid*, whither he repaired without the Knowledge and Conſent of his indulgent Parents for this very End, that, in the Flower of his Age, all Perſons, from the King to the Peaſant, might receive a ſufficient, I may ſay wonderful, Specimen of his ſurpaſſing Fortitude and Magnanimity.

Here it is obſervable, that *Fadrick* and his hopeful Son ſeemed rather to be one Perſon, than two; for, in Nature, Demeanour, Stature, Speech, and Countenance, they reſembled one another ſo much, that a quick-ſighted Man could hardly diſtinguiſh betwixt them: Yea, although the Father was a Man of fifty, and the Son but of twenty Years, yet any who looked upon their Pictures, affirmed ſtiffly that the one was an exact Pattern to the other: And, had not the Eyes of Men been a Demonſtration to the contrary, I am apt to believe that the Poſſibility of ſuch an univerſal Similitude, ſo to call it, would be thought a *Chimæra*. Yet, if we conſult Authors of good Note and great Worth, many Inſtances of this Kind may be found.

Valerius Maximus, with great Confidence, affirms that *Pompey the Great*, *Urelius*, and *Publius Libertinus* differed in nothing, but their Veſtments; ſo that, if two of them were arrayed after the ſame Faſhion, a quick-ſighted Perſon could not aſſign a Difference betwixt them. It is alſo written by *Pliny*, that two Boys, the one being a *Syrian*, and the other a *French*, were ſo very like to one another in every Point, that a certain Perſon ſold them to *Marcus Antonius*, under the Notion of Brethren. *Antonius*, perceiving their Language to differ, threatened the Perſon who had thus impoſed on him; to whom the other replied, 'If they 'had been Brethren, I would not require ſo 'great a Sum of Money, becauſe in that Caſe, 'Nature could not be ſaid to bring forth ſo 'great a Wonder, as now you ſee.'

If it be true in any Reſpect, that, according to the Philoſopher, Similitude begets Affection, how much more in this Inſtance of *Fadrick* and *Placidus*, whoſe mutual Love was wonderful beyond that of moſt Perſons in ſuch a Relation. Yet, by the Interpoſition of *Agnes*, a young Lady of ſingular Endowments and Education, the Brightneſs of this ſplendid Paſſion ſuffered in ſome Meaſure an Eclipſe. This beautiful Object became the Center of their Deſires and incontaminate Love, which could not be ſmothered long: Wherefore, they diſcovered their Maladies to one another in a moſt friendly Manner, and determined, after a ſerious and mature Conſultation, to ſubmit the Event of the Matter in Hand to the young Lady's and her Mother's Arbitrement; inſomuch that the Perſon excluded ſhould remove from his native Country, leſt by his Preſence Way might be made for Jealouſy, whoſe Effects are more dangerous no where, than in *Spain*. After this both of them met with bad Entertainment, and ſmall Encouragement, at the Hands of *Agnes* and her Mother: Yet, in Proceſs of Time, *Fadrick*'s Riches and Conſtancy had great Influence on the Matron. It is true the Youth of *Placidus* was no ſmall Motive to obtain the Reſpect of the pretty Lady: Nevertheleſs, Bags of Money were an Argument *a fortiore*. After both Parties had pondered ſedately the Circumſtances moſt remarkable, the Mother ſpeaks to her Daughter after this Manner:

'My dear Child, you ſee there is no ſolid 'Objection, which can be brought againſt thoſe 'worthy Perſons, who have ſet their Affec-'tions on you; and therefore I judge it moſt 'reaſonable, that you freely declare your own 'Sentiments in this Affair. I know the Neat-'neſs and Youth of *Placidus* will have great 'Weight with you; and, on the other Hand, '*Fadrick*'s declining Age will in ſome Mea-'ſure alienate your Affections from him: But 'hearken diligently, my Daughter, to the Dic-'tates of right Reaſon, rather than fond Fan-'cy, which miſleads many in your Circum-'ſtances; and you ſhall find Riches and Ex-'perience more eligible, than undaunted 'Youth, or any other imaginary Foundation, 'on which the Superſtructure of your Deſires

'and

'and Deſigns is fixed. That this may yet 'have the greater Weight in your Eſtimation, 'conſider how much Riches contribute to be-'get Eſteem and Honour in this City where 'we live; ſo that Perſons of noble Extraction 'loſe their Dignity frequently with their 'Wealth. What is Beauty but a fading Flower, 'which Nature, in a ſhort Time, or ſome un-'expected Accident will prey upon, and re-'duce to nothing? Let a briſk Gallant diſ-'charge, to Admiration, all the Punctilio's of 'Court Education and Activity; Will that 'purchaſe Food and Raiment? Whereas Mo-'ney anſwers all Things; without which Trad-'ing and Commerce ſhould die. I judge it 'ſuperfluous to make an Enumeration of the 'Qualities of Gold which we eat, and with 'which we are cloathed: Hence aroſe the Pro-'verb, *That is Gold which is purchaſed by 'Gold*; which Saying renders it moſt univer-'ſal, ſeeing all Things are valued at ſome Rate 'or other. It is true, I confeſs, *Placidus* is in-'ferior to few Gentlemen in Probity and Re-'putation; but it is as true his Father, though 'rich, has many Children, and may, in all 'Probability, beget many more; What then 'will the Riches amount to, which muſt be di-'vided among ſo many? You know, if it were 'poſſible to divide the Ocean into many Ri-'vulets, this vaſt Collection of Waters would 'appear very inconſiderable, in reſpect of what 'it now is. But I paſs by this Topick, leſt 'that you may ſuſpect Intereſt prevails with 'me. In the next Place therefore, let us con-'ſider whether or no you can promiſe your-'ſelf as great Satisfaction in the one as the 'other: Not at all; for whoever is married 'to *Placidus*, muſt neceſſarily be in a ſlaviſh 'Subjection to his Father, his Brethren, Siſters, 'and Relations; whereas the Wife of *Fa-'drick* will enjoy Immunity from ſuch a bit-'ter Lot, as being above and beyond the Reach 'of all thoſe Cenſurers.

'Alas! Alas! woeful Experience, the 'School-miſtreſs of Fools, has furniſhed me 'with this Obſervation; as witneſs thoſe grey 'Hairs, brought forth untimeouſly by exceſ-'ſive Grief and Sorrow. Shall you deck your-'ſelf with the fineſt Needle-work, and moſt 'gorgeous Raiment poſſible; then black-'mouthed Backbiters will readily miſconſtrue 'your Neatneſs. If, on the other Hand, ſuch a 'Decorum be neglected, why, ſay they, ſhe is 'not content with her Lot and Condition: You 'cannot frequent divine Worſhip without the 'Character of Levity or Hypocriſy; nor for-'bear ſuch a religious Obſervance, but im-'mediately Occaſion will be taken of branding 'you with the Stigma of an irreligious Wretch. 'In fine, the Eyes of all Relations will be fix-'ed upon you, that you cannot promiſe your-'ſelf Satisfaction and Tranquillity in the moſt 'minute Circumſtance. And it may be added 'further, that ſuch an uncharitable Multitude 'may ſo influence your Husband with Preju-'dice, that, in a very ſhort Time, the great-'eſt of all your Miſeries ſhall ariſe from his 'Jealouſy or unbeſeeming Carriage towards 'you.

'If ſo be, then, that, by being eſpouſed to '*Fadrick*, no ſuch Inconveniencies can, in 'Reaſon, be ſuſpected; What remains, but 'that, in Obedience to thoſe preſſing Argu-'ments of your loving Mother, and in Rela-'tion to your own future Contentment, you 'chearfully aſſent to the Propoſals of the Fa-'ther, without the leaſt Reluctancy imagina-'ble?'

Thoſe pithy Motives, founded on Reaſon and Experience, wrought a ſenſible and ſudden Change upon *Agnes*; inſomuch that, in a thundering Manner, ſhe decided the whole Matter in Favour of *Fadrick*; which Concluſion produced no leſs Sorrow to *Placidus*, than Contentment and Joy to *Fadrick*. Whereupon, dejected *Placidus*, according to his Paſſion, without any more Delay, forſook his Native Country, having got from his Father about a thouſand Guineas, who left it to his Choice, to ſpend his Time in *India*, *Italy*, or the *Low-Countries*, being to receive Money upon Bill, according to the Cuſtom and Neceſſity of Gentlemen, while Abroad.

When he had come to *Naples* in *Italy*, his Genius inclined him to play the Soldier, as being an Employment, by which Honour and laſting Renown is more attainable. After a few Months there, he enjoined his Truſtee to certify *Fadrick* and all Relations of *Placidus*'s Death, that Intercourſe of Letters might be ſtopped; which he judged the fitteſt Courſe and Method, to free him from penſive Melancholy; but all this could not eradicate a Paſſion ſo deeply rooted.

Fadrick, by ſucceſsful Traffick, attained quickly to vaſt Poſſeſſions, which, with a virtuous Wife, might be ſuppoſed a pleaſant Condition.

Condition. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, the Want of Children was Matter of great Grief to him: Wherefore, that his Memory might not die with himſelf, he reſolves, without Delay, to diſtribute his Riches among his Nephews, *Charles* and *Bernard*, who are brought to him, for that Purpoſe. Their Uncle and his Lady entertain the Boys, with all the Expreſſions of Joy and Kindneſs poſſible. In a very ſhort Time, their good Behaviour and Affability did procure unto them a great many Friends and Acquaintances in *Seville*, where they paſs under the Notion of *Fadrick*'s Sons. The old Man's Love to his Nephews roſe to ſo much the greater Height, in that he perceived himſelf decaying more ſenſibly than could be expected by the Courſe of Nature, not being, as yet, ſixty Years, whereas *Agnes* appeared more brisk than ever.

Thus *Charles* and *Bernard*, diſcovering that their Uncle had, in a Manner, centered the Comfort and Tranquillity of his decrepit Old-Age on them, waxed inſolent and diſreſpectful towards *Agnes*, whoſe Prudence taught her to obviate the very Beginning of this Evil, by repreſenting ſuch Enormities to her indulgent Husband: The old Man, complying with his Wife, appointed a Lodging elſewhere for his Nephews, with all Things neceſſary, and ſuitable to their Condition; which Courſe no Ways abated the Inſolence of the young Men, but rather increaſed the ſame; inſomuch that they branded *Agnes* with Incontinency, and many other vicious Qualities.

At this Time *Placidus*, having travelled all *Italy* over, came to *Bononia*, where his Life was in Jeopardy: For, happening to be late out of his Lodging, the ſecond or third Night after he came to Town, he wandered in the Streets, by Reaſon of Darkneſs, and his Unacquaintedneſs with the ſeveral Corners of the City; at length he eſpied in a Place, ſomewhat remote, a glimmering Light, whither when he had approached, three Cut-Throats are found aſſaulting one Gentleman with all poſſible Fury. The compaſſionate *Placidus*, thinking that a fit Seaſon for Charity and Fortitude, became the oppreſſed Gentleman's Aſſiſtant, by which Means two of the Rogues were grievouſly wounded, the Third being ſmote with the Edge of the Sword.

Having thus reſcued the *Italian* from imminent Death, not without ſome Danger, for he ſuſtained the Prejudice of two or three Wounds, he calls his Servant to bring his Horſe. *James Viteli*, in whoſe Behalf he had ſeaſonably appeared, anſwered, ſaying, 'Sir, 'your ineffable Kindneſs and Courage calls 'for my Attendance as a Servant, who am 'ready and willing to wait upon all Opportu-'nities, whereby I may expreſs my Grati-'tude. I know diligent Search will be made 'for us by and by; therefore, ſeeing I take 'you to be a Stranger unacquainted with this 'City, I intreat you may be pleaſed to accept 'of my Company, and, by the Grace of 'God, we ſhall eſcape the Rage and Fury of 'our Adverſaries; and I promiſe to dreſs and 'cure your Wounds in a very ſhort Time.' *Placidus* concluded it highly reaſonable to lay Hold on ſuch a good Motion: Wherefore *James Viteli* conducted him from one Street to another, until at laſt he came to an Houſe, where, it is probable, he had been known; upon which Conſideration, he knocks hard at the Door, until ſuch Time as a comely Youth had given him Acceſs; forthwith, according to his Duty and Promiſe, he dreſſed the Wounds of *Placidus*, which were not deep nor deadly; enjoining withal, that the Student ſhould go in all Haſte to ſuch a Street by Name, and return with an exact Account of all Emergents: Whither when the young Man had come, he ſees all Things in a Hurly-burly, one Man being dead, on whom a great Number of Citizens are gazing; and Orders given to apprehend ſuch as could be ſuſpected any Way acceſſary to ſuch an Aſſaſſination. Where alſo he heard a certain Perſon impriſoned, confeſſing that he was the Servant of one *Placidus*, a *Spaniard*, who had killed the Man. When the Youth returned, he gave an impartial Account of all Occurrences obſerved by him. The Gentlemen, perceiving what might be the Reſult of ſuch a Commotion, ſlipped away quietly, in Regard that they concluded it moſt dangerous to ſtay ſo near the Place of Juſtice, where a ſtrict Search was to be made.

Having thus eſcaped Hazard, *Placidus* is curious to know the Original of his Companion's Misfortune, in being aſſaulted by three Men in ſuch a Place. To whom *Viteli* anſwered thus:

My deareſt *Placidus*, I determined to diſcloſe this Secret to no Man living; yet conſidering you to be my greateſt Friend upon Earth, who in my Cauſe expoſed your Noble

Perſon;

Perſon to Danger, and, neglecting all the important Affairs which induced you to ſee *Bononia*, has continued my Companion in Affliction, though a Stranger; I ſay, upon theſe, and many other weighty Conſiderations, which my ſhallow Brain cannot comprehend, nor my ſtammering Tongue expreſs, I will, with the greateſt Candor and Ingenuity imaginable, diſcover this Matter to you.

I was born at *Rome*, the Queen and Miſtreſs of the World, where, when I was very young, my honourable Parents gave up the Ghoſt. After that I had ſucked in the firſt and common Principles of Learning, my good Friends and Relations ſent me to the famous Univerſity of *Bononia*, where I made no deſpicable Proficiency in Philoſophy, and all the Languages profeſſed there, which are the *Spaniſh*, *German*, *French*, *Hebrew* and *Greek*: All which could not ſatiate my thirſting Deſires after Knowledge, until the Study of Phyſick became my Work and Buſineſs. But a Lady of ſingular Endowments and Quality, being pleaſed to honour me with the ſtrongeſt Teſtimonies of ſincere Affection, diverted my Thoughts from proſecuting the moſt pleaſant of all Studies. How ſecret ſoever this Matter was kept, the Lady's Brother underſtood it; which prompted him, with two other Conſpirators, to lie in wait for my Life; and undoubtedly I had become a Prey to their Fury, if (by the Divine Providence) one of the three had not ſignified to me the Method of this moſt horrid Plot.

Then I determined to travel through *Spain* and other Countries; but, being driven from *Genoa* by a moſt violent Tempeſt, I was inſlaved to the *Turks*, who firſt brought me to *Algiers*, and then to *Conſtantinople*, where I was ſold very often under the Notion of a Slave. At length I am preſented to one of *Mahomet*'s Phyſicians, who, finding me pretty expert in the Principles of Medicine, was pleaſed to encourage me with his Fellowſhip and Inſtruction, to my great Advantage, I muſt confeſs, in ſome Reſpects; whoſe Gentleneſs was ſuch, that he would not thwart my Inclinations of Returning to *Italy*, but rather encouraged me by the Gift of two-thouſand Guineas.

After a tedious and dangerous Voyage, I came to *Venice*, where, being unknown, the People looked upon many of my Operations and Experiments as Miracles, rather than the Product of natural Knowledge; for which Cauſe, the Magiſtrates encouraged me with Promiſes of a very conſiderable Salary. But all this could not induce me to ſtay, ſeeing my Thoughts and Deſires were much concerned with Returning to *Bononia*, where I had enjoyed ſo many pleaſant Days. I could not imagine that it was poſſible for any in that Place to know me after the Abſence of ſix compleat Years; which Time alſo might quench the Ardour of *Camilla*'s Paſſion (ah! her name cannot be concealed, nor my Love towards her ſuppreſſed.) Upon theſe Conſiderations I came to *Bononia*, where I was entertained with great Courteſy by all Perſons of Knowledge, to whom I diſcovered my various Misfortunes and Difficulties; by which Means the Noiſe of my being in Town came to the Hearing of *Camilla*; who incontinently ſaluted me by a moſt pathetical Letter, as you may eaſily imagine. Thus our Love was renewed; and ſo much the more, becauſe ſhe came, the enſuing Day, diſguiſed, to my Chamber, where we entertained a moſt comfortable Dialogue, founded on the ſolid Hopes of obtaining our longed for Deſires. I ſeemed to decline and reject the Profeſſion of Medicine in the Univerſity of *Bononia*, merely, that *Camilla*'s Brother, and his Aſſociates, might not in the leaſt ſuſpect me, whom they hated with an inveterate Hatred, which Time, nor Dignity, could not eradicate. Nevertheleſs, by Debating, I obtained the Honour of that Place. Then Engines of Cruelty are ſet on Work to diſpatch me ſome Way or another; and, I muſt confeſs, the Rogues had accompliſhed their corrupt Deſign, if, by the Divine Providence, your ſeaſonable Charity and Magnanimity had not reſcued my Life from their Malice. In Teſtimony, therefore, of my Gratitude, I proteſt to remain your moſt faithful Friend and Servant, while I breathe, declaring, to that End, a Willingneſs of accompanying you to *Spain*, or any where elſe.

Placidus was very much taken with the grateful Acknowledgments, and Proteſtations of laſting Kindneſs, ſo pitifully expreſſed by *Viteli*: Yet, being unwilling to divulge or diſcloſe the hidden Sorrow which burdened his Spirit, he anſwered the other in a moſt courtly and complimenting Strain: *Sir*, you may confidently aſſure yourſelf of my unalterable Good-will, wherever you be, or however ſtated. The pregnant *Viteli*, by a Groan attending thoſe Words, perceived *Placidus* to be a little diſcompoſed; wherefore he reſolved to know the

Cauſe

Cauſe of ſo great Grief at a more ſeaſonable Occaſion. In the mean While, they entered into a ſtrict League of Amity, having all Things common; in which real Kindneſs conſiſts, if we hear the Philoſopher. A few Days after, they came to *Genoa*; where, as all along their Perigrination, their Thoughts were alleviated, by giving an impartial and free Account to one another, of their divers Misfortunes; and ſo much the more, in Regard that *Viteli*, by his ſuperlative Knowledge, and jocoſe briſk Diſpoſition, was a Phyſician no leſs capable to remove the Sorrows of the Mind, than the Diſtempers of the Body. Yet *Placidus*, in ſome Meaſure, continues dumpiſh and penſive; ſo that *Viteli* intended to expiſcate and extort from him the Original and Cauſe of ſo laſting a Grief, and did carry all Things on, in Order to his Concluſion, ſo wittily, that *Placidus* is allured to diſcover the Perplexity of his Mind, after this Manner: Your Probity and Gentleneſs extract from me a Secret, which I never purpoſed to diſcloſe. After which he makes Mention of *Fadrick's* Compact with him (while both of them had a longing Deſire to enjoy the virtuous and beautiful *Agnes*) who, by the Inſtigation and Perſuaſion of her covetous Mother, rejected him, embracing *Fadrick*. In a Word, he did not omit the leaſt Punctilio, which could ſatisfy the Curioſity of *Viteli*; who, replying, anſwered thus:

My dear *Placidus*, be of good Chear, for there is no Malady ſo great, which admits not of a Remedy applied with ſo much the better Succeſs, that the Patient can diſcover his Diſtemper diſtinctly, as you have done; and therefore I conſtantly promiſe (being taught by Experience what ſuch a Caſe meaneth) to remove your Trouble and Grief, by an Experiment at firſt, it is probable, ſtrange in your Eyes; though, after mature Deliberation, moſt obvious. All I crave is, that you condeſcend yet once more to walk with me in the Streets of *Seville*.

Having thus embarqued at *Genoa*, they arrived at *Barcelona*; from whence they ſailed by *Tarragona*, *Valencia*, *Alicant*, *Carthagena*, and the Borders of *Granada*, until they came to *Malaga*, and at length to *Cadiz*, the Haven of St. *Mary* and St. *Luke*, and ſailed thence along the River *Betis* to *Seville*; where, being in Strangers Apparel, they ſearch for a convenient Lodging; in which *Placidus* abode, while the intelligent *Viteli* went Abroad, informing himſelf, the beſt Way he could, about the State of Affairs in *Fadrick's* Houſe; which he underſtood exactly, and returned to *Placidus*, ſignifying how indulgent dying *Fadrick* was towards his inſolent Nephews, *Charles* and *Bernard*; as alſo, that *Agnes* looked as briſk as ever. In a Word, he anſwered the moſt particular Queſtions ſo fully, that *Placidus's* Grief was, in a great Meaſure, aſſwaged.

The learned *Viteli* gave ſuch Proof of his Knowledge in Phyſick, by ſundry wonderful Experiments, that, in an Inſtant, his Name ſpread Abroad. *Agnes*, therefore, hearing of ſuch an expert Phyſician, thought it her near Concernment and Duty to conſult with him concerning the Nature of *Fadrick's* Diſeaſe, which was concluded mortal by all other Phyſicians in *Seville*. *Viteli*, having viſited the old Man, diſcerned Nature ſhrinking, and Death approaching: Nevertheleſs, to encourage the Lady, he confidently affirmed, in the Preſence of many learned and judicious Men, that his Diſeaſe was not mortal; which Aſſertion he confirmed with Reaſons and Arguments founded upon the moſt ſolid and genuine Philoſophy, ſo that no Place was left for Cavils, all Phyſicians, there preſent, being perſuaded of the Truth of his Diſcourſe. Which comforted *Agnes* ſo much, that, with great Intimacy, in private Conferences, ſhe ſearched into *Viteli's* Sentiments in this Affair. The expert Phyſician failed not, at ſuch a Time, to make Mention of *Placidus*, whoſe valiant Exploits he praiſed with ſuch Eloquence and Admiration, that the Lady's priſtine Love revived, and prompted her to enquire very concernedly where he lived, and whether there was any Truth in the Noiſe of his Death. The ſmart *Viteli*, by ſuch Queſtions, perceiving much Affection to center in the Lady's Breaſt towards *Placidus*, anſwered her thus:

Madam, I am obliged to declare the Truth, and cannot ſufficiently declare what is true concerning his laſting Renown Abroad; nor how conſtant and Chriſtian his Love has been to you; otherwiſe, the exceſſive Grief of his Spirit had undoubtedly rendered him deſperate, and acceſſary to his own Death. The Rumour of his Death implied, that his Love might be termed dead, becauſe, without the Hope of enjoying its Object.

God knows, ſaid *Agnes*, how much I deſired to be married to him; but Fortune has ſo ordered, that I ſhould be the Wife of *Fadrick*, though much againſt my Inclinations. Yea, I muſt add, ſeeing this Subject is pleaſant, that the Love of *Placidus* is of great Force with me to this Hour. It is true, I am obliged every Way to bear a ſuitable Reſpect to *Fadrick*, who has continued all along a kind Huſband, never believing the odd Aſperſions with which his inſolent Nephews, *Charles* and *Bernard*, endeavoured to brand me.

I know, ſaid *Viteli*, that many Waters cannot quench Love, but it muſt break forth after ſome Manner or other; and, methinks, the Divine Providence has conducted me hither in a good Seaſon; therefore, ſeeing that I am perſuaded, that, according to the Courſe of Nature, *Fadrick* cannot live fifteen Days, Madam, if you be pleaſed, I ſhall in the mean Time contrive and carry on Matters ſo dexterouſly, that, by your Huſband's laſt Will, and without the leaſt Oppoſition, you may enjoy your beloved *Placidus*, inſtead of his Father. I have heard *Fadrick*, replied the Lady, at ſundry Times, in a moſt pathetical and paſſionate Manner expreſſing Sorrow and Grief for the Death of his *great* and *real* Friend *Placidus*, as he called him; for, ſaid he, if my Son were alive, I would diſpoſe of my Subſtance to him and you; ordering, withal, your Cohabitation, under the Notion of Huſband and Wife. But, ſuppoſing *Placidus* be yet alive, our Union will meet with great Oppoſition from *Fadrick*'s inſolent Nephews. Nay, Madam, ſaid he, leave that to me; for I am willing to loſe the Reputation of a Gentleman, yea, and Life itſelf, if I do not carry on the Matter ſo wittily, that, in great Peace, without the leaſt Shadow of Fear or Danger, you ſhall enjoy *Placidus* for your loving Huſband. Thus *Agnes* went to her Cloſet with great Joy. *Placidus* could not eaſily be perſuaded of the Poſſibility of the Matter, yet his Companion's pregnant Wit and Knowledge added ſome Confidence to him; for *Viteli* had undertaken, not only to remove *Fadrick*'s preſent Diſtemper, but alſo to renew his Youth and Strength, chiefly that, by ſuch Means (a Sophiſm indeed!) *Placidus* might attain to the Enjoyment of his longed-for *Agnes*: For which Cauſe, ſaid the ingenious *Viteli*, in the Preſence of learned Phyſicians, you ſhall, in a very ſhort Time, perceive *Fadrick* briſk and vigorous, with Teeth, Hair, and Colour ſuitable to the Age of thirty or forty Years. Thoſe learned Men laughed him to Scorn, and the Lady doubted of the Matter greatly; but, to put an End to Doubting and Mocking, he ſpoke to the Phyſicians, in the Preſence of *Agnes*, *Charles*, and *Bernard*, after this Manner:

I muſt confeſs, the Oppoſition of ſuch judicious Men might terrify *Galen*, *Hippocrates*, and *Æſculapius*, of whom it is reported, That he raiſed himſelf from the Dead: How much, then, may a Novice (ſuch as I am) tremble, when I conſider, that I have undertaken, in your Preſence, to demonſtrate how the radical Moiſture may be reſtored, inſomuch that decrepid old Age ſhall be conſtrained to clothe itſelf with the Colour, Vigour, and other Qualities of briſk Youth! Nevertheleſs, the Strength, which attends Truth reduced to Practice, revives my fainting Spirits; ſo that with Confidence I affirm the Certainty, as well as the Poſſibility of my Demonſtration; which I ſhall endeavour to evince in the *Spaniſh* Tongue, though with the greater Difficulty, for the Satisfaction of *Agnes*, *Charles*, and *Bernard*, the Parties moſtly concerned.

Gentlemen,

You know very well, Experience, Authority, and Reaſon are the ſureſt Foundations, by which any Truth can be ſupported; from all which my Propoſition ſhall be made evident.

The learned *Arnoldus*, *Villa Nova*, *Tully*, *Paracelſus*, *Cardanus*, and others, whom we need not mention, favour us in this Point; as alſo the Alchymiſts *Arbor Vitæ*; ſo that Authorities abound with us.

In the next Place, *Blaicus de Taranto* affirms, That in *Saguntum*, in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, there was a Nun of ſixty Years, whoſe Age was renewed, having Teeth, Hair, Colour, and Vigour, as if ſhe had been but thirty Years old.

And *Antonius Torquemada*, in his Dialogues, gives us an Account of an old Man, who was reſtored to Strength, being one-hundred Years old; after which wonderful Change he lived fifty Years. From which Author, and common Tradition, we hear of ſuch an Inſtance in *Toledo*. All learned Men know that Paſſage related by *Ferdinandus de Caſtaneda*, *Lib.*

viii.

viii. and by *Petrus Malfeus*, *Lib.* iii. *Hiſt. Ind.* how that a Nobleman of *India* lived three-hundred and forty Years; in which Time his Age was renewed thrice.

If we conſult Reaſon, we ſhall find her no leſs favourable, than Authority or Experience; for, What is Youth, but an Equality or Proportion of natural Heat and radical Moiſture? Yea, according to *Galen*, and all other learned Phyſicians, the Difference of the Ages is deduced from the different Operations of the natural Heat. And *Ariſtotle* affirms, That the Nature of old Age conſiſts in Frigidity and Siccity; from whoſe Explication, *Lib. de Long. & Brev. Vitæ*, we learn, that ſuch Men wax old ſooneſt, whoſe Lives have been attended with greateſt Labours and Cares, which cauſe a *Diſpendium* of natural Heat. Therefore, if this be true, it ſeems that humid Medicaments, with hot Potions and Applications, may reſtore decaying Age, by reducing the radical Moiſture, and natural Heat, to ſuch a Proportion as they enjoy in Youth. And it is obſerved, That the Divine Providence has furniſhed divers Stones, Herbs, and Waters, with Qualities which, if known, would ſilence all Cavillings in this Matter. It is reported by *Cardanus*, *Langius*, and *Petrus Chieza*, That, in *Bonica* aud *Lucaya*, Wells are extant, whoſe Waters are more delicious than the choiceſt Wines, having in them Vertue to renew a Man's Age: This is teſtified by *Ariſtotle*, *Lib.* iii. *Hiſt. Animal. Cap.* 12. and other Authors of good Note. *Homer* alſo mentioneth the like of Herbs. And, methinks, although the Simples, requiſite for Producing ſuch ſtrange Effects, be not commonly known, yet it is a *Male ſequitur* to infer, Therefore no Man knows them: Yea, no Man in ſober Reaſon can deny, that Spirits are contained in Herbs, Waters, and Stones; which being once granted, it neceſſarily follows, That theſe, when well extracted and applied, may ſerve to carry on ſuch a rare Work, as I now mention, and am about to demonſtrate. Further, it is obſervable, that I have been travelling many Years; by which I had Occaſion to diſcourſe with *Mahomet*'s Phyſicians, as alſo with *Arabians*, *Perſians*, and *Phœnicians*; upon which Conſideration it may be ſuſpected, that I know Things not diſcovered, as yet, in this Place: Wherefore I ſhall, with God's Grace, reſtore *Fadrick* to Strength and Health, ſeeing I perfectly underſtand his Malady and Complexion. But you may aſk, If, in ſuch a Caſe, he may be called young? I anſwer, Not at all; but that he is in a better Diſpoſition for Life, according to his Nature. Now, if this Theory ſuffice not to ſtop the Mouths of Wranglers, the Matter ſhall be put beyond all Doubt by Practice. Thus ended *Viteli* his pertinent Diſcourſe; who, after the dying old Man had been committed to him, made a Paction, That none ſhould diſturb him, by coming into the Room, where he was, to tarry with the ſick Perſon, except ſuch as he called; and that Apothecaries ſhould grant him what Simples he pleaſed to aſk. All Perſons conſented to thoſe Demands, but none more cordially and chearfully than *Agnes*, who was privy to *Viteli*'s Deſign. The next Day was appointed for the Work. *Viteli*, having repaired to his Lodging, diſcovered to *Placidus* how much he was applauded by the Phyſicians; and alſo that *Agnes* was exceeding glad, the young Men, *Charles* and *Bernard*, being much dejected; and he perſiſted in the former Confidence, that all Things would ſucceed aright, and be brought to an happy Iſſue. He ſtrictly charged *Placidus* to eſchew all Society, conſidering, that the Non-obſervance of that Rule had a neceſſary Tendency to mar the curious Contrivance. Then he returned to the Patient, to whom he gave a Potion, which, being mingled with a little Poiſon, ſet the old Man's Tongue at Work, giving Vigour and Agility to his Body in a ſhort Time, to the Admiration of all Beholders.

After which, *Viteli* ſpoke privately to *Agnes*, ſaying: Madam, *Fadrick* will not, in all Probability, live nine Days; therefore it is convenient to call *Placidus*, ſeeing the old Man, in his laſt Will, has made you his Heir, appointing a thouſand Pounds for each of his Nephews, to either of which if you be married, the Poſſeſſions ſet a-part for you are loſt; but, if you chuſe *Placidus* for your Huſband, he muſt in all Reaſon receive the Half of his Father's Subſtance. Now you ſee how nearly you are concerned to hearken to my Propoſitions, ſeeing Matters ſhall be ſo dexterouſly carried on, that all Perſons will conclude *Fadrick* yet alive. This, I hope, will prove acceptable and comfortable to you and *Placidus*, whom I ought to ſerve, according to my Capacity, while I live.

The old Man will go down to the Grave with Joy, by this Course, which will create Affliction to his insolent Nephews. Not long after, *Fadrick* dieth, and is buried after a most clandestine Manner; in whose Place they substitute *Placidus*, whom all Persons affirmed to have been *Fadrick* restored to Health and Vigour: Which Business being fully concluded, to the Satisfaction of the Parties mostly concerned, *Viteli* prosecuted his Design of Travelling. This Relation discovers much of the World's Deceitfulness, which is frequently defended by great Authorities improved with Disingenuity.

Sir, I shall add no more concerning the Solemnity at *Madrid*, and the History of *Placidus*, wishing that your Pleasure in Reading may correspond to the Desire I entertained to satisfy your Curiosity in Writing the same.

Farewel.

A Case of Conscience, Whether it be lawful to admit *Jews* into a Christian Commonwealth? Resolved by Mr. *John Dury*: Written to *Samuel Hartlib*, Esq; *London*, Printed for *Richard Wodenothe*, in *Leadenhall-street*, next to the *Golden Heart*, 1656. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

I Find it the Practice of most of the Protestant Commonwealths here in *Germany*, to admit of the *Jews*, but they do it with a huge Mark of Distinction between them and others; by which Means they are made vile and contemptible. In the Cantons of *Switzerland*, they are not admitted, no not so much as to travel through the Country, or to come into a Town or City without Leave, and paying a certain Duty, or to stay in a City over Night; Which is said to befall unto them, by Reason of some heinous Conspiracy (to do a Mischief to the Country, where they had Liberty to live) attempted by them. I know none of the Reformed Churches or Divines, who make their Admission to be unlawful; but it is a Work which the Civil Magistrate takes wholly into his own Consideration, to do, or not to do therein, what he finds expedient for the Advantage of the State; nor do I remember to have read or heard that the Case hath ever been put to any of the Churches, to be scanned as a Matter of Conscience.

There is one of the chief Reformed Divines, Doctor *Alsteng*, who, in his Problematical Theology, Part II. Problem 21. puts this Question: *Utrum Judæi in Societate Christianorum tolerandi sint?* And he doth answer it affirmatively, and I am clearly of his Opinion, that it is not only lawful, but, if Matters be rightly ordered towards them, expedient to admit of them; nay, to invite and encourage them to live in Reformed Christian Commonwealths: How far it may be a Sin to refuse them Admittance, when they do desire it, upon lawful Terms, and in a reasonable Way, is a further Question, which cannot be decided, till the former Points of the Lawfulness and Expediency of admitting of them be made out.

The Apostle makes a large Difference between Things lawful and expedient to be done, 1 *Cor.* x. from Verse 23, till the End of the Chapter. Things are said to be lawful, which, being looked upon in themselves, are not repugnant to any Law of God, or of Nature; and consequently left free to be done, if there be some Cause found inducing thereunto; or not to be done, if there be Causes found to the contrary; in which Respect Things lawful are counted indifferent, that is, by themselves, not putting any Obligation upon the Conscience, to determine it either for Doing or not Doing, but leaving it at Liberty to be determined by the Concurrence of other Circumstances, which make the Doing or not Doing of the Thing good or bad, as cloathed with such and such Qualities concomitant or consequent. An Example of concomitant Circumstances, making an Action, in itself lawful, not to be expedi-

expedient at a certain Time, is given by the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* x. 27, 28, 29. An Example of a Thing, though lawful, yet not expedient, by Reason of a consequent Circumstance, is given, 1 *Cor.* vi. 12, 13. And another of the same Kind, touching the Receiving of Wages, for doing the Work of the Ministry, 1 *Cor.* ix. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Which the Apostle shews was not expedient for him to receive, though it was commanded by God to be given.

By this Notion of lawful and expedient Actions, we must look upon the Admitting of the *Jews*, if the Question be in respect of Lawfulness, without any Limitation to be answered affirmatively; for taking *Jews* as they are, that is, Men of a strange Nation, who are banished from the Country of their Inheritance, and made Pilgrims and Wanderers through the World; a People in Misery and Distress, and so an Object of Hospitality; there is no Doubt but they may lawfully be received into any civil Society of Men, to live and have a Being therein, as Strangers. For it is not lawful for them to desire to be received upon any other Terms, because the rest of the World must be ingrafted upon them towards God, and not they upon any other People. For, in respect of God's providential Government of the World, the Prerogative is still theirs, to be a People set a-part above all others, for the Manifestation both of his Mercies and Judgments. I say, then, that they being such a People set a-part, not only in their Forefathers, but in their present State, for such an End, and in this State being made Strangers every where, and not lawful for them to make any other Account of themselves: And God having recommended the Entertainment of Strangers, as a special Duty of Charity unto all Christians; and no Nation of the World being a greater Object of Charity, and fitter to be pitied by Christians, than *Jews*: It is clear to me, that, if the Question be put in general Terms, concerning the Lawfulness of admitting of them, the Answer cannot be other than Affirmative. But, if the Question be made concerning the Expediency of admitting of them at such and such a Time, in this or that Place, upon those or these Terms, then I suppose the great Rules of Expediency are to be observed, which are, 1. In respect of God's Glory, according to the Apostle's Direction, 1 *Cor.* x. 31. *Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God.* Whatsoever, then, conduceth to the Glory of God, is not only lawful, but expedient to be done. 2. In respect of our Neighbours, there is a two-fold Rule, the one is of Edification, the other Avoiding Offences. The Rule of Edification is expressed by the same Apostle, in the same Chapter, *Verses* 23, 24. In these Words: *All Things are lawful for me, but all Things are not expedient. All Things are lawful for me, but all Things edify not. Let no Man seek his own, but every one that which is another's.* Where the 23d Verse puts *not expedient* and *not edifying* for equivalent Terms, expounding each other, and equidistant from that which is lawful. And the 24th Verse shews what is meant by *edifying*. The Rule of avoiding Offence is again in the same Place expressed, *Verse* 32, *Give no Offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God. Even as I please all Men*, &c. 3. In respect of ourselves the Rule is, That we ourselves be not thereby deprived of our Christian or Civil Liberty; which the Apostle expresseth, 1 *Cor.* vi. 12, in these Words: *All Things are lawful for me, but all Things are not expedient; all Things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the Power of any.* If, in the Circumstances of their Admission, nothing be found contrary to those Rules, but all can be made consonant to the Glory of God, to the Edification of others, without Danger of Offence, and without bringing a Yoke upon ourselves; then their Admission will be judged not only lawful, but also expedient; and to determine, how the Circumstances may agree with those Rules, doth belong chiefly to those to whom the Power of admitting of them is given by God; that is, to the Rulers of the State, without whose Consent no Societies ought to be formed in the State. For, seeing the *Jews* come into Christian Commonwealths, not as Members thereof, but as Strangers therein, and yet form a Society, or Kind of Commonwealth among themselves, it can belong to none pertinently to judge of the Expediency of admitting of them, but unto those whom God hath set over the Commonwealth to procure the Welfare thereof: Others may be consulted withal concerning particular Circumstances, which may be proposed unto them, to hear their Opinion what they will judge of them; but, upon the whole Matter, none ought to give a Verdict, but such as can compare all Circumstances at once, with the Frame of the whole State,

to

to diſcern, by the forenamed Rules, whether their Admiſſion be expedient or not: And ſeeing it may ſtand in their own Power, by the Admiſſion of them, to order Things ſo towards them, as to make all Circumſtances conſonant to the Rules of Expediency, I conceive, it will be their Duty, when they are intreated ſo to do, to endeavour the Performance thereof; and, if they do not ſo, I know not how to excuſe them from a Failing in the Duty of their Calling. And although particular Perſons, to whom the Judgment, *ſuper totam materiam*, doth not belong, ought not to meddle beyond their Line in the Buſineſs; yet being required to contribute their Aſſiſtance and Advice, how to frame Things in a Way towards them, which is moſt expedient, they ought not to refuſe it. Therefore I alſo ſhall put in my Mite among the reſt, although I am at a great Diſtance for the Preſent, and cannot know how Things ſtand at Home.

If then the Queſtion be, How their Admiſſion may be ſo circumſtantiated, as to anſwer the forenamed Rules of Expediency? I would adviſe thus:

I. To advance the Glory of God by their Admiſſion, I conceive they muſt be reſtrained from ſome Things, and may be fairly induced to ſome other Things. The Things, from which they muſt be reſtrained, are chiefly theſe: 1. Not to blaſpheme the Perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or, if any doth, that he ſhall be liable to the Law which *Moſes* hath given, in caſe of blaſpheming the Name of God. 2. Not to ſeduce any, or go about to make Proſelytes; or, if any doth, he ſhall, *ipſo facto*, forfeit his Liberty, or undergo ſome other heavier Puniſhment. 3. Not to prophane the Chriſtian Sabbath, but to reſt upon it, as well as upon their own Sabbath; and not to diſhonour any of the Ordinances of Chriſtianity, under ſome Puniſhment to be inflicted, ſuitable to the Offence.

The Things, whereunto they may be fairly induced, are, as I conceive, theſe: 1. To hear us concerning the Grounds which we have for Chriſtianity, and that with Patience, and without Contradicting contentiouſly; but, in caſe of Doubts, that they ſhould propoſe the ſame by Way of Queſtion to be reſolved, that we may have Cauſe to give them a Reaſon of our Faith and Practice. 2. To declare to us the Grounds of all their Faith and Practice, and to anſwer ſuch Queſtions as we happily may propoſe to be reſolved by them, upon ſuch a Declaration. 3. To avoid on both Sides all contradictory Diſputes in theſe Conferences, and not to trouble any of the weaker Sort of either Side, with the Matters to be handled therein, but only to ſet them a Foot amongſt a few of the Rabbies of each Side, in a friendly Way. Here at *Caſſel* ſomething hath been intended this Way, by obliging them to come once a Month to a Lecture, wherein the Grounds of Chriſtianity were opened unto them; and although few or none have been thereby ſo openly converted, as to embrace all the Truth; yet ſome of them have been ſo moved, that they have wept much ſometimes at the Things which they have heard: Alſo a ſmall Catechiſm of our Belief, concerning the *Meſſiah*, hath been penned for them, and they have been obliged to read it, and learn it, ſo as to anſwer to the Queſtions contained therein, that it might appear they were not ignorant of our Meaning, for the Aim was only to glorify God in this. For the Glory of our God is chiefly made manifeſt in his Truth and Faithfulneſs to make good his Word, for he hath *magnified his Word above all his Works*; and if we can order their Admiſſion ſo, as to manifeſt unto them the Truth of his Word revealed unto us by the Promiſes of the Goſpel, in the Knowledge of his Name; and ſo lay that Knowledge before them in the Lump, that they cannot but ſee that God hath appeared unto us, and doth rule us by Spirit and Truth, and makes a great Difference between our Communion with himſelf and their literal Worſhiping of him; if, I ſay, we can contrive, in their Admiſſion, the Buſineſs ſo towards them, that they ſhall not only be reſtrained from diſhonouring our God and his Ordinances, or overthrowing his Truth in the Minds of any, but that they ſhall be made to ſee the Goodneſs of God's Mercy to us, that he hath adopted us to be his People in their Stead; then the firſt Rule of Expediency will be obſerved, and there will be no great Difficulty to contrive the Buſineſs ſo, that the other Rules alſo will be put in Practice. Now, concerning the Method of ſpiritual Prudence, how to go about this Work towards them, is a Subject too large to be entered upon at this Time: One Caveat only may be ſuggeſted at preſent, which is this, That the Scanning of particular Queſtions and Doubts which they may have concerning the Genealogy of Chriſt,

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and other circumstantial Matters in the New Testament, should be avoided, and the main undeniable Truths wherein the Old and New Testament agree, and which make up the Substance of Saving Knowledge, and of the Practice of Piety, and the Fulfilling both of the Promises made to us, and the Threatenings denounced against them, should be only insisted upon, and branched out, to let them see the Body of the whole Truth of God, made out to us, and our Endeavour to glorify God thereby.

And thus much shall be at this Time hinted at, concerning the Observation of the first Rule of Expediency towards them in their Admission; which being not only feasable, but a main Duty incumbent to all Christian Magistrates to intend and endeavour: It is to me evident, that their Admission is not only lawful, but expedient also.

II. To advance their Edification by their Admission, according to the second Rule of Expediency; I conceive Matters may be so ordered towards them, that they may be made to understand, That the Intention of the State, in Admitting of them, is not to have Profit or temporal Advantages by them (which may be had as well by our own Industry, and perhaps better, without theirs) but rather out of Christian Love and Compassion towards them; and in Witness of our Thankfulness to God, for the Good which hath been derived from them to us; and for the Hope which we have, that all his Goodness shall be fulfilled both in them, and us, when the *Messiah* shall return in his Glory. The Apostle saith, *That Charity edifieth*; and it is a Truth approved by daily Experience, that, without Charity, no Ground can be laid of mutual Commerce, or Increase of good Things, mutually communicable. Therefore I would suggest humbly this, That, to open a Door in their hard Hearts, for doing Good unto them, the Charity of the State, in the Act of their Admission, should be ratified towards them, and they made fully sensible, That it is not for any Profit, which they can bring to the State, that they are admitted; but for a Desire in us, for doing them Good, for the Good, which, through their Misery, is befallen to us Gentiles, *viz.* that we have the Oracles of God, by their Means, preserved and conveyed to us, and the Knowledge, and the Accomplishment of the Benefit of all the Promises, whereof we desire, that they may be made Partakers again with us; and this being made professedly the Ground of their Admission, *viz.* our Thankfulness to God, to shew that Mercy to them, which he hath shewed to us: All other Duties of Good-will, and lawful Communion, tending to the Accomplishment of this End, may be wisely and kindly built thereupon, so as, without Prejudice, they will be glad to receive the same, and entertain the Motions which we may make to that Effect; and, amongst other Effects of our Love, they may receive, by the same Act of their Admission, an Assurance, that, in all Treaties with the Nations which persecute and oppress them, a Care shall be had of them, and their Interests, as with *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the Grand *Signior*, and others, if any be, who seek to destroy them: That in publick Transactions their Liberty of Living with them shall be procured so far, as in the Power of our State shall lie by God's Permission.

III. To avoid Offences between them and us, in Admitting of them, it will be expedient that they live by themselves, and that their Worship be performed in their own Tongue; that the Insolencies, which the common Sort of both Sides may use one towards another, be prevented by Laws and special Orders, to keep them from incroaching upon others, beyond their Bounds; for they are naturally more high-minded than other Nations, and make less Conscience of Oppressing the Gentiles, than others do; because they find they are oppressed by them, and imagine themselves the only noble People in the World; and therefore aspire to have, not only Liberty to live by themselves, but Riches and Power over others, wherever they can get it; which Inclinations of theirs, being the chief Causes of Offences, must be prevented, not as here in *Germany*, by making them base and vile; but by other more friendly Ways, which Prudence and Equity will suggest.

IV. To avoid the temporal Inconveniencies which may arise from their covetous Practices and biting Usury, and other Subtleties in Trade, by which we of the Nation may be prejudged in our Liberty, and brought, in some Respect or other, under their Power. The Wisdom of the State will look to it, nor is it in my Way to take it into Consideration: Therefore I shall leave this last Rule of Expediency unto their Vigilancy, and draw to a Conclusion of these Suggestions, wherein I have no more to

say

ſay but this: That if they deſire Admittance, and will receive it in a Way, wherein theſe Rules can be obſerved; then they ſhould be admitted, and that it will be a Sin in thoſe, who will not admit them upon theſe Terms; or who will not propoſe ſuch Terms as theſe, unto them, when they deſire Admittance; or who, having an Opportunity to invite them in their Diſtreſs, do not mind theſe Principles in Admitting of them, to give them Entertainment in their Commonwealth. As for other Conſiderations of future Hopes, although I believe as much of them, as moſt Men do; yet I can draw no Argument from thence for any particular Admittance of them, at this Time, becauſe I know that the Times and Seaſons of their Deliverance are in God's Hand alone, and that we are very much inclined to miſtake in Conjectures of that Nature. But the univerſal Rules, which are grounded upon the main Ends and Duties of Chriſtianity, muſt be obſerved by thoſe that will truſt unto God, for a Bleſſing upon their Endeavours. And when they have (towards ſuch Ends, and according to ſuch Duties) done that which they think, is acceptable to God; then they ought to acquieſce, and leave the Iſſue to Providence, which I am perſuaded will be favourable to the State. And, in this Aſſurance, I reſt ever,

Sir,

Caſſell, in Haſte, *Jan.* 8, 1656.

Your moſt affectionate and faithful Servant in Chriſt,

JOHN DURY.

POSTSCRIPT.

CONcerning the *Jews*, if I can, I will ſend you the Abſtract of the Laws, by which they are received here. Our State doth wiſely to go warily, and by Degrees, in the Buſineſs of receiving them. *Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael*'s Demands are great, and the Uſe, which they make of great Privileges, is not much to their Commendation here, and elſewhere. They have Ways, beyond all other Men, to undermine a State, and to inſinuate into thoſe that are in Offices, and prejudicate the Trade of others; and therefore, if they be not wiſely reſtrained, they will, in a ſhort Time, be oppreſſive, if they be ſuch as are here in *Germany*. To call in the *Caraits* would fright away theſe, for they are irreconcileable Enemies. Time muſt ripen theſe Deſigns, and Prudence may lead them on.

An Hiſtorical Narration of the Manner and Form of that memorable Parliament which wrought Wonders. Begun at *Weſtminſter*, 1386, in the Tenth Year of the Reign of King *Richard the Second*. Related and publiſhed by *Thomas Fannant*, Clerk. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages.

THIS preſent Occaſion ſo opportunely befitting me, I am reſolved to treat of that which hath been omitted, and ſlipped out of Memory long ſince, concerning divers and ſundry Changes and Alterations in *England*, in former Times; nor will it be burthenſome to write of that, whereby every good and careful Reader may learn to avoid Diverſities of Miſeries, and the Danger and Fear of cruel Death. I will, therefore, ſpeak of that which hath lain hid in the darkſome Shade of Forgetfulneſs, concerning Men who have been led away by the deceitful Path of Covetouſneſs, and have

have come to a moſt ſhameful and ignominious Death; a famous Example, to deter all Men from Practiſing thoſe, or the like Courſes.

ABOUT the Year of Chriſt, 1386, at ſuch Time as *Richard the Second* of that Name, then in the Prime of his Youth, ſwayed the Imperial Scepter of our Realm, there flouriſhed, famous in his Court, certain Peers, though ſome of them not of any honourable Deſcent, yet favoured by Fortune; by Name, *Alexander Nevell*, Archbiſhop of *York*; *Robert Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*; *Michael de la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, then Lord Chancellor; *Robert Treſilian*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*; and *Nicholas Brambre*, ſometimes Mayor of *London*.

Theſe Men, being raiſed from mean Eſtates by the ſpecial Favour of the King, and advanced to the Degree of Privy-Counſellors, were the Men who had the only Rule of the Commonwealth, which they, under the King, governed for ſome ſmall Space with careful Diligence, meriting thereby deſerved Commendations. But not long did they thus ſteer the Ship of the Kingdom; for, many of them being of inferior Rank by Birth, not having their Veins dignified with the Streams of noble Blood, they were the ſooner inticed with the libidinous Baits of Voluptuouſneſs, and infected with the inſatiable Itch of Avarice; inſomuch that, deſpiſing the Authority of the King, and neglecting the Commodity of the Realm, but only deſiring to keep up the Revenues of the Kingdom, ſo wrought, that, by their Policy, the King is impoveriſhed, and the Treaſure exhauſted; the Commons murmur at the Multiplicity of Tenths, Levies, and Subſidies; the Peers repine to ſee themſelves diſgraced, and their Inferiors honoured; and, in a Word, the whole Kingdom endures an univerſal Miſery.

The Nobility, ſeeing the miſerable State wherein the Kingdom lay, bleeding, as it were, to Death, urged their King to ſummon a Parliament; which was done ſhortly after. In which, amongſt many other Acts, the aforenamed *Michael de la Poole* is diſmiſſed from his Chancellorſhip; and, being accuſed of divers and many Points of Injuſtice, as Bribery, Extortion, and the like, he was ſoon after caſt into the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and all his Lands, which were of no ſmall Revenue, were confiſcated to the King. Neither did the Parliament here give over, but provided further for the whole State: By the mutual Conſent of the King and Prelates, Barons, and Commons, with an unanimous Conjunction, they conſtitute, and give plenary and abſolute Power to certain Commiſſioners, as well of the Spiritualty, as of the Temporalty, for the Ordering and Diſpoſing of the publick Affairs, according as ſhall ſeem beſt and moſt neceſſary for the deſperate State of the Commonwealth, to depreſs Civil Diſſenſions, and to pacify and appeaſe the Grudgings of the People.

Of the Spiritualty, were choſen the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the aforenamed Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, lately made Chancellor of *England*; the Biſhop of *Winchester*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, Lord Treaſurer; Biſhop of *Exeter*, Abbot of *Waleham*, and the Lord *John* of *Waltham*.

Of the Laity, were elected the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Coltham*, the Lord *Scroope*, and *John Devereux*, Knight. Theſe, as Men eminent in Virtue, were choſen by the general Suffrage, and ſworn to carry themſelves as dutiful and obedient Subjects in all their Actions. And it was further enacted, That, if any ſhould refuſe, or diſobey, the Ordinances ſo made for publick Good, the Puniſhment of his firſt Offence ſhould be the Confiſcation of his Goods; and, for the ſecond, the Loſs of Life. Thus diſpoſing all Things for the beſt, the Parliament being diſſolved, every Man returned to his own Houſe.

Soon after, the aforenamed Chancellor, with others of their Confederates, being moved with implacable Fury againſt the Statutes of the late Parliament, they buzzed into the King's Ears, That the Statutes, lately enacted, were very prejudicial to the Honour of his Crown, and much derogatory to his Princely Prerogative; inſomuch that he ſhould not have Power, without the Conſent of the new appointed Commiſſioners, to do any Thing befitting a King; no, not ſo much as to beſtow a Largeſs; a principal Means to gain the People's Love upon any, though never ſo well deſerving.

By theſe, and other the like Inſtigations, with which the Devil (as never unmindful of the End of thoſe, who by their Lives do prove themſelves) did continually ſupply them, they practiſed to annihilate and diſannul theſe Acts of the Parliament, which ſeemed any Ways to abbreviate or curb their uſurped Authority.

And, *Firſt*, By their ſerpentine Tongues, ambitious Projects, Flattery painted out with gloſſing Diſcourſes, and covered over with the

Shadow of Vigilancy for the Good of the Kingdom, they ſo bewitched the noble Inclination of the youthful King, whom they induced to believe that all the Ill they did was a general Good, that he began to diſtaſte, and at laſt to abhor the laſt paſſed Acts, as treacherous Plots, and moſt wicked Devices.

Next, They ſtudied how to ingroſs all, or the moſt Part, of the Wealth and Riches of the Kingdom, into their own Coffers; and, to the ſame End, dealed ſo cunningly, yet pleaſingly, with the King, that he gave to the Duke of *Ireland John* of *Bloys*, the Heir of the Duchy of *Brittany*, and his Ranſom; to others, Towns; to others, Cities; to others, Lands; to others, Money, amounting to the Sum of one-hundred thouſand Marks, to the great Impoveriſhment both of King and Kingdom; neither did theſe King eaters and Realm devourers any Thing regard it, but, ſetting unſkilful and inſufficient Captains and Governors over Towns and Forts ſo obtained, gave Occaſion to the Enemies of the Crown to ſurpriſe them, and diſpoſieſs the King of them.

Thirdly, Vilifying the Dignity of the King, contrary to their Allegiance, they drew the King to ſwear, That, with all his Power, during his Life, he ſhould maintain and defend them from all their Enemies, whether Foreign or Domeſtick.

Fourthly, Whereas it was enacted by the laſt Parliament, that the King, at certain ſeaſonable Times, and when his Leiſure would permit him, ſhould ſit at *Weſtminſter*, with his Council there, to conſult of the publick Affairs; through the Perſuaſions of the aforeſaid Conſpirators, he was drawn into the remoteſt Parts of the Realm, to the great Diſparagement of the Fidelity of thoſe honourable, grave, and faithful Peers, late made joint Commiſſioners, in whoſe Hands the whole Safety and Proſperity of the Commonwealth did reſide.

And whenas the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, or any other of their Privy-Council, came to relate any of their own Actions, or the State of the Realm, they could not be granted Acceſs, unleſs they related the Buſineſs in the Preſence and Hearing of the Conſpirators, who were always ready to upbraid them, if they uttered any Thing that diſpleaſed them; and to commend them for any Thing, though moſt nefarious, that did content them; for thus could they the ſooner learn and dive into the Acts of the Commiſſioners, and the better find Evaſions for their Accuſations. Furthermore, whenas the King, in Company of the Conſpirators, went in Progreſs towards the Parts of *Cheſhire*, *Wales*, and *Lancaſhire*, they made Proclamation, in the King's Name, throughout the Shires, as they journied, That all Barons, Knights, Eſquires, with the greateſt Part of the Commonalty able to bear Arms, ſhould ſpeedily repair to the King for his Defence againſt the Power of the Commiſſioners, chiefly of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earl of *Arundel*, becauſe they, above the reſt, did, with their chiefeſt Endeavours, ſtudy to ſuppreſs and quell the Devices of the Conſpirators.

Fifthly, Contrary to the aforeſaid Acts, they cauſed the Duke of *Ireland* to be created Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*, thereby ſelling Juſtice as they liſted, condemning the Guiltleſs, and remitting the Guilty, never reſpecting or looking unto the equal Balance of Juſtice, but poiſing down the Scales with Heaps of Bribery.

Sixthly, By the Procurement of the Confederates, they cauſed certain *honeſt Perſons*, who would not conſent to their Extortions, to be called and ſummoned to their Court, and there to anſwer to certain falſe Accuſations, wherewith they were unjuſtly charged by perjured Hirelings; of which Men ſo accuſed, ſome were put to Death, ſome caſt into Priſon, all were vexed and troubled with Delays, Length of their Journey to and fro, and exceſſive Charges; neither were they eaſed of any of their Burthens, unleſs they would part with round Sums of Money to the Duke and his Accomplices.

Seventhly, They gave Pardons under the Broad Seal to Felons, Murtherers, and ſuch like, only with this Condition, that they ſhould murther any, whomſoever they thought did miſlike their Exaction.

Eighthly, They taught the Country of *Ireland* to look to its priſtine State; I mean, of having a King; for they plotted to have the Duke created King of *Ireland*; and, for the Confirmation of which their Deſign, they allured the King to ſend his Letters to the Pope.

Ninthly, The aforeſaid *Nicholas Brambre*, in the Time of his Mayoralty, cauſed Twenty-two to be falſly accuſed of Felonies, and laid into *Newgate*, under Pretext and Colour of divers Crimes; and, in the ſilent and dead Time of the Night, to be faſt bound, and, by a ſtrong Hand, to be carried into *Kent*, to a Place commonly called *Fawlocks*, and then to have their

Heads

Heads ſtruck off, except one, who, being favoured by the Murtherers, ſafely eſcaped; the Blood of the reſt dyed the Streams of a ſmall Rivulet adjoining.

Tenthly, Soon after, to add one Miſchief to another, they ſent Letters, under the King's Signet, to the Mayor of *London*, by *John Rippon*, Clerk, with a certain Libel, or Schedule, incloſed in the ſaid Letters, the Tenor of which is as followeth:

That the aforenamed three Commiſſioners, *viz.* The Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and others of the Council, were to be arreſted, indicted, condemned, and put to lamentable Death, as being ſuch as had conſpired againſt the King, againſt his Prerogative, and againſt his Crown and Imperial Dignity; and this they did, in a Manner, conſtrain the King to aſſent unto. Upon Receipt of theſe Letters, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London* called a Common-Council, wherein they conſulted what Courſe were beſt to be taken in this Matter; and, after long Debate *pro & con*, it was on all Sides agreed, to deny and not to ſuffer that cruel and unheard of tragical Complot to be executed.

It ever happeneth, one wicked Act draws on a Second, and that Second a Third, and ſo forwards, till the Weight cracks the Supporter.

Therefore the ſaid Conſpirators, being blinded with Raſhneſs, principally ſent Letters by *John Godfrey*, Knight, to the King of *France*, the King's Adverſary, to conclude a five Years Truce, who ſhould come over to *Calais*, and from thence ſhould ſend for the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and for ſome other of the Commiſſioners, as though the King were unwilling to determine of any Thing without their Advice; and, being thus circumvented, ſhould be condemned as Traitors, and ſo put to an ignominious and cruel Death.

And, for the Doing and Performing of theſe Things, the King of *France* was to recover all the Caſtles, Towns, and Lands, lying in theſe Countries, and belonging to the King of *England*. To prove theſe Things to be true, there were certain Writings produced by the Commiſſioners, wherein were contained Letters from the King of *France* to the King of *England*, and from the Conſpirators, in the King of *England*'s Name, to the King of *France*.

Moreover, there were other Letters intercepted, directed to the ſaid King of *France*; the Subſtance whereof was to incite the King of *France* to levy a puiſſant Power, both Horſe and Foot, and to draw them down to *Boulogne*, and thence to tranſport them into *England*, againſt the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, and all thoſe that did either countenance or favour the ſaid Statutes and Commiſſioners; which, as they falſly alledged, were made in Derogation of the King's Prerogative; and the aforeſaid Commiſſioners to vanquiſh, oppreſs, and put to Death, and conſequently, the whole Nation and Language utterly to ruin.

Not here concluding their deviliſh Conſpiracy, the five aforeſaid Conſpirators departed from *Weſtminſter* to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, and ſent a Writ for *Robert Beale*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, and *William Burleigh*, Judges of the ſaid Court, and for *John Locton*, the King's Serjeant at Law: Who being come into the Council-Chamber, not knowing what they were ſent for, the aforeſaid Conſpirators cauſed the Gates and Doors of the Caſtle to be ſhut, and then propounded theſe Queſtions following unto them:

Firſt, Whether thoſe Statutes, Ordinances, and Commiſſion, made in the late Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, were derogatory to the King's Dignity and Kingly Prerogative? And becauſe they were to be puniſhed who did procure thoſe Conſtitutions, and did incite and move the King to conſent unto them, and did, as much as in them lay to hinder the King from exerciſing his Royal Prerogative.

To theſe, and other the like Queſtions, with a joint Conſent, they anſwered, That they were to ſuffer Death as Traitors, or elſe to endure ſome capital Puniſhment: In Witneſs of which Aſſertion, being terrified with the Fear of preſent Death, the aforeſaid Judges, together with *John Carey*, Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, they ſigned and ſealed a certain Writing, in Manner of a Proteſtation, in Preſence of theſe Witneſſes, *Alexander Nevill*, Archbiſhop of *York*; *Robert*, Duke of *Ireland*; *Michael*, Earl of *Suffolk*; *John Rippon*, Clerk; and *John Blake*, Fruiterer; dated the 19th of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1387, in the eleventh Year of the Reign of King *Richard*

the Second. Then were they compelled to ſwear, that they ſhould keep the Paſſages undiſcovered, upon Pain of Death; and ſo they had Licence to depart. And, when they had plotted thoſe and many other deviliſh Conſpiracies, they bound themſelves, by an Oath, to try all Ways, and uſe all Means, as far forth as lay in their Power, to diſannul and utterly abrogate the Acts and Statutes of the laſt Parliament.

And, that which is worſe, they cauſed the King to ſwear, that in his proper Perſon with his whole Power he ſhould take Revenge of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, of the two Earls and their Adherents, by cauſing them to be put to Death.

The Carriage of all which Actions may more eaſily be known, if the Time and the Order of them be duly conſidered.

But our merciful and ever-gracious God, although there were ſo many Plots, ſo many Conſpiracies, ſo many Treaſons wrought againſt our State, whereby many Miſeries did accrue to our Kingdom; yet unwilling to take Revenge, or to puniſh us for our Sins, but rather, according to his gracious Pity, to eaſe us of our burthenous Calamity; inſpired into the Hearts of the aforeſaid Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the Spirit of Valour and Magnanimity: Who ſeeing the Heap of Ills that daily did ariſe by the Practices of thoſe Conſpirators, they ſet almoſt in every Part of the Kingdom Intelligencers, who ſhould apprehend all Meſſengers, and intercept all Letters of the King, or that went under the King's Name, and ſhould ſend them to the Commiſſioners.

And thus did they come to have Intelligence of the whole Plot of the Conſpirators; all their Letters being indorſed with 'Glory be to God 'on high, on Earth Peace, and Good-will to-'wards Men:' And, by coming to the Knowledge of each Circumſtance, they found that the Kingdom was at the Point of Deſtruction, according to that Evangelical Saying, 'Every 'Kingdom divided againſt itſelf ſhall be diſ-'ſolved:' Wherefore they ſought for a Remedy; for, by the Law of Nature, it is tolerable to repel Violence by Violence: Since it is better to prevent than to apply a Remedy to a Wound, every Man according to his Ability levied a Power for the Preſervation of the King and Kingdom; all which Forces being united, amounting to the Number of twenty-thouſand fighting Men, and courageouſly reſolved to fruſtrate all the intended Deſigns of the Conſpirators, and to open the Nut by cracking the Shell; they divided their Army, committing Part of it to the Earl of *Arundel:* Who by Night marched away with his Forces, and pitched his Tents near to *London*, there fortifying himſelf in the Foreſt adjoining, until ſuch Time as he had gained more convenient Time and greater Force, by the Coming of his Conſorts: And in the mean Time he uſed ſuch Diſcipline in his Camp, that he lacked nothing, but all Things were there ſold at reaſonable Rates, as it had been at a Market; and hardly could he contain the common People from joining with him, for the Overthrow of the Conſpirators and their Adherents.

On the other Side, the Conſpirators intending to prevent their Purpoſes, by Power of a certain ſpiritual Commiſſion, and by Vertue of certain Letters Patents in the Hands of the Conſpirators, though nothing to the Purpoſe; yet, to blind the People, they cauſed to be proclaimed throughout the whole City of *London*, that none, upon Pain of the Forfeiture of all their Goods, ſhould either ſell, give, or communicate privately or publickly Victuals, Armour, or any other Neceſſaries to the Army of the Earl of *Arundel*, but ſhould debar them of Suſtentation, Comfort, or Help, as Rebels to the King and Country. But, on the other Side, they began to fear when they were denied their hoped for Aid by the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *London*; and again, they were troubled at the Riſing of the Commoners, to invade them. Wherefore they counſelled the King to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, which was to begin at *Candlemas* next, according as the King and Commiſſioners had appointed it, and not conſult of the Affairs of the Kingdom, nor of his own Eſtate, Commodity, or Diſcommodity, unleſs the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the two Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, would ſwear, that neither they, nor any in their Name, ſhould accuſe them or urge any Accuſation againſt them.

And they cauſed it to be proclaimed through the City of *London*, that none, under Pain of Confiſcation of all their Goods, ſhould ſpeak any upbraiding Speeches concerning the King or the Conſpirators; which was a Thing impoſſible to hinder.

Not long after it happened, that the King, with the aforeſaid five Conſpirators, came from his

his Mannor of *Sheeve* to *Weſtminſter*, to St. *Edmond*'s Tomb, for the Solemnizing of a Pilgrimage. The Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London* met him on Horſeback ſumptuouſly attired, honouring him very much. And, when they came to the *Mews*, they deſcended from their Horſes, and went bare-foot to the Tomb of Saint *Edmond*; whereas the Chaplain of the Commiſſioners, with the Abbot and Convent, met them with a ſtately Proceſſion.

In the mean Time the three Noblemen, *viz.* the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, having muſtered their Troops, on the Fourteenth of *November*, in the ſame Year, at *Waltham-Croſs*, in the County of *Hertford*, and from thence ſent for the Commiſſioners, that were there at *Weſtminſter* in Parliament with the King, ſending an Accuſation in Writing to the King againſt the aforeſaid Conſpirators, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *York*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Treſilian*, and *Nicholas Brambre*; wherein they accuſed them of High Treaſon: Which their Appellation they did offer to maintain, and that they were willing to proſecute the ſame; and, to prove it to be true, they cauſed alſo the reſt of the Commiſſioners to ſubſcribe, as Parties to their Appellation.

When theſe Things came to the Ears of the King, he ſent unto them, requiring to know what their Requeſt was, and what they wiſhed to have done. They returned Anſwer thus: That they did deſire, that the Traitors, which were always about him, filling his Ears with falſe Reports, and did daily commit inſufferable Crimes and Injuries, might be rewarded with condign Puniſhment; for it were better, that ſome few ſhould die for the People, than the whole Nation ſhould periſh.

And they likewiſe craved, That they might have ſafe Liberty of Going and Coming to his Grace.

When the King heard their Requeſt, he gave them his Royal Conſent, and commanded them to appear at *Weſtminſter*; and, the King ſitting on his Throne in the great Hall, the three aforeſaid Peers Appellants, with a gallant Troop of Gentlemen, entered; and, making three lowly Obeyſances on their bended Knees, they reverenced the King; and, drawing near (the Cauſe of their Coming being alledged) they there again appealed the Archbiſhop, Duke of *Ireland*, Lord Treaſurer, and *Brambre*, of High Treaſon, according as they had done before at *Waltham-Croſs*; but they betook themſelves to the private Corners of the Palace, even as *Adam* and *Eve* from the Preſence of God, not having the Heart to appear to juſtify themſelves.

The King called forth the Appellants to prove and proſecute the Appellation, preſcribing them a Day and Place for the Trial, which was to be on the Morrow after *Candlemas*-day; and in the mean Time the King commanded them, upon their Honours, not any Party to moleſt the other, until the next Parliament.

Thoſe Things, thus paſſed, were publickly proclaimed throughout all *England*, and they departed joyfully.

The Duke of *Ireland*, under the Guidance of his grand Captain the Devil, marching into *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Wales*, raiſed a new Power, amounting to the Number of ſix-thouſand fighting Men, in the King's Name, to overthrow and confound the Appellants; from thence he marched towards *London* with his Army, with a furious Intent and Reſolution to perform his bloody Deſign: But God, beholding their fooliſh Hearts, filled them with vain Hopes, that they ſhould accompliſh their Enterpriſes. And, whilſt theſe Plots were laid, the Appellants, being ſuddenly advertiſed thereof, raiſed a Power, and, joining with them the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and other Commiſſioners, marched with long and weariſome Marches into a Field, near a Village called *Whitney*, at a Place called *Lockford-Bridge*; in which Field the Duke of *Ireland* was with the Army, having a River on the one Side of them, whereas they ſtood ready prepared to give an Overthrow to the Appellants, and diſplaying the King's Standard, contrary to the Laws of the Land: But, although they were ſo valiant at the Beginning, yet were they diſcouraged at the End; for, when they ſaw the Army of the Appellants march down from the Mountains like a Hive of Bees, and with ſuch a violent Fury, Fear benumbed them, and they were ſo amazed, that, when they ſhould have given the Aſſault (God not ſuffering the Effuſion of Blood) they ſtood like a Hive of Bees, or a Flock of Cattle without a Head, making no Shew or Countenance of Reſiſting; but, without any Stroke given, they flung down their Arms, and yielded themſelves to the Mercy of the Appellants, and, a few being ſlain, and ſome drowned in the

the River, gave an eaſy Victory to the Conquerors. The Duke of *Ireland* himſelf, putting Spurs to his Horſe, took the River, and hardly eſcaped; and, though he was purſued, yet he eſcaped through the Midſt of the Troops: And thus, by the Mercy of God, they obtained the glorious Palm of Victory from the Hand of Heaven.

When the News of the Victory was blown to the Ears of the reſt of the Conſpirators, who were then ſtruck with Fear, and careful for their Preſervation, under Covert of the Night they fled by Water to the *Tower*, drawing the King along with them.

On the other Side, *Nicholas Brambre*, with a bold and reſolute Courage, in the King's Name, cauſed all the Gates of the City to be ſhut againſt the Appellants, and to be guarded with an able and ſufficient Watch: But theſe worthy and dauntleſs Members of the Commonwealth marched towards *London* to confer with the King; but, when they heard, that the ſaid *Nicholas Brambre* had cauſed the Gates of the City to be ſhut againſt them, and to be ſtrongly guarded, and that the whole City did purpoſe to keep them out, they ſtayed their Reſolution.

On the twenty-ſeventh Day of *September*, in the ſame Year, with a melodious Sound of divers Kinds of Inſtruments, as well of War as of Peace, they incamped themſelves in *Clerkenwell*, within the Liberties of the City of *London*, not purpoſing, on the one Side, raſhly or unadviſedly to enter the City, nor, on the other Side, to make any Shew of Fear, but with a ſtayed Mind, as befitting wiſe Men, with good Deliberation to conclude every Thing in its due Time. And, whenas the Mayor, with the Citizens, came unto them with pleaſing Words, promiſing unto them all that the City could afford with Reaſon and Equity, the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſaid, 'Now I 'know, that Lyars ſpeak nothing but Lyes, 'neither can any Man hinder them from the 'Relating:' Whereupon, by a joint Conſent, in the Evening they removed their Tents, and pitched them before divers Gates of the City.

On the Morrow, there happened an Interview between the King and the Appellants, ſo far, that they opened their Minds one to the other; but, becauſe the King loathed to ſpeak with them with ſuch a Rabble of Men, and in Regard of an intolerable Boldneſs, and ſome Quarrel which was like to ariſe; and, on the other Side, refuſing to go out of the *Tower* to ſpeak with them; and the Appellants, fearing ſome Violence or Wrong to be offered to them, would not ſpeak with the King without a ſtrong Guard of valiant Warriors; therefore the moſt wiſe of the Appellants, after divers Diſputations, had reſolved to go and confer with the King: But firſt they ſent a ſtrong Troop well armed to ſearch all the Corners and Caves of the *Tower*; and, Relation being made of the Safety of the Place, with a ſelected Band of valiant Cavaliers, they entered the *Tower*, and, ſeizing the Gates, and placing a Guard, appeared before the King, and there the third Time appealed the aforeſaid Conſpirators, in the ſame Sort and Form as before: Which Appellation being ended, the King ſwore, That he would adhere to their Counſel, as a good King and a juſt Judge, ſo far as the Rule of Law, Reaſon, and Equity did require.

Theſe Things being accompliſhed, they departed from the *Tower* to their Tenements and Lodgings; and then it was publiſhed and made known in the Preſence of the King, and throughout the Dominions, That, on the Morrow after *Candlemas-day*, the aforeſaid Conſpirators ſhould perſonally appear to anſwer to the Appellation, whereby they were charged with ſo many Treaſons.

And, becauſe the Harveſt was now ripe, and Time convenient to cut up thoſe peſtiferous Cockles and Thiſtles, by the Aſſent of the King, and Conſent of the ſaid Commiſſioners and Appellants, they expelled divers of the Officers of the Houſhold; *viz.* in the Place of *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the Houſhold, they appointed *John Devereux*, Knight, one of the Commiſſioners; *Peter Courtney*, Knight, was made Chamberlain, in the Stead of *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*: And the aforeſaid *John de Beauchamp*, *Simon de Burleigh*, Vice-chamberlain; *John Saliſbury*, *Thomas Trynett*, *James Barats*, *William Ellingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knights; and Officers of the Clergy, *viz. Richard Metford*, Secretary; *John Blake*, Dean of the Chapel; *John Lincolne*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and *John Clifford*, Clerk of the Chapel, were kept under Arreſt too, and were as Partakers in the aforeſaid Treaſon, for that they, knowing and having Intelligence of the ſaid Conſpiracy, did not diſcover them.

Others

Others alſo, as Servants of the aforeſaid Conſpirators, and drawn in by Craft, yet guiltleſs, were diſmiſſed and ſent away, as Men unprofitable, and good for no Uſe.

And thus this hideous Brood of Monſters, ſo often ſhaken, was quite overthrown.

And, on the Vigil of the *Purification* of Saint *Mary*, in the Privy-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*; by joint Conſent of all the Commiſſioners, the aforeſaid *John* *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, *William Burleigh*, *John Locton*, and *John Carey* were diſplaced from their Offices, and, without any further Ado, arreſted of Treaſon, and, by the Command of the Chancellor, clapped into the *Tower*; and *Roger Carleton* in the Place of *Belknap*, *Walter Clapton* in the Place of *Treſilian*, were conſtituted: And ſo for that Time they departed, and went to Dinner.

And, becauſe *Shrovetide* was thought a fit Time to puniſh the Delinquents, according to their Deſerts, therefore the great Parliament began the Second of *February* following, in this Manner:

All the Peers, as well of the Spiritualty as of the Temporalty, being aſſembled in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, the King ſoon after came, and ſat down on his Throne; and after him appeared the five Noblemen, Appellants, the Fame of whoſe admired Worth ecchoed thro' all the Land, who entered the Houſe in their coſtly Robes, leading one another Hand in Hand, with an innumerable Company following them; and, beholding where the King ſat, all at once, with ſubmiſſive Geſtures, they reverenced the King. The Hall was ſo full of Spectators, that the very Roofs were filled with them: And yet, amongſt this infinite Multitude of the People, there could not be found any of the Conſpirators, or of their Accomplices; but *Brambre* was taken a little before, and caſt into the Gaol of *Glouceſter*.

The Clergy then placing themſelves on the Right-hand, and the Nobility on the Left-hand of the King, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the High-Court of Parliament; the Lord Chancellor ſtanding with his Back towards the King, by the King's Command, declared the Cauſe of their Summons to Parliament: Which being ended, the five foreſaid Appellants, ariſing, declared their Appellation by the Mouth of *Robert Pleaſington*, their Speaker, who thus ſpoke:

Behold, the Duke of *Glouceſter* comes to purge himſelf of Treaſons, which are laid to his Charge by the Conſpirators. To whom the Lord Chancellor, by the Command of the King, anſwered: My Lord Duke, the King conceiveth ſo honourably of you, that he cannot be induced to believe, that you, who are of Affinity to him in a collateral Line, ſhould attempt any Treaſon againſt his ſacred Majeſty. The Duke, with his four Companions, upon their Knees, humbly gave Thanks to the King, for his gracious Opinion of their Fidelity.

Then, after Silence proclaimed, they aroſe, and delivered in certain Articles in Writing, wherein were contained the Particularities of the Treaſon. Which ſaid Articles were read by *Godfrey Martin*, the Clerk of the Crown, ſtanding in the Midſt of the Parliament-Houſe, by the Space of two Hours, with an audible Voice. At the Reading of which, there was a wonderful Alteration in the Houſe: For, whereas before the People were glad of the Diſcovery of the Treaſon, at the Rehearſal of it, their Hearts were ſo overcome with Grief, that they could not refrain from Tears. When the Articles were read, the Appellants requeſted the King, that Sentence of Condemnation might be given againſt the Conſpirators, and they to receive the Reward of their Deſerts; which the King promiſed to grant. This was the firſt Day's Work. The Second was ended with Variation of divers Conſultations, which I will not relate in Particular, but treat of the whole Parliament in General.

And, when the third Day came of their Proceedings againſt the Conſpirators, the Lord Chancellor, in the Name of the Clergy, in open Parliament, made an Oration, ſhewing, that they could not by any Means be preſent at the Proceeding, where there is any Cenſure of Death to be paſſed. For the Confirmation whereof, they delivered in a Proteſtation; which, being read, they ſpoke, That, neither in Reſpect of any Favour, nor for Fear of any Man's Hate, nor in Hope of any Reward, they did deſire to abſent themſelves; but only, that they were bound by the Canon, not to be preſent at any Man's Arraignment or Condemnation. They likewiſe ſent their Proteſtation to the Chapel of the *Abbey*, where the Commons ſat; which was allowed of. And then, when the Appellants called for Juſtice againſt

the

the Conſpirators, the Lords of the Spirituality aroſe, and went into the King's Chamber, near adjoining.

But the King being moved in Conſcience, and in Charity, perceiving that in every Work they are to remember the End; and being willing, contrary to the Rigour of the Law, to favour rather thoſe that were guilty, than the Actors in that Treaſon, if they were able to alledge any Thing in their Defence, cauſed the Proceſs to ceaſe; but the Peers, being earneſt, requeſted, That no Buſineſs, paſt, preſent, or to come, might be debated, until this Treaſon were adjudged; to which Petition the King graciouſly granted his Aſſent.

On the Eleventh Day of *February*, when nothing could be alledged, nor no Witneſs produced, in Juſtification of the Conſpirators, but the definitive Sentence of Condemnation muſt be pronounced againſt them, the aforeſaid *John Devereux*, Marſhal of the Court, and, for that Time, the King's Lieutenant, adjudged them this heavy Doom: That the ſaid Archbiſhop of *York*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Treſilian*, and *Brambre* ſhould be drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and there to be hanged upon a Gibbet, until they were dead, and all their Lands and Goods to be confiſcated, that none of their Poſterity might be by them any Way inriched.

On the twelfth Day of *February*, which was the firſt Day of *Shrovetide*, *Nicholas Brambre* appeared in Parliament; and, being charged with the aforeſaid Articles of Treaſon, he craved Favour to adviſe of Council learned, and ſome longer Time for his more full Anſwer to his Accuſation; but yet he deſired a Thing neither uſual, nor allowable by the Law, and required a Thing, which the Rigour of the Law, in a Caſe of that Nature, would not afford. But the Judges charged him to anſwer ſeverally to every Point in the Articles contained: Whereunto *Brambre* anſwered, Whoſoever hath branded me with this ignominious Mark, with him I am ready to fight in the Liſts, to maintain my Innocency, whenſoever the King ſhall appoint. And this he ſpoke with ſuch a Fury, that his Eyes ſparkled with Rage, and he breathed as if an *Ætna* had laid hid in his Breaſt; chuſing rather to die glorioufly in the Field, than diſgracefully on a Gibbet.

The Appellants, hearing this courageous Challenge, with reſolute Countenance, anſwered, That they would willingly accept of the Combate, and thereupon flung down their Gages before the King; and, on a Sudden, the whole Company of Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and Commons flung down their Gages ſo thick, that they ſeemed like Snow in a Winter's Day, crying out, We alſo will accept of the Combate, and will prove theſe Articles to be true to thy Head, moſt damnable Traitor; and ſo they departed for that Day.

And, although the Appellants were not idle in the Night, yet, on the next Day, to aggravate their Appellation againſt the Conſpirators, there came divers Companies of the City of *London*, complaining of the manifold Injuries they had ſuffered by *Brambre*, and other Extortioners and Exactions wherewith they had been daily charged; and yet they proteſted, that they did not accuſe him, either for Hate to his Perſon, or for Love, Fear, or Hope of Reward from his Enemies, but only they charged him with the Truth.

But, before they proceed with his Trial, they were ſtaid by moſt unfortunate *Treſilian*, who being got upon the Top of an Houſe, adjoining to the Palace, and having deſcended into a Gutter, only to look about him, he was diſcovered by certain of the Peers, who preſently ſent ſome of the Guard to apprehend him; who entering into the Houſe where he was, and having ſpent long Time in vain in Looking for him, at length one of the Guard ſtepped to the Maſter of the Houſe, and taking him by the Shoulder, with his Dagger drawn, ſaid thus, Shew us where thou haſt hid *Treſilian*, or elſe reſolve thy Days are accompliſhed; the Maſter trembled, ready to yield up the Ghoſt, for Fear, anſwered, Yonder is the Place where he lies, and ſhews them a round Table, covered with Branches of Bay, under which *Treſilian* lay cloſe covered; when they had found him, they drew him out by the Heels, wondering to ſee him, as Viperous uſe, to wear his Head and Beard overgrown, with old clowted Shoes, and patched Hoſe, more like a miſerable poor Beggar, than a Judge.

When this came to the Ears of the Peers, the five Appellants ſuddenly aroſe up, and, without expreſſing any Reaſon, departed out of the Parliament-Houſe, which bred great Alteration in the Houſe, inſomuch that many followed them; and, when they came to the Gate

Gate of the Hall, they met the Guard leading *Treſilian* bound, crying, as they came, We have him, we have him.

Treſilian, being come into the Hall, was aſked what he could ſay for himſelf, why Judgment ſhould not paſs upon him for his Treaſon ſo often committed? He became as one that had been ſtruck dumb, and his Heart was, as it were, hardened to the laſt, and would not confeſs himſelf guilty of any Thing: And for this Cauſe the Parliament aroſe, deferring *Brambre*'s Trial till the next Day. But *Treſilian* was, without Delay, led to the *Tower*, that he might ſuffer the Execution of the Sentence paſſed againſt him; his Wife and his Children did, with many Tears, accompany him to the *Tower*; but his Wife was ſo overcome with Dolour and Grief, that ſhe fell down in a Swoon, as if ſhe had been dead.

Immediately, *Treſilian* is upon a Hurdle, and drawn through the Streets of the City, with a wonderful Concourſe of People following him; at every Furlong's End, he was ſuffered to ſtand ſtill to reſt himſelf, and to ſee if he would confeſs and report himſelf of any Thing; but what he ſaid to the Friar, his Confeſſor, is not known, neither am I able to ſearch it out. When he came to the Place of Execution, he would not climb the Ladder, until ſuch Time, as being ſoundly beaten with Bats and Staves, he was forced to go up; and when he was up, he ſaid, So long as I do wear any Thing upon me, I ſhall not die; wherefore the Executioner ſtripped him, and found certain Images, painted like to the Signs of Heaven; and the Head of a Devil painted, and the Names of many of the Devils wrote in Parchment; the exorciſing Toys being taken away, he was hanged up naked; and, becauſe the Spectators ſhould be certainly aſſured that he was dead, they cut his Throat; and, becauſe the Night approached, they let him hang until the next Morning; and then his Wife, having obtained a Licence of the King, took down his Body, and carried it to the *Grey-Friars*, where it was buried. On the Morrow, Sentence was likewiſe pronounced againſt *Brambre*, who being drawn upon a Hurdle from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, through the City, ſhewed himſelf very penitent, humbly craving Mercy and Forgiveneſs at the Hands of God and Men, whom he had ſo grievouſly offended, and whom he had ſo injuriouſly wronged in Time paſt, and did earneſtly deſire them all to pray for him: When the Rope was about his Neck, ready to be turned off, a certain young Man, the Son of one *Northampton*, aſked him, if he had done Juſtice to his Father, or not; for *Northampton* was ſometime Mayor of the City of *London*, more wealthy, and more ſubſtantial, than any elſe in the City; him did *Brambre* and *Treſilian* accuſe of Treaſon and Conſpiracy againſt the State, and condemned him to die; being diſpoiled of his Eſtate, he himſelf, at length, hardly eſcaped; to whom *Brambre* anſwered, and confeſſed, with bitter Tears, that what he did was moſt vile and wicked, and with an Intent only to murther and overthrow the ſaid *Northampton*; for which, craving Pardon of the young Man, being ſuddenly turned off, and the Executioner cutting his Throat, he died. Behold how pleaſant and delightful it is to climb up to Honour! I ſuppoſe it is better to live meanly at Home, with Quietneſs, amongſt poor Men, than to lord it amongſt Princes, and, in the End, to climb a Ladder amongſt Thieves; it is even better to undergo the Burden, than to aſſume the Name of Honour; therefore, whoſoever do not regard the Laws, let them obſerve and conſider the End of theſe Men, and with what Period they finiſhed their Days.

Theſe Men being diſpatched, the Parliament diſcontinued their Proceedings againſt the reſt of the Conſpirators till a more convenient Time, and took into their Conſideration other more weighty Affairs of the Wealpublick; they made the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Admiral, giving him Authority to reſiſt and to repulſe, either by Sea or Land, the Enemies of the Crown, whereſoever he ſhould find them.

And it was further agreed on, that, for the Appeaſing of all private Diſcontents, if any were, the King, and the reſt of the Appellants, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, ſhould dine together in the great Hall; which they did, and there was great Joy at this Reconciliation through all the Kingdom.

When theſe Things were concluded, they then began again this Arraignment of the Traitors; whereupon *John Blake* and *Thomas Uſke* were indicted on the fourth Day of *March*, who, although they were Men of inferior Quality, yet were they found to be Parties in the ſaid Treaſon: *Uſke* was a Serjeant at Arms, and was indicted amongſt the Conſpi-

rators, for that, being late made Sheriff of *Middleſex*, he had indicted the five Appellants and the Commiſſioners, as Traitors; and *Blake* was an Intelligencer of *Treſilian*'s, one that uſed to go and come between the Conſpirators, and relate the State and Succeſs of the Treaſon from one to another.

And, when they could ſay nothing to prove themſelves clear, Sentence was pronounced upon them, as on their Maſters before them; they were carried to the *Tower*, and from thence were dragged at the Horſe-tail to *Tyburn*, and there hanged.

But *Uſke* obtained this Favour, that his Head was cut off, after he was hanged, and ſet aloft upon *Newgate*, for Fowls of the Air to take Repaſt.

On the ſixth Day of *March*, there were called to Anſwer *Robert Belknap*, *John Holt*, *Roger Falthorp*, *William Burleigh*, *John Locton*, and *John Carey*, Baron of the *Exchequer*, for their Conſpiracy againſt the Commiſſioners at *Nottingham*; but, becauſe it is not needful to rehearſe every Part of their Indictment, they were all condemned like as the reſt.

Whilſt the Peers were trying them, the Clergy were retired into the King's Chambers; but, when Word was brought to them of the Condemnation of the Judges, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Chancellor, the Treaſurer, and Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, aroſe haſtily, and went into the Parliament-houſe, pouring forth their Complaints before the King and the Peers, humbly upon their Knees, beſeeching them that, for the Love of God, the Virgin *Mary*, and of all the Saints, even as they hoped to have Mercy at the Day of Judgment, they ſhould ſhew Favour, and not put to Death the ſaid Judges then preſent; and bitterly bewailing their Iniquities, in whoſe Hearts the very Life, Soul, and Spirit of our *Engliſh* Laws lived, flouriſhed, and appeared; and there appeared great Sorrow, both on the Part of the Complainants, and alſo of the Defendants.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* likewiſe, with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*, whoſe Hearts began to be mollified, joined with them in their lamentable Petition.

At length, by Interceſſion of the Clergy, the Execution upon the Perſons was ceaſed, and their Lives were granted them, but they were ſent to the *Tower* to be kept cloſe Priſoners.

On the Twelfth of *March*, being *Thurſday*, it happened, that the aforeſaid Knights, *Simon de Burleigh*, *John de Beuchamp*, *James Bereverous*, and *John Salisbury*, were brought into the Parliament-houſe, where their Accuſations were read, proved, and they found guilty, and not any Way able to clear themſelves.

From this Day, almoſt till the *Aſcenſion* of our Lord, the Parliament-houſe was only taken up with the Trial of Sir *Simon Burleigh*; for three Appellants, *viz.* the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with the whole Houſe of Commons, urged that Execution might be performed according to Law: And, on the other Side, the King and Queen, the Earls of *Derby* and *Nottingham*, and the Prior of St. *John*, his Uncle, with the major Part of the Upper Houſe, did labour to have him ſaved.

But, becauſe the Commons were tired with ſo many Delays and Excuſes in the Parliament, and fearing, as it was moſt likely, that all their Pains would be to little or no Purpoſe, they humbly craved Leave of the King, to go to their Habitations.

There was alſo ſome Muttering amongſt the common People; and it was reported to the Parliament, that the Commons did riſe in divers Parts of the Realm, but eſpecially about *Kent*, in Favour of the ſaid Sir *Simon Burleigh*; which, when they heard, thoſe, that before ſpoke and ſtood for him, now flew clean from him; and, by joint Conſent, on the fifth Day of *May*, Sentence was pronounced only againſt the ſaid Sir *Simon*, that he ſhould be drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and there to be hanged till he was dead, and then to have his Head ſtruck from his Body. But, becauſe he was a Knight of the *Garter*, a gallant Courtier, powerful, and once a Favourite of the King's, and much reſpected of all the Court, the King, of his ſpecial Grace, was pleaſed to mitigate his Doom, that he ſhould only be led to *Tower-hill*, and there be beheaded.

On the Twelfth of *May*, the *Thurſday* before *Whitſontide*, in like Manner were condemned *John Beuchamp*, Steward of the Houſhold to the King; *James Bereverous*, and *John Saliſbury*, Knights, Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; whereof the two firſt, *viz. John Beuchamp* and *James Bereverous*, were beheaded on *Tower-hill*; but *John Saliſbury* was drawn from *Tower-hill* to *Tyburn*, and there was hanged.

On

On the ſame Day, alſo, was condemned the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the King's Confeſſor; but, becauſe of his great Dignity, he was pardoned. Now they began to loath the Shedding of ſo much Chriſtian Blood, they took into Conſideration other more weighty Affairs for the Good of the Realm, concerning the Wars with the *Scots* and *French*, concerning Loans and Subſidies, and of the Cuſtoms of Wine and Wool.

And alſo concerning the Tranſlation of ſome Biſhops, becauſe Pope *Urban the Sixth*, after it came to his Ears, that the Archbiſhop of *York* was condemned, to avoid all Hope of Irregularity, created him Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's* in *Scotland*; which Archbiſhoprick was under the Power of the *Scots*, Enemies to the Crown, and in the Gift of the Archpope; and, becauſe the Pope did challenge Half the Titles of all *England* to maintain his Wars, but, although he craved it, yet he was denied; therefore he dealed warily and craftily, hoping to make up his Mouth by the Tranſlation of Biſhops; the Biſhop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellor, was made Archbiſhop of *York*; the Biſhop of *Dublin* ſucceeded in his Place, the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* in his Place, the Biſhop of *Sarum* in his Place, and the Lord *John* of *Waltham*, Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, in his Place: And thus, by his Tranſlation of Biſhops, he gained himſelf much Money, according to the Laws of the Canon; and, when this came to the Ears of the Parliament, that ſuch a Sum of Money ſhould be tranſported out of the Land, they ſtrove what they could to hinder it, but could not, becauſe the Clergy gave their Conſent.

On the laſt Day of *May*, the King appointed both Houſes to meet at *Keemington*, where they made a Concluſion of all the Trials of the ſaid Treaſon, granting Licence to *Thomas Trenet*, *William Ellingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knights; *Richard Metford*, *John Slake*, and *John Lincolne*, Clerks, to put in Bail, provided they were ſufficient, and to go into any Place of *England* where they liſted, without any Let or Hinderance of any of the King's Officers.

Moreover, the ſix Juſtices, with the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who ſtood condemned with them, were ſent into *Ireland*, there to remain for Term of Life; and thus they were to be divided, *viz.*

Robert Belknap and *John Holt*, in the Village of *Dromore* in *Ireland*, not to remain as Juſtices, or any Officers, but to live as baniſhed Offenders, not to be out of Town, above the Space of two Miles, upon Pain of Death; but the King, out of his gracious Bounty, was pleaſed to give a yearly Annuity of forty Pounds to *Robert Belknap*, and of twenty Marks to *John Holt*, during their Lives; and to *Roger Fulthorp* the King allowed forty Pounds, and to *William Burleigh* forty Pounds, during Life; confining them to the City of *Dublin*; granting *Burleigh* the Liberty of two Miles, and to *Fulthorp* three Miles, for their Recreation; *John Carey* and *John Lecton*, with the yearly Allowance of twenty Pounds during Life, are confined to the Town of *Waterford*, with the like Liberty, and the like Penalty; and the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* is likewiſe ſent to *Cork*, there to remain, with ſome Allowance, and the like Penalty.

Behold theſe Men, who feared not God, nor regarded Men, but, having the Laws in their own Hands, wreſted them now this Way, now that Way, as pleaſed beſt their Appetites, wreſting them at their Pleaſure for their own Commodity, were, at the laſt, brought down to the Depth of Miſery, from whence they were never able to free themſelves!

On the third Day of *June*, which was the laſt Day of the Parliament, the King, the Queen, the Peers of both States, with the Commons, came to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*; where the Biſhop of *London*, becauſe it was in his Dioceſs, ſung Maſs; and, the Maſs being ended, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made an Oration concerning the Form and Danger of the Oath, which being, although the Peers and Commons had taken the Oath of Allegiance and Homage to the King, yet becauſe the King was young, when they took the Oath a-new, as at the firſt, at his Coronation.

Theſe Ceremonies being performed, the Metropolitan of *England*, with all his Suffragans there preſent, having lighted a Candle, and putting it under a Stool, put it out; thereby excommunicating all ſuch as ſhould ſeem to diſtaſte, diſlike, or contradict any of the foregoing Acts in the laſt Parliament; and the Lord Chancellor, by the King's Appointment, cauſed all that were preſent, to ſwear to keep the ſaid Statutes inviolably whole and undiſſolved, as good and faithful Liege-People of the King's; and the Form of the Parliament was obſerved throughout all the Realm.

On the Morrow, which was the fourth Day of *June*, many courteous Salutations and Congratulations having paſſed between the King, the Nobility, and Commonalty, the Parliament was diſſolved, and every Man returned Home.

And now let *England* rejoice in Chriſt, for that the Net, which was laid ſo cunningly for our Deſtruction, is broken aſunder, and we are delivered. To God be the Praiſe for all.

The Names of ſuch as were charged and condemned of High Treaſon in this aforeſaid memorable Parliament.

Alexander Neville, Archbiſhop of *York*.

Robert de Vere, Duke of *Ireland*, who was baniſhed into *France*, where he was killed by a wild Boar.

Michael de la Poole, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancellor.

Robert Treſilian, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King*'s-*Bench*.

Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, ſometime Lord Mayor of *London*, made a Privy-Counſellor,

John Blake, a Serjeant at Arms.

Thomas Uske, an Intelligencer of *Treſilian*'s.

All theſe, except the Duke of *Ireland*, were drawn and hanged at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburn*.

Robert Belknap.
John Holt.
Roger Falthorp.
William Burleigh.
John Locton.
John Carey, Baron of the *Exchequer*.

All theſe former ſix-named Men were, as it ſeems, Judges; and, although condemned, yet their Lives were ſaved at the Interceſſion of ſome of the guiltleſs Peers, and they afterwards were baniſhed into *Ireland*.

Sir *Simon de Burleigh* was alſo condemned and beheaded: He was a Knight Banneret, and of the Garter, a great and gallant Courtier, and his Body lieth honourably buried and intombed in *Paul*'s Church.

Sir *John Beuchamp*, Steward of the Houſhold to the King, and

Sir *James Bereverous*, were alſo condemned and beheaded at *Tower-hill*.

Sir *John Saliſbury* was condemned, drawn from *Tower-hill* to *Tyburn*, and then hanged.

There were alſo detected, and condemned of the aforeſaid Treaſon,

The Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the King's Confeſſor.

Sir *William Ellingham*, Knight.
Sir *Thomas Trinet*, Knight.
Sir *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knight.
Richard Metford, Clerk.
John Slake, Clerk.
John Lincolne, Clerk.

An Abſtract of many memorable Matters done by Parliaments, in this Kingdom of England.

BY Parliament Sir *Thomas Wayland*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, 17 *Edw.* I, was attainted of Felony for Taking Bribes, and his Lands and Goods forfeited, as appears in the Pleas of Parliament, 18 *Edw.* I. and he was baniſhed the Kingdom, as unworthy to live in that State, againſt which he had ſo much offended.

By Parliament, Sir *William Thorp*, Chief Juſtice of the *King*'s-*Bench* in *Edw.* III's Time, having of five Perſons received five ſeveral Bribes, which in all amounted to but One-hundred Pounds, was for this alone adjudged to be hanged, and all his Goods and Lands forfeited.

The Reaſon of the Judgment is entered in the Roll in theſe Words:

'Becauſe that, as much as in him lay, he had 'broken the King's Oath made to the People, 'which the King had intruſted him withal.'

By the Parliament, holden, *Anno* 22. *Hen.* II, aſſembled at *Nottingham*, and by Advice thereof, the King cauſed the Kingdom to be divided into ſix Parts, and Juſtices Itinerants appointed for every Part, with an Oath by them to be taken for themſelves, to obſerve and cauſe inviolably to be obſerved, of all his Subjects of *England*, the Aſſizes made at *Clarendon*, and renewed at *Northton*.

By

By the Parliament, in the 11th of *Edw.* I, the Dominion of *Wales* was united to the Crown of *England*; in the Parliament, in *Anno* 16 of *Edw.* I. 1289, upon the general Accounts made of the ill Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the King's Abſence, by divers great Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice, theſe Penalties were inflicted upon the chief Miniſters thereof; whoſe manifeſt Corruptions the Hatred of the People to Men of that Profeſſion, apt to abuſe their Science, and Authority, and the Neceſſity of reforming ſo grievous a Miſchief in the Kingdom, gave Eaſe thereunto by the Parliament then aſſembled, wherein, upon due Examinations of their Offences, they are fined to pay to the King theſe Sums following:

Firſt, Sir *Ralph Hengham*, Chief Juſtice of the Higher Bench, Seven-thouſand Marks.

Sir *John Loveton*, Juſtice of the Lower Bench, Three-thouſand Marks.

Sir *William Brompton* Juſtice, Six-thouſand Marks.

Sir *Soloman Rochefter*, Four-thouſand Marks.

Sir *Richard Boyland*, Four-thouſand Marks.

Sir *Thomas Sadington*, Two-thouſand Marks.

Sir *Walter Hopton*, Two-thouſand Marks.

Theſe four laſt were Juſtices Itinerants.

Sir *William Saham*, Three thouſand Marks.

Robert Lithbury, Maſter of the *Rolls*, One-thouſand Marks.

Roger Leiceſter, One-thouſand Marks.

Henry Bray, Eſcheater and Judge for the *Jews*, One-thouſand Marks. But Sir *Adam Stratton*, Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, was fined in Four and Thirty-thouſand Marks. Theſe Fines, as the Rate of Money goes now, amount to near Three-hundred thouſand Marks, a mighty Treaſure to be gotten out of the Hands of ſo few Men; which how they could amaſs in thoſe Days when Litigation and Law had not ſpread itſelf into thoſe infinite Wreathings of Contention, as ſince it hath, may ſeem ſtrange even to our greater-getting Times.

In the Parliament *Anno* 2 of *Edw.* III. held at *Nottingham*, that great Aſpirer *Mortimer* was accuſed, condemned, and ſent up to *London*, and drawn, and hanged at the common Gallows at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburn*.

In the fiftieth Year of the Reign of *Edw.* III. *Anno Dom.* 1376, was held a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, which was called the *Great Parliament*, where were divers Complaints exhibited by the Parliament, charging the King's Officers with Fraud, and humbly craving that the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlain, Dame *Alice Peirce* the King's Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be removed from Court; their Complaints and Deſires are ſo vehemently urged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter la Moore*, that all theſe Perſons were preſently put from Court.

By Parliaments, all the wholeſome fundamental Laws of this Land were and are eſtabliſhed and confirmed.

By Act of Parliament, the Pope's Power and Supremacy, and all Superſtition and Idolatry, are abrogated, aboliſhed, and baniſhed out of this Land.

By Act of Parliament, God's true Religion, Worſhip, and Service are maintained and eſtabliſhed.

By Act of Parliament, the two famous Univerſities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford* have many wholeſome and helpful Immunities.

By Parliament, one *Pierce Gaveſton*, a great Favourite and notable Miſleader of King *Edw.* II. was removed, baniſhed, and afterwards by the Lords executed. So were *Hugh Spencer* the Father, and *Hugh* the Son.

By Parliament, *Epſom* and *Dudley*, two notorious Pollers of the Common-wealth, by Exacting Penal Laws on the Subjects, were diſcovered, and afterwards executed.

By Parliament, the damnable Gun-powder Treaſon, hatched in Hell, is recorded to be had in eternal Infamy.

By Parliament, one Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, a modern Caterpiller and Poller of the Common-wealth, by Exacting upon Innholders, *&c.* was diſcovered, degraded from Knighthood, and baniſhed by Proclamation.

By Parliament, Sir *Francis Bacon*, made by King *James*, Baron *Verulam*, and Viſcount St. *Albans*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, very grievous to the Common-wealth, by Bribery, was diſcovered and diſplaced.

By Parliament, Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the *Prerogative Court*, pernicious to the Common-wealth in his Place, was diſcovered and diſplaced.

By Parliament, *Lionel Cranfield*, ſometime a Merchant of *London*, made by King *James* Earl

Earl of *Middlesex*, and Lord Treasurer of *England*, hurtful in his Place to the Common-wealth, was discovered and displaced.

By Parliament, one Sir *Francis Mitchel*, a jolly Justice of Peace for *Middlesex* in the Suburbs of *London*, another notable Canker-worm of the Common-wealth, by Corruption in exacting the Penal Laws upon poor Alehouse-keepers and Victuallers, *&c.* was discovered, degraded from Knighthood, and utterly disabled for being Justice of Peace.

By Parliament, *Spain*'s late Fraud was discovered, and by Act the two Treaties, with that perfidious Nation, for the Match of the Prince, our now gracious King, and Restitution of the *Palatinate*, were dissolved and annihilated: Both which had cost the King and his Subjects much Money, and much Blood. We may remember, that that sage Counsellor of State, Sir *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh*, and Lord Treasurer of *England*, was oftentimes heard to say, 'He knew not what an Act of Parliament might not do: Which sage Saying was approved by King *James*, and by his Majesty alledged in one of his published Speeches.

Which being so, now the Face of *Christendom* being at this present so torn and miserably macerated, and the Christian World distracted; the Gospel in all Places almost persecuted; both Church and Common-wealth, where the Gospel is professed in all Places beyond the Seas, lying a Bleeding, as we may say, and we our selves at Home, not without Fear and Danger: To conclude, what Good may we not hope and pray for, by this present and other ensuing Parliaments, the only Means to rectify and remedy Matters in Church and Common-wealth much amiss.

A Letter written to Dr. *Burnet* *, giving an Account of Cardinal *Pool*'s Secret Powers; from which it appears, that it was never intended to confirm the Alienation that was made of the Abbey-Lands. To which are added two Breves that Cardinal *Pool* brought over, and some other of his Letters, that were never before printed. *London*, printed for *Richard Baldwin*, in the *Old-Bailey* Corner, on *Ludgate-Hill*. 1685. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages.

SIR,

I Have fallen on a Register of Cardinal *Pool*'s Letters, which carries in it all the Characters of Sincerity possible. The Hand and the Abbreviatures shew that it was written at that Time. It contains not only the two Breves that I send along with this, but two other Breves, besides several Letters that passed between Cardinal *Pool* and the Bishop of *Arras*, that was afterwards the famous Cardinal *Granvel*; and others, that passed between *Pool* and the Cardinal *de Monte*, and Cardinal *Morone*, and *Soto*, the Emperor's Confessor. There are also in it some of *Pool*'s Letters to the Pope, and to *Philip*, then King of *England*; and of these I have sent you two, the one is to the Pope, and the other is to *Philip*: But with these I shall give you a large Account of some Reflexions that I have made on these Papers, since I hear that you desire I would suggest to you all that occurs to me upon this Occasion.

You have given the World a very particular Account, in your History of the Reformation, of the Difficulties that were made concerning the Church-lands, in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign; and of the Act of Parliament that passed in her Reign, confirming the Alienation of them, that was made by King *Henry the Eighth*; and of the Ratification of it made

* *Vide* the 306th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

by

by Cardinal *Pool*, who was the Pope's Legate, and was believed to have full Powers for all he did.

You have obſerved there were two Clauſes in that very Act of Parliament, that ſhew there was then a Deſign formed to recover all the Abbey-lands: The one is a Charge given by *Pool*, to all People that had the Goods of the Church in their Hands, to conſider the Judgments of God that fell on *Belſhazzar*, for Profaning the holy Veſſels, even though they had not been taken away by himſelf, but by his Father: Which ſet the Matter heavy upon the Conſciences of thoſe that enjoyed theſe Lands. The other was the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain*, for twenty Years; for, ſince that Statute was a Reſtraint upon the profuſe Endowments of Churches, the Suſpending it for ſo long a Time gave the Monks Scope and Elbow-room; and it is not unlikely, that, within the Time limited of twenty Years, the greateſt Part of the Work would have been done: for Superſtition works violently, eſpecially upon dying Men, when they can hold their Lands no longer themſelves; and ſo it is moſt likely, that, if a Prieſt came to tell them frightful Stories of Purgatory, and did aggravate the Heinouſneſs of Sacrilege, they would eaſily be wrought upon to take Care of themſelves in the next World, and leave their Children to their Shifts in this.

But I go now to give you ſome Account of the Papers that accompany this Letter.

The firſt is the Breve that contains the Powers that were given to Cardinal *Pool*, beſides thoſe general Powers or Bulls that were given him as Legate. This bears Date, the Eighth of *March*, 1554, and ſo probably it was an Enlargement of the Powers that were, as it is likely, granted him at his firſt Diſpatch from *Rome*; and therefore theſe carry in them, very probably, more Grace and Favour than was intended or allowed of at firſt: For *Pool* had left *Rome*, the *November* before this, and no Doubt he carried ſome Powers with him; but, upon the Remonſtrances that were made by the Emperor, as well as from *England*, it ſeems thoſe were procured that I now ſend you.

The moſt uneaſy Part of this whole Matter was that which related to the Church-lands; for it is delivered in the Canon Law, That the Pope cannot alienate Lands belonging to the Church, in any Manner, or for any Neceſſity whatſoever. And by the ſame Canon, which was decreed by Pope *Symmachus*, and a *Roman* Synod, about the Year 500, the Giver and Seller of Church-lands, as well as the Poſſeſſor, is to be degraded and anathematiſed; and any Church-man whatſoever may oppoſe ſuch Alienations, and, theſe notwithſtanding, may recover the Land ſo alienated.

The Pope, according to this Decree, could not confirm the Alienations that had been made by King *Henry*; and, if he did confirm them, the Act muſt be null in Law, and could be no Prejudice to the preſent Incumbent, or his Succeſſor, to claim his Right. Therefore, purſuant to this, the Powers given to *Pool* authoriſe him only to indemnify and diſcharge the Poſſeſſors of the Church-lands, for the Goods that they had embezzelled, and for the Rents that they had received; for it runs in theſe Words (which I have marked in the Breve itſelf, that you may readily turn to it) 'And to agree and tranſact with the Poſſeſſors 'of the Goods of the Church, for the Rents 'which they have unlawfully received, and 'for the moveable Goods which they have con'ſumed; and for Freeing and Diſcharging 'them for them, they reſtoring firſt (if that 'ſhall ſeem expedient to you) the Lands 'themſelves, that are unduly detained by them.

By theſe Powers it is plain, that the Pope only forgave what was paſt, but ſtood to the Right of the Church, as to the Reſtitution of the Lands themſelves: And that Clauſe (if that ſhall ſeem to you expedient) belongs only to the Order and Point of Time, ſo that the Diſcharging what was paſt might have been done by Cardinal *Pool*, before or after Reſtitution, as he pleaſed: But Reſtitution was ſtill to be made; and he had, by theſe Powers, no Authority to confirm the Alienations that had been made by King *Henry the Eighth*, for the Time to come.

But theſe Limitations were ſo diſtaſteful, both in *England* and the Emperor's Court, that *Pool* found it neceſſary to ſend his Secretary *Ormanet* to *Rome*, for new Inſtructions, and fuller Powers: He addreſſed him to Cardinal *de Monte* for Procuring them. *Ormanet* was diſpatched from *Rome*, in the End of *June*, 1554, and came to *Pool* in the End of *July*, as appears by the Date of *Pool*'s Letters to the Cardinal *de Monte*, which is the Twenty-ninth of *July*, upon the Receipt of the two Breves that *Ormanet* brought him, bearing Date the Twenty-ſixth and Twenty-eighth of *June*.

The

The firſt of theſe is only Matter of Form, impowering him to act as a Legate, either about the Emperor or the King of *France*, in as ample Manner as former Legates had done. The ſecond relates almoſt wholly to the Buſineſs of Abbey-lands; in it the Pope ſets forth, That whereas he had formerly impowered him to tranſact with the Poſſeſſors of Church-lands, and to diſcharge them for the Rents unjuſtly received, or the moveable Goods that were conſumed by them; yet, ſince the Perfecting of the Reduction of *England* would become ſo much the eaſier, as the Pope gave the greater Hopes of Gentleneſs and Favour in that Matter, he therefore, not being willing to let any worldly Reſpects lie in the Way of ſo great a Work, as was the Recovery of ſo many Souls, and in Imitation of the tender-hearted Father, that went out to meet the Prodigal Child, impowers the Cardinal, according to the Truſt and Confidence he had in him, to tranſact and agree with ſuch of the Poſſeſſors of them, by the Pope's Authority, for whom the Queen ſhould intercede, and to diſpenſe with them for Enjoying them in all Time coming. But the Salvo, that comes in the End, ſeems to take all this off; for he reſerves all to the Pope's Confirmation and good Pleaſure, in all thoſe Things that were of ſuch Importance, that the Holy See ought firſt to be conſulted by *Pool*.

By theſe Powers, all that *Pool* could do was only proviſional, and could not bind the Pope; ſo that he might diſclaim and diſown him, when he pleaſed: And the Agreements, that he made afterwards with the Parliament, were of no Force, till they were confirmed by the Pope. And as the Pope that ſucceeded *Julius the Third*, who granted theſe Breves (but died before the Execution of them was brought to him for his Confirmation) would never confirm them; ſo this whole Tranſaction was a publick Cheat put on the Nation, or at leaſt on the Poſſeſſors of the Abbey-lands; nor did it grant them either a good Title in Law (I mean the Canon Law) or give any Security to their Conſciences, in enjoying that which, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, is plain Sacrilege.

And therefore I cannot imagine how thoſe of that Church can quiet their Conſciences in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands. It is plain, by the Progreſs of this Matter, that the Court of *Rome* never intended to confirm the Abbey-lands; for all that was done by *Pool* was only an Artifice to ſtill Men's Fears, and to lay the Clamour, which the Apprehenſion of the Return of Popery was raiſing, that ſo it might once enter with the leſs Oppoſition; and then it could be eaſy to carry all leſſer Matters, when the great Point was once gained, as the Saddle goes into the Bargain for the Horſe. And indeed though a poor Heretick may hope for Mercy, notwithſtanding his Abbey-lands, becauſe it may be ſuppoſed to be a Sin of Ignorance in him, ſo that he poſſeſſes them with a good Conſcience, and is that which the Law calls *bonæ Fidei Poſſeſſor*; yet I ſee no Remedy for ſuch as go over to the Church of *Rome*; for, if there is a Sin in the World that is condemned by that Church, it is Sacrilege; ſo that they muſt be *malæ Fidei Poſſeſſores*, that continue in it, after the Enlightening which that Church offers them.

A Man may as well be a Papiſt, and not believe Tranſubſtantiation, nor worſhip the Hoſt, as be one, and ſtill enjoy his Church-lands. Nor can any Confeſſor, that underſtands the Principles of his own Religion, give Abſolution to ſuch as are involved in that Guilt, without Reſtitution: So that it is a vain Thing to talk of ſecuring Men in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands, if Popery ſhould ever prevail: For, though the Court of *Rome* would, to facilitate our Reconciliation, offer ſome deceitful Confirmation, as was done by Cardinal *Pool*, yet no Man, after he went over to that Church, could ſuffer himſelf to enjoy them: Every Fit of Sickneſs, or croſs Accident, would, by the Prieſts Rhetorick, look like the Beginning of the Curſe that fell on *Ananias* and *Saphira*. The terrible Imprecations, that are in the Endowments of Monaſteries, would be always tingling in his Ears; and, if Abſolution were denied, eſpecially in the Hour of Death, What Haſte would the poor Man make to get rid of that Weight which muſt ſink him into Hell? For, as he muſt not hope for ſuch good Quarters as Purgatory, ſo, if he happened to go thither, he would be ſo ſcurvily uſed by the poor Souls, which have been kept frying there, for Want of the Maſſes which would have been ſaid for them in the Abbey-Church, if he had not with-held the Rents, that he would find ſo little Difference between that and Hell, that even there he might be tempted to turn Proteſtant again, and believe that Purgatory was no better than Hell. If any will

object, that, at leaſt, Cardinal *Pool*'s Settlement ſecures them till it is annulled at *Rome*: To this, as theſe Papers will offer an Anſwer, ſince his Settlement was to have no Force, till it was confirmed by the Apoſtolick See, which was never yet done: So if our *Engliſh* Papiſts go into the Opinion that is now generally received and aſſerted in *France*, That the Pope's Power is limited by the Canons, and ſubject to the Church; then the Confirmation given by Cardinal *Pool* is null of itſelf, though it had been granted exactly according to the Letter of his Inſtructions: Since there has been, in ſeveral Ages of the Church, ſo vaſt a Number of Canons made againſt the Alienations of Church-lands, that, if they were all laid together, they would make a big Book; for, in the Ages of Superſtition, as the Church-men were mightily ſet on Inriching the Church; ſo they made ſure Work, and took ſpecial Care that nothing ſhould be torn from it, that was once conſecrated.

But I return from this Digreſſion, to give you ſome Account of the other Letters, that are in my Regiſter. There is a Letter of Cardinal *Morone*'s to *Pool*, of the Thirteenth of *July*, ſent alſo by *Ormanet*, in which he tells him: That though the Emperor had writ very extravagantly of him to the Pope; yet the Pope ſaid, He was ſure there was no juſt Occaſion given for it. And whereas the Emperor preſſed, that *Pool* might be recalled; the Pope continued firm in his Reſolution, not to conſent to ſo diſhonourable a Thing. He adds, That the Pope was not yet determined in the Buſineſs of the Church-Lands, but had ſpoken very often very variouſly concerning that Matter. After this, there follows another Breve of the Tenth of *July*, by which the Pope, upon the Conſideration of the Prince of *Spain*'s being married to the Queen of *England*, enlarges *Pool*'s Powers, and authoriſes him, as his Legate, to treat with him: But this is merely a Point of Form.

Pool ſent *Ormanet*, with an Account of this Diſpatch, that he had received from *Rome*, to the Biſhop of *Arras*, to be preſented by him to the Emperor: All the Anſwer that he could procure, as appears by *Ormanet*'s Letter, was, That the Emperor had no News from *England* ſince his Son's Marriage; but that he would ſend an Expreſs thither, to know the State of Affairs there; which he thought muſt be done firſt, before the Legate could go over. And of this the Biſhop of *Arras* writ to *Pool*, three Days after *Ormanet* came to him; his Letter bears Date from *Bouchain*, the Third of *Auguſt*, 1554.

By *Ormanet*'s Letter it appears, that theſe laſt Powers gave the Emperor full Satisfaction, and were not at all excepted againſt; only *Granvel* made ſome Difficulty in one Point, Whether the Settlement of the Church-Lands ſhould be granted as a Grace of the Pope's, by the Cardinal's Hands, immediately to the Poſſeſſors; or ſhould be granted to *Philip* and *Mary*, and by their Means to the Poſſeſſors? For it ſeems, it was thought a ſurer Way to engage the Crown, to maintain what was done, if the Pope were engaged for it to the Crown, with which he would not venture ſo eaſily to break, as he might perhaps do with the Poſſeſſors themſelves. But *Ormanet* gave him full Satisfaction in that Matter; for the Manner of Settling, it being referred wholly to the Cardinal by his Powers, he promiſed, that he would order it in the Way, that ſhould give the Nation moſt Content.

The Emperor's Delays became very uneaſy to Cardinal *Pool*, upon which he wrote to *Soto*, that was the Emperor's Confeſſor, the Twelfth of *Auguſt*, and deſired to ſpeak with him. By the Place, from whence the Cardinal dates moſt of theſe Letters, it appears he was then in a Monaſtery, called *Diligam*, near *Bruſſels*. I will not determine whether it may not be a Miſtake, that paſſes ſo generally, that no Wonder you have gone into it, that he was ſtopped at *Dilling*, a Town upon the *Danube*, by the Emperor's Orders, which might have been founded on his being lodged in this Monaſtery; for as he dates ſome of his Letters, from *Diligam*, and others from *Bruſſels*; ſo he dates one from *Diligam* Abbey, near *Bruſſels*: But this is not of any great Importance.

After ſome Letters of no great Conſequence there comes a long one writ by *Pool*, to the Pope, bearing Date from *Bruſſels*, *October* the Thirteenth, 1554, which I ſend you. In it, *Pool* gives him an Account of the firſt Conference, that he had with the Emperor, on this Subject. He told the Emperor, That though, as to Matters of Faith, the Pope could ſlacken Nothing, nor ſhew any Manner of Indulgence;

yet, in the Matter of the Church-Lands, in which the Pope was more at Liberty, he was reſolved to be gentle and indulgent: And, as to all the Pains and Cenſures, that the Poſſeſſors had incurred, and the Rents that they enjoyed, which were Points of great Importance, he was reſolved to uſe all Sorts of Indulgence, towards them, and to forgive all: Nor had he any Deſign of applying any Part of theſe Goods, either to himſelf, or to the Apoſtolick See, of which ſome were afraid; though he might pretend good Reaſon for it, conſidering the Loſſes that that See had ſuſtained, by Reaſon of the Schiſm; but he would give up all that to the Service of God, and the Good of the Kingdom. And ſuch Regard had the Pope to the King and Queen of *England*, that he was reſolved to grant, upon their Interceſſion, whatſoever ſhould be thought convenient, to ſuch Perſons, as they ſhould think worth gratifying, or were capable to aſſiſt in the Deſign of ſettling the Religion. To all this, the Emperor anſwered with a new Delay: He was expecting to hear very ſuddenly from *England*; and it was neceſſary to have that Difficulty concerning the Church Lands firſt cleared, which, by his own Experience in *Germany*, he concluded to be the chief Obſtacle. For, as to the Doctrine, he did not believe, they ſtuck at that; and he thought that they believed neither the one nor the other Perſuaſion, and therefore they would not be much concerned in ſuch Points: Yet, ſince theſe Goods were dedicated to God, it was not fit to grant every Thing to thoſe that held them; and therefore, though *Pool* had told him, how far his Powers extended, yet it was not fit, that it ſhould be generally known. But, as the Emperor was putting in new Delays, *Pool* preſſed him vehemently, that the Matter might, at laſt, be brought to a Concluſion. The Emperor told him, That great Regard muſt be had to the ill Diſpoſitions of the Parties concerned; ſince the Averſion, that the *Engliſh* Nation had to the very Name of Obedience to the Church, or to a red Hat, or a religious Habit, was ſo univerſal, that his Son had been adviſed to make the Friars, that came over from *Spain* with him, change their Habits: But, though he had done it, yet the Danger of Tumults deſerved to be well conſidered. *Pool* replied, That, if he muſt ſtay till all Impediments were removed, he muſt never go. Thoſe, that were concerned in the Abbey-Lands, would ſtill endeavour to obſtruct his Coming; ſince, by that Means, they ſtill continued in Poſſeſſion of all that they had got. In Concluſion, it was reſolved, that *Pool* ſhould ſtay for the Return of the Meſſenger, that the Emperor had ſent to *England*.

Two Things appear from this Letter; one is, That Cardinal *Pool* intended only to grant a general Diſcharge to all the Poſſeſſors of the Abbey-Lands, for what was paſt; but reſolved to give no Grants of them, for the future, except only to ſuch as ſhould merit it, and for whom the Queen ſhould intercede, and whoſe Zeal, in the Matter of Religion, might deſerve ſuch a Favour; and it ſeems, that even the Emperor intended no more, and that he thought that this ſhould be kept a great Secret. The other is, that the Averſion of the Nation to Popery was, at that Time, very high, ſo that Tumults were much apprehended; yet the whole Work was brought to a final Concluſion, within two Months, without any Oppoſition, or the leaſt Tumult: So inconſiderable are popular Diſcontents, in Oppoſition to a Government well eſtabliſhed, and ſupported by ſtrong Alliances.

Pool, being wearied out with theſe continued Delays, of which he ſaw no End, writ a long and high flown, or, according to the Stile of this Age, a canting Letter to *Philip*, then King of *England*: I ſend it likewiſe to you, becauſe you may perhaps deſire to ſee every Thing of *Pool*'s Writing, for whoſe Memory, you have expreſſed a very particular Eſteem: He tells the King, that he had been knocking at the Gates of that Court now a Year, though he was baniſhed his Country, becauſe he would not conſent, that ſhe, who now dwelt in it, ſhould be ſhut out of it; but, in his Perſon, it was St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor, or rather St. *Peter* himſelf, that knocked; and ſo he runs out in a long and laboured Allegory, taken from St. *Peter*'s being delivered out of Priſon, *Acts* xii, in the *Herodian* Perſecution; and coming to *Mary*'s Gate, where after his Voice was known, yet he was held long knocking, though *Mary* was not ſure, that it was he himſelf, *&c.* Upon all which he runs Diviſion, like a Man that had practiſed Eloquence long, and had allowed himſelf to fly high, with forced Rhetorick,

rick. And, to ſay the Truth, this Way of Enlarging upon an Allegory, from ſome Part of Scripture Story, had been ſo long uſed, and was ſo early practiſed, that I do not wonder much to ſee him dreſs this out with ſuch Pomp, and ſo many Words. I ſhall be very glad, if theſe Papers give you any conſiderable Light in thoſe Matters; in which you have laboured ſo ſucceſsfully: I am very ſincerely,

Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

W. C.

Cardinal POOL's *general Powers for Reconciling* England *to the Church of* Rome.

JULIUS PAPA III.

DIlecte Fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem: Dudum, cum cariſſima in Chriſto Filia noſtra Maria, Angliæ tunc Princeps Regina declarata fuiſſet, & ſperaretur Regnum Angliæ, quod ſæva Regnum Tyrannide ab unione Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ ſeparatum fuerat, ad ovile gregis Domini & ejuſdem Eccleſiæ unionem, ipſa Maria primum regnante, redire poſſe. Nos te, præſtanti Virtute, ſingulari Pietate, ac multa Doctrina inſignem, ad eandem Mariam Reginam & univerſum Angliæ Regnum, de Fratrum noſtrorum conſilio & unanimi conſenſu noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatum de latere deſtinavimus: Tibique inter cætera, omnes & ſingulos utriuſque ſexus, tam Laicas quam Eccleſiaſticas, ſeculares & quorumvis ordinum regulares, perſonas, in quibuſvis etiam ſacris ordinibus conſtitutas, cujuſcunque Status, Gradus, Conditionis, & Qualitatis exiſterent ac quacunque Eccleſiaſtica, etiam Epiſcopali, Archiepiſcopali, & Patriarchali; aut mundana, etiam Marchionali, Ducali; aut Regia dignitate præfulgerent, etiamſi Capitulum, Collegium, Univerſitas, ſeu Communitas forent, quarumcunque Hæreſium, aut novarum Sectarum, Profeſſores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel ſuſpectas, ac credentes, receptatores, & fautores eorum, etiamſi relapſæ fuiſſent, eorum errorem cognoſcentes, & de illis dolentes, ac ad Orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter poſtulantes, cognita in eis vera & non ficta, aut ſimulata, pœnitentia, ab omnibus & ſingulis per eos perpetratis (Hæreſes, & ab eadem fide Apoſtaſias, Blaſphemias, & alios quoſcunque errores, etiam ſub generali ſermone non venientes ſapientibus) peccatis, criminibus, exceſſibus, & delictis, nec non Excommunicationum, Suſpenſionum, Interdictorum, & aliis Eccleſiaſticis, ac Temporalibus etiam Corporis afflictivis, & capitalibus Sententiis, cenſuris & pœnis in eos præmiſſorum occaſione, a jure vel ab homine latis, vel promulgatis, etiam ſi in iis viginti & plus annis inforduiſſent, & eorum abſolutio nobis & divinæ ſedi, & per literas in die Cœnæ Domini legi conſuetas, reſervata exiſteret, in utroque, Conſcientiæ videlicet, & contentioſo foro, plenarie abſolvendi, & liberandi, ac aliorum Chriſti fidelium conſortio aggregandi: Nec non cum eis ſuper irregularitate per eos præmiſſorum occaſione, etiam quia ſic Ligati, miſſas & alia divina officia, etiam contra Ritus & Ceremonias ab Eccleſia catenus probatas, & uſitatas, celebraſſent, aut illis alias ſe miſcuiſſent, contracta; nec non bigama per eoſdem Eccleſiaſticos, Seculares, vel Regulares, vere aut ficte, ſeu aliis qualitercunque incurſa (etiamſi ex eo quod Clerici in ſacris conſtituti, cum viduis vel aliis corruptis, Matrimonum contraxiſſent prætenderetur) rejectis & expulſis tamen prius uxoribus, ſic de facto copulatis: Quodque bigamia & irregularitate ac aliis præmiſſis non obſtantibus, in eorum ordinibus, dummodo ante eorum lapſum in hæreſin hujuſmodi, rite & legitime promoti vel ordinati fuiſſent, etiam in altaris miniſterio miniſtrare, ac quæcunque & qualitercunque etiam curata beneficia, ſecularia vel regularia ut prius, dummodo ſuper eis alteri jus quæſitum non exiſteret, retinere: Et non promoti, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Preſbyteratus Ordines, ab eorum ordinariis, ſi digni & idonei reperti fuiſſent, promoveri, ac beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, ſi iis alias canonice conferentur, recipere & retinere valerent, diſpenſandi & indulgendi: Ac omnem infamiæ & inhabilitatis maculam ſive notam, ex præmiſſis quomodolibet inſurgentem, penitus & omnino abolendi; nec non ad priſtinos honores, dignitates, famam,

& patriam, & bona etiam confiſcata, in priſtinumque, & eum, in quo ante præmiſſa quomodolibet erant, ſtatum reſtituendi, reponendi, & reintegrandi : Ac eis, dummodo corde contriti, eorum errata & exceſſus alicui per eos eligendo Catholico confeſſori, ſacramentaliter confiterentur, ac pœnitentiam ſalutarem eis per ipſum confeſſorem propterea injungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam confeſſionem, abjurationem, renunciationem, & pœnitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio ſuo moderandi vel in totum remittendi. Nec non Communitates & Univerſitates, ac ſingulares perſonas quaſcunque, a quibuſvis illicitis pactionibus & conventionibus, per eos cum Dominis aberrantibus, ſeu in eorum favorem, quodomolibet initis, & iis præſtitis juramentis, & homagiis, illorumque omnium obſervatione, & ſi quem eatenus occaſione eorum incurriſſent perjurii reatum, id etiam abſolvendi, & juramenta ipſa relaxandi. Ac quoſcunque regulares & religioſos, etiam in hæreſin hujuſmodi ut præfertur *lapſos*, extra eorum regularia loca abſque dictæ ſedis licentia vagantes, ab Apoſtaſiæ reatu, & Excommunicationis aliiſque cenſuris ac pœnis Eccleſiaſticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta ſuorum ordinum inſtituta incurſis, pariter abſolvendi : ac cum eis ut alicui beneficio Eccleſiaſtico curato, de illud obtinentis conſenſu, etiam in habitu Clerici Secularis, habitum ſuum regularem ſub honeſta toga Preſbyteri Secularis deferendo, deſervire, & extra eadem regularia loca remanere libere & licite poſſint diſpenſandi. Nec non quibuſvis perſonis, etiam Eccleſiaſticis, ut quadrageſimalibus & aliis anni temporibus & diebus, quibus uſus ovorum & carnium eſt de jure prohibitus, butyro & caſeo & aliis lacticiniis, ac dictis ovis & carnibus, de utriuſque ſeu alterius, ſpiritualis, qui Catholicus exiſteret, Medici Conſilio, aut ſi locorum & perſonarum qualitate inſpecta, ex defectu piſcium aut olei, vel indiſpoſitione Perſonarum earundem, ſeu alia cauſa legitima id tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti & veſci poſſit, indulgendi & concedendi. Nec non per te in præteritis duntaxat caſibus, aliquos Clericos Seculares, tantum Preſbyteros, Diaconos, aut Subdiaconos, qui Matrimonium cum aliquibus Virginibus, vel corruptis Secularibus, etiam Mulieribus, de facto eatenus contraxiſſent, conſiderata aliqua ipſorum ſingulari qualitate, & cognita eorum vera ad Chriſti fidem converſione, ac aliis circumſtantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis, ex quibus aliis præſertim Clericis in Sacris Ordinibus hujuſmodi conſtitutis, quibus non licet Uxores habere, Scandalum omnino non generetur, citra tamen altaris ac alia Sacerdotum miniſteria, & titulos beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ac omni ipſorum ordinum exercitio ſublato, ab Excommunicationis ſententia, & aliis reatibus propterea incurſis, injuncta inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentia ſalutari, abſolvendi ac cum eis dummodo alter eorum ſuperſtes remaneret, de cætero ſine ſpe conjugii, quod inter ſe Matrimonium legitime contrahere, & in eo poſtquam contractum foret, licite remanere poſſent, prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, miſericorditer diſpenſandi : Ac quæcunque beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, tam ſecularia quam regularia, & quæ per Rectores Catholicos poſſidebantur, de ipſorum tamen Rectorum Catholicorum conſenſu, ſeu abſque eorum præjudicio, cuicunque alteri Beneficio Eccleſiaſtico ob ejus fructus tenuitatem, aut Hoſpitali jam erecto vel erigendo, ſeu ſtudio Univerſali vel Scholis Literariis, uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, aut fructus, reditus, & proventus, ſeu bonum beneficiorum dividendi, ſeparandi, & diſmembrandi, ac eorum ſic diviſorum, ſeparatorum, & diſmembratorum partem aliis beneficiis ſeu Hoſpitalibus, vel Studiis aut Scholis, ſeu piis uſibus ſimiliter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi & appropriandi. *Ac cum Poſſeſſoribus bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum (reſtitutis, prius ſi tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis) ſuper fructibus male perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus conſumptis, concordandi, & tranſigendi, ac eos deſuper liberandi & quietandi :* Ac quicquid concordiis & tranſactionibus hujuſmodi proveniret, in Eccleſia cujus eſſent bona, vel in Studiorum Univerſalium, aut Scholarum hujuſmodi, ſeu alios pios uſus convertendi, omniaque & ſingula alia, in quæ in præmiſſis & circa ea quomodolibet neceſſaria & opportuna eſſe cognoſceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, & exercendi : Nec non Catholicos locorum ordinarios, aut alias Perſonas Deum timentes, fide inſignes, & literarum ſcientia præditas, ac gravitate morum conſpicuas, & ætate veneranda, de quarum probitate & circumſpectione ac charitatis Zelo plena Fiducia conſpici poſſet, ad præmiſſa omnia, cum ſimili vel limitata poteſtate (abſolutione & diſpenſatione Clericorum circa connubia, ac unione beneficiorum, ſeu eorum

rum fructuum & bonorum ſeparatione, & applicatione, ac concordia cum poſſeſſoribus bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum & eorum liberatorum, duntaxat exceptis) ſubſtituendi & ſubdelegandi: Ac diverſas alias facultates per diverſas alias noſtras tam ſub plumbo quam in forma Brevis confectas literas, conceſſimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Verum cum tu ad partes Flandriæ ex quibus breviſſima ad Regnum transfretatio exiſtit, te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus nobis notis cauſis inibi aliquandiu ſubſiſtere habeas, ac a nonnullis, nimium forſan ſcrupuloſis, hæſitetur, an tu in partibus hujuſmodi ſubſiſtens, prædictis ac aliis tibi conceſſis facultatibus uti ac in eodem Regno locorum ordinarios, aut alias Perſonas ut præmittitur qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te juxta dictarum literarum continentiam pro tempore conceſſis utantur, alias juxta earundem literarum tenorem ſubſtituere & delegare poſſis: Nos cauſam tuæ ſubſiſtentiæ in eiſdem partibus approbantes, & ſingularum literarum prædictarum tenores, præſentibus pro ſufficienter expreſſis, ac de verbo ad verbum inſertis, habentes, circumſpectioni tuæ quod quamdiu in eiſdem partibus de licentia noſtra morum traxeris, Legatione tua prædicta durante, etiam extra ipſum Regnum exiſtens, omnibus & ſingulis prædictis & quibuſvis aliis tibi conceſſis & quæ per præſentes tibi conceduntur, facultatibus, etiam erga quoſcunque, Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, ac Abbates, alioſque, Eccleſiarum tam ſecularium quam quorumvis ordinum regularium, nec non Monaſteriorum & aliorum regularium locorum Prælatos, non ſecus ac erga alios inferiores Clericos, uti poſſis, necnon erga alias Perſonas in ſingulis Literis prædictis quovis modo nominatas, ad te pro tempore recurrentes vel mittentes, etiam circa ordines, quos nunquam aut male ſuſceperunt, & munus conſecrationis quod iis ab aliis Epiſcopis vel Archiepiſcopis etiam Hæreticis & Schiſmaticis, aut alias minus rite & non ſervata forma Eccleſiæ conſueta impenſum fuit, etiam ſi ordines & munus hujuſmodi etiam circa altaris miniſterium temere executi ſint, per te ipſum vel alios, ad id a te pro tempore deputatos, libere uti, ac in eodem Regno tot quot tibi videbuntur locorum ordinarios vel alias Perſonas, ut præmittitur qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te, eis pro tempore conceſſis (citra tamen eas quæ ſolum tibi ut præfertur conceſſæ exiſtunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujuſmodi ſubſiſtente, libere utantur; & eas exerceant & exequantur alias, juxta ipſarum Literarum continentiam ac tenorem ſubſtituere & ſubdelegare. Nec non de Perſonis quorumcunque Epiſcoporum vel Archiepiſcoporum, qui Metropolitanam aut alias Cathedrales Eccleſias de manu Laicorum etiam Schiſmaticorum, & præſertim qui de Henrici Regis & Edvardi ejus Nati receperunt, & eorum regimini & adminiſtrationi ſe ingeſſerunt, & eorum fructus reditus & proventus etiam longiſſimo tempore, tanquam veri Archiepiſcopi aut Epiſcopi temere & de facto uſurpando, etiamſi in hæreſin, ut præfertur, inciderint, ſeu antea hæretici fuerint, poſtquam per te unitati ſanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ reſtituti exſtiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos eſſe cenſueris, ſi tibi alias digni & idonei videbuntur, eiſdem Metropolitanis & aliis Cathedralibus Eccleſiis denuo, nec non quibuſvis aliis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Eccleſiis per obitum vel privationem illarum Præſulum, ſeu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de Perſonis idoneis pro quibus ipſa Maria Regina, juxta conſuetudines ipſius Regni, tibi ſupplicaverit authoritate noſtra providere, ipſaſque Perſonas eiſdem Eccleſiis in Epiſcopos aut Archiepiſcopos præficere: Ac cum iis qui Eccleſias Cathedrales & Metropolitanas, de manu Laicorum etiam Schiſmaticorum ut præfertur, receperunt, quod eiſdem ſeu aliis ad quas eas alias rite transferri contigerit, Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Eccleſiis, in Epiſcopos vel Archiepiſcopos præeſſe ipſaſque Eccleſias in ſpiritualibus & temporalibus regere & gubernare, ac munere conſecrationis eis hactenus impenſo uti, vel ſi illud eis nondum impenſum extiterit, ab Epiſcopis vel Archiepiſcopis Catholicis per te nominandis ſuſcipere libere & licite poſſint. Nec non cum quibuſvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore abſolutis & rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus & exceſſibus præteritis non obſtantibus, quibuſvis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis Eccleſiiis in Epiſcopos & Archiepiſcopos præfici & præeſſe, illaſque in eiſdem ſpiritualibus & temporalibus regere & gubernare: ac ad quoſcunque etiam Sacros & Preſbyteratus Ordines promovere, & in illis aut per eos jam licet minus rite ſuſceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris miniſterio miniſtrare nec non munus conſecrationis ſuſcipere, & illo uti libere & licite valeant; diſpenſare etiam libere & licite poſſis, plenam & liberam Apoſtolicam Autoritatem per præſentes concedimus facultatem & poteſtatem: non obſtan-

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tibus Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in ſingulis literis præteritis voluimus non obſtare, cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcunque.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, ſub Annulo Piſcatoris, die 8 *Martii* 1554. *Pontificatus noſtri anno Quinto.*

A ſecond Breve containing more ſpecial Powers relating to the Abbey-Lands. Julius P P. III.

Dilecte fili noſter Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus menſibus oblata nobis ſpe per Dei Miſericordiam, & chariſſimæ in Chriſto Filiæ noſtræ Mariæ Angliæ Reginæ, ſummam Religionem, & Pietatem, nobiliſſimi illius Angliæ Regni, quod jamdiu quorundam Impietate, a reliquo Catholicæ Eccleſiæ corpore avulſum fuit, ad ejuſdem Catholicæ & Univerſalis Eccleſiæ unionem, extra quam nemini ſalus eſſe poteſt, reducendi; te ad præfatam Mariam Reginam, atque univerſum illud Regnum, noſtrum & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatum de latere, tanquam Pacis & Concordiæ Angelum, de venerabilium Fratrum noſtrorum, Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalium conſilio atque unanimi aſſenſu, deſtinavimus, illiſque facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti negotii confectionem neceſſarias putavimus eſſe, ſeu quomodolibet opportunas. Atque inter alia circumſpectioni tuæ, ut cum bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum poſſeſſoribus, ſuper fructibus male perceptis, & bonis mobilibus conſumptis concordare & tranſigere, ac eos deſuper liberare, & quietare, ubi expedire poſſet, Autoritatem conceſſimus & facultatem, prout in noſtris deſuper confectis Literis plenius continetur: Cum autem ex iis Principiis, quæ ejuſdem Mariæ ſedulitate & diligentia, rectaque & conſtante in Deum Mente, tuo & in ea re cooperante ſtudio atque conſilio præfatum reductionis opus in prædicto Regno uſque ad hanc diem habet ejuſdemque præclari operis perfectio indies magis ſperetur; eoque faciliores progreſſus habitura res eſſe dignoſcatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum poſſeſſionibus in illa ſuperiorum temporum confuſione, per illius Provinciæ homines occupatis, Apoſtolicæ benignitatis & Indulgentiæ ſpem oſtenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectiſſimæ nobis in Chriſto Nationis recuperationem, & tot animarum pretioſo Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri ſanguini redemptarum, ſalutem, ullis terrenarum rerum reſpectibus impediri, more Pii Patris, in noſtrorum & Sanctæ Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Filiorum, poſt longum periculoſæ peregrinationis tempus, ad nos reſpectantium & redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes; tibi de cujus præſtanti Virtute, ſingulari Pietate, Doctrina, Sapientia ac in rebus gerendis Prudentia, & Dexteritate, plenam in Domino Fiduciam habemus, cum quibuſcunque bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum, tam mobilium quam immobilium, in præfato Regno poſſeſſoribus, ſeu detentoribus, pro quibus ipſa ſereniſſima Regina Maria interceſſerit, de bonis per eos indebite detentis, arbitrio tuo, Autoritate noſtra, tractandi, concordandi, tranſigendi, componendi, & cum eis ut præfata bona ſine ullo ſcrupulo in poſterum retinere poſſint, diſpenſandi, omniaque & ſingula alia, quæ in his, & circa ea, quomodolibet neceſſaria & opportuna fuerint, concludendi & faciendi: 'Salvo 'tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum mag-'nitudinem & gravitatem, hæc ſancta Sedes me-'rito tibi videretur conſulenda, noſtro & præ-'fatæ Sedis beneplacito & confirmatione,' plenam & liberam Apoſtolicam Autoritate tenore præſentium & ex certa ſcientia concedimus facultatem. Non obſtantibus literis, felicis recordationis Pauli P P. II. prædeceſſoris noſtri, de non alienandis bonis Eccleſiaſticis, niſi certa forma ſervata, & aliis quibuſvis Apoſtolicis ac in Provincialibus & Synodalibus Conciliis Edictis generalibus vel ſpecialibus Conſtitutionibus, & Ordinationibus: nec non quarumvis Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum ac aliorum regularium, & piorum locorum, juramento, confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis, fundationibus, Statutis & Conſuetudinibus, illorum tenores pro ſufficienter expreſſis habentes contrariis quibuſcunque.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, ſub Annulo Piſcatoris die xxviii *Junii* 1554. *Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.*

A Letter of Cardinal Pool's *to the Pope, giving an Account of a Conference that he had with* Charles the Fifth, *concerning the Church-Lands.*

Beatiſſime Pater,

E Molto tempo che non havendo coſa d'importanza non ho ſcritto a V. Santita per non moleſtarla facendole col mezo del mio Agente intendere tutto quello che occurreva; e benche hora io non habbia da dirle quonto deſiderarei, nondimeno mi e parſo conveniente ſcriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuta con Monſieur d'Arras & poi di quel che ho negotiato con ſua Majeſta. Monſieur d'Arras alli ix che ſu il giorno iſteſſo che ſua Majeſta torno, eſſendomi venuto a viſitare, trovandoſi all hora meco Mons. Il Nuncio, mi diſſe, che ſua Majeſta havea veduta la lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l'auditor mio, e che ella era beniſſimo diſpoſta verſo queſto negocio della Religione in Inghilterra come ſi conveniva, e ſi poteva credere per la ſua Pietate, & anche per l'intereſſe, che ne ſegueria de quel Regno & de queſti Paeſi per la congiunctione che e tra loro. Si che quanto a queſta parte di diſponer ſua Majeſta non accader far altro. Ma che era ben neceſſario, che io veniſſi a particolari, & a trattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: ſopra che ſua Maeſta mi udiria molto volentieri, Jo riſpoſi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono e pronto animo di ſua Maeſta, e che io ni era ſtato ſempre perſuaſiſſimo. Ma che quanto pertineva all Officio mio per eſſer io ſtato mandato da V. Santita per far intender l'ottima ſua mente verto la ſalute di quello Regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorita ſua poteſſer venire; a me non toccava far altro, che procurar d'haver l'adito: E che ad eſſe Principi, quali ſono ſul fatto, & hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva, far intendere gli impedimenti, che ſuſſero in contrario: e tornando pur eſſo Monſieur d'Arras che biſognava che io deſcendeſſi alli particolari, io replicai che in queſta cauſa non conveniva in modo alcuno che ſi procedeſſe come ſi era fatto inquella della pace nella quale ciaſcuna delle parti ſtava ſopra di ſe non volendoſi ſcoprire, ma ſolo cercando di ſcoprirne, l'altra, per riſpetto de gli intereſſe particolari; percio che queſta e una cauſa commune e nella quale V. Santita e ſua Maeſta Ceſarea, & quei Principi hanno il medeſimo fine, & noi ancora come miniſtri. Confermo cio eſſer vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia cornava a dire, che io doveſſi penſare e raggionar in particolare, con ſua Maeſta di queſt impedimenti. E Mons il Nuncio al hora voltatoſi a me diſſe, che in effetto era biſogno venire a queſti particolari: e coſi al fine reſtammo che ogniuno ci penſſaſſe ſopra.

Alli xi poi nell andar da S. Maeſta Monſieur d'Arras torna a replicarmi il medeſimo; nell audientia di S. Maeſta nella quale ſi trovo preſente Mons. Il Nuncio, e Monſieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con ſua Maeſta che havendo liberato queſti ſuoi paeſi dalle moleſtie delle guerre, doppo tanti travagli, e d'animo e di corpo fuſſe tornato piu gagliarda e meglio diſpoſita che quando ſi parti, in che ſi videva che il Signior Iddio haveva preſervata & preſervava a maggior coſe in honor di S. Divina Maeſta a beneficio commune. Sua Maeſta confermo ſenterſi aſſai bene, e diſſe dele indiſpoſitione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre coſe in ſimil propoſito: entrai poi a dire della lettera che io haveva ſcritta a S. Maeſta della reſpoſta che Monſieur d'Arras mi haveva fatta, che era ſtata di rimeterſi al breve. Retorno di ſua Maeſta qui, e diſſi che ſe haveſſi a trattar queſto negocio con altro Principe, della Pieta del quale non fuſſi tanto perſuaſo, quanto io ſono certo di quella di ſua Maeſta, dimoſtrata da lei con tanto ſegni, e nella vita ſua privata e nell attioni publiche, cercaci de eſſortarlo per tante vie quante ſi potria ad abbracciar e favorir queſta coſi ſancta cauſa: Ma che non eſſendo biſogno fare queſto con S. Maeſta, e tanto piu per eſſer in queſta cauſa con honore d'Iddio, congionto anco il beneficio di S. Maeſta et del Sereniſſimo Re ſuo figlivolo, ſolo aſpettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che ſuſſero in queſto negocio, i quali per quanto io poteva conſiderere ſono di duo ſorti: Uno pertinente alla Doctrina Catoilica, nella quale non poteva eſſer in alcun modo indulgente, per eſſer coſa pertinente alla fide ne poteva ſanaraltrimente queſto male, che con introdure de nuovo la buona Doctrina. L'altro impedimento eſſendo de i beni, gli uſurpatori di quali, ſapendo la ſeverita delle leggi Eccleſiaſtiche, temevano per queſta cauſa di ritornar all Obedienza della chieſa, deſſe che

in

in queſta parte V. Santita poteva, et era diſpoſta ad uſur la ſua benignita et indulgenza: e primo quanto alle cenſure e pene incorſe et alla reſtitutione de frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. Santita haveva animo nell una nell altra di queſto due coſe d'uſar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamente il tutto: ne penſava d'applicar parte alcuna de detti beni a ſe, ne alla ſede Apoſtolica, come multi temevano: benche di raggione lo poteſſe fare, per le ingiurie et damni recevuti: ma che voleva convertir il tutto in ſevitio d'Iddio et a beneficio del Regno ſeuza haver pur una minima conſideratione del ſuo privato intereſſe: et confidandoſi nella Pieta di quei Principi, voleva far loro queſt' honore di far per mezo del ſuo legato, quelle gratie che pareſſero convenienti ſecondo la propoſta et interceſſione delle loro Maeſta, a quelle perſone che eſſe giudicaſſero degne d'eſſere gratificate, et atte ad ajutar la cauſa della Religione. Sua Maeſta reſpondendo ringratio prima molto V. Santita moſtrando di conoſcere la ſua bona Mente, et con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto aſſai: poi diſſe che per gli impedimenti et occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a queſto negocio come ſaria ſtato il ſuo deſiderio: ma che hora gli attenderia: et che haveva gia ſcritto e mandato in Inghilterra, per intender meglio in queſta parte il ſtato delle coſa, et aſpettava in breve riſpoſta: et che biſognava ben conſiderare findoue ſi poteſſe andare nel rimover queſto impedimento d'beni; il quali eſſo per leſperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conoſceva eſſer il principale. Perchioche quanto alla Doctrina, diſſe, che poco ſe ne curavano queſto tali, non credendo ne all'una ne all altra via: diſſe anche che eſſendo ſtati queſti beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere coſi ogni coſa, a quelli che li tenevano: e che ſe bene a lei io diceſſi findove s'eſtendeſſe la mia faculta, non pero ſi haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri: e che ſara biſogno veder il breve della faculta per ampliarle dove fuſſe neceſſario: alche io riſpoſi haverlo gia fatto vedere a Monſieur d'Arras, il quale non diſſe altra: e dubitando io che queſta non fuſſe via di maggior dilatione diſſi a S. Maeſta, che devendoſi come io intendeva e come S. Maeſta doveva ſaper meglio, fare in breve il Parlamento, era d'avertire grandimente, che non ſi faceſſe ſenza concluſione nella cauſa dell obedienza della chieſa: che quando altrimente ſi faceſſe, ſarebbe d'un grandiſſimo ſcandalo a tutto il Mondo, e danno alla detta cauſa: E che ſe bene la Regina a fare un coſſi grande atto, haveva giudicato haver biſogno della congiuntione del Re ſuo Marito, come che non eſſe 'bonam mulierem eſſe ſolam, ſe hora che Iddio ha proſperato e condotto al fine queſta ſanta congiuntione, ſi differiſſe piu l'eſſecutione di queſto effetto, che deve eſſar il Principio et il Fundamento di tutte le loro Regie attioni, non reſtarebbe via di ſatisfar a Dio, ne a gli huomini: e dicendo S. Maeſta che biſognava anco haver grand reſpetto alla mala diſpoſitione de gli intereſſati e quanto univerſalmente ſia arbborito queſto nome d'obedienza della chieſa, e queſto cappel roſſo, e l'habito ancora de'i Religioſi, voltatoſi all hora a Mons. Nuncio e in tel propoſito parlando de fratri condotti di Spagnia dal Re ſuo figlivolo che fu conſegliato far loro mutar l'habito, ſe bene cio non ſi feci, ne ſi conveniva fare: condire anco di quanto importanza fuſſe il tumulto del popolo, et in tal propoſito toccando anche de i mali officii che non ceſſavano di fare per ogni via i nemici eſterni. Io riſpoſi che volendo aſpettare che tutti da ſe ſi diſponeſſero, e che ceſſaſſe ogni impedimento, ſaria un non venir mai a fine, perchioche, gli intereſſati maſſimamente, altro non vorriano ſe non che ſi continuaſſe nel preſente ſtato non tenere et godere eſſe, tutto quello che hanno. In fine fu concluſo che ſi aſpettaſſe la riposta d'Inghilterra, col ritorno del Secretario Eras, che ſaria fra pochi di, e che in queſto mezzo io penſſaſſi e conferiſſi di quelle coſe con Monſieur d'Arras. V. Beatitudine puo con la ſua prudenza vedere in che ſtato ſi trovi queſta cauſa; e come ſara neceſſario, che qui ſi trattino le difficulta ſopra queſta beni; e per non tediarla con maggior lunghezza quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle V. Santita ſi degnira intendere dall Agente mio, alla quale con la debita reverenza bacio i ſantiſſimi piedi preguando il Sig. Iddio che la conſervi longamente a ſervitio della ſua Chieſa. Di Bruxelles alli 13 d'October 1554.

Reginaldus Card. Polus.

A Letter

A Letter of Cardinal Pool's *to* Philip the Second, *complaining of the Delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy Admittance into* England.

Sereniſſime Rex,

JAM annus eſt cum iſtius regiæ domus fores pulſare cœpi, nedum quiſquam eas mihi aperuit. Tu vero, Rex, ſi quæras, ut ſolent qui ſuas fores pulſare audiunt, quiſnam pulſet? atque ego hoc tantum reſpondeam me eſſe qui ne meo aſſenſu regia iſta domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum ſimul eam nunc tenet, paſſus ſum me domo & Patria expelli, & exilium viginti annorum hac de cauſa pertuli. An ſi hoc dicam non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar cui & in Patriam reditus & ad vos aditus detur? At ego nec meo nomine nec privatam Perſonam gerens pulſo, aut quidquam poſtulo, ſed ejus nomine ejuſque Perſonam referens, qui ſummi Regis & Paſtoris hominum in Terris vicem gerit. Hic eſt Petri Succeſſor: atque adeo ut non minus vere dicam, ipſe Petrus, cujus Authoritas & Poteſtas cum antea in iſto Regno maxime vigeret ac floreret, poſtquam non paſſa eſt jus Regiæ domus ei adimi, quæ nunc eam poſſidet, ex eo per ſummam injuriam eſt ejecta. Is Regias per me fores jampridem pulſat & tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulſantis ſonum an vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus ſunt? audierunt ſane, & quidem non minore cum admiratione divinæ Potentiæ & Benignitatis erga Eccleſiam, quam olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cum, ut eſt in Actis Apoſtolorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciaſſet Petrum quem Rex in vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, & pro quo Eccleſia aſſidue precabatur, e carcere liberatum ante oſtium pulſantem ſtare. Ut enim hoc ei cæteriſque qui cum illa erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui norunt eos qui Petri Authoritatem Poteſtatemque in iſto Regno retinendam eſſe contendebant, in vincula Herodiano Imperio conjectos, & crudeliſſime interfectos fuiſſe, quin etiam Succeſſorum Petri nomina e libris omnibus ſublata in quibus precationes Eccleſiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac ſalute continebantur, qui inquam hæc norunt, facta ad omnem memoriam Petri Autoritatis a Chriſto traditæ penitus ex animis hominum delendam, qui fieri poteſt ut non maxime admirentur hoc divinæ Benignitatis & Potentiæ pignus ac teſtimonium, Petrum nunc quaſi iterum e carcere Herodis liberatum, ad Regiæ domus fores unde hæc omnia iniquiſſima in eum edicta emanarunt, pulſantem ſtare, & cum hoc maxime mirandum eſt, tum illud non minus mirum, a Maria Regina domum hanc teneri: ſed cur illa tamdiu fores aperire diſtulit. De ancilla quidem illud Mariæ ſcriptum eſt, eam Petri voce audita præmimio gaudio ſuæ quaſi oblitam, de aperiendo non cogitaſſe: rem prius, ut Mariæ aliiſque qui cum ea erant nunciaret, accurriſſe, qui cum primo an ita eſſet dubitaſſent, mox cum Petrus pulſare pergeret aperierunt, neque illum domo recipere ſunt veriti, etſi maximam timendi cauſam habebant, Herode ipſo vivo & regnante. Hic vero quid dicam de Maria Regina, gaudeo ne eam an timore eſſe prohibitam quominus aperuerit; præſertim cum ipſa Petri vocem audierit, cum certo ſciat eum ad domus ſuæ januam jamdiu pulſantem ſtare; cum admirabilem Dei in hac re potentiam agnoſcat, qui non per Angelum, ut tunc Petrum e carcere Herodis, ſed ſua manu eduxit, dejecta porta ferrea quæ viam ad Regiam ejus domum intercludebat: ſcio equidem illam gaudere, ſcio etiam vero timere; neque enim niſi timeret tam diu diſtuliſſet. Verum ſi Petri liberatione gaudet, ſi rei miraculum agnoſcit, quid impedimento fuit quo minus ei ad januam lætabunda occurrerit, eumque meritas Deo gratias agens, introduxerit, Herode præſertim mortuo, omnique ejus imperio ad eam delato? An fortaſſis divina Providentia quæ te dilectum Petri Filium & ei virum deſtinarat, illam timore aliquo tantiſper effici permiſit, dum veniſſes, ut utriuſque ad rem tam præclaram & ſalutarem agendam, opera atque officium conjungeretur: equidem ſic antea hunc Mariæ Reginæ conjugis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam ſcripſi, ſum interpretatus: ac propterea ad te nunc, virum ejus, Principem religioſiſſimum, ſcribo, & abs te ipſius Petri Chriſti Vicarii nomine poſtulo, ut illi omnes timoris cauſas prorſus excutias: habes vero expeditiſſimam excutiendi rationem, ſi conſideres eique proponas, quam indignum ſit ſi dum te illa corporis ſui ſponſum accerſerit, cum non deeſſent quæ timenda viderentur, tamen omnem timorem ſola vicerit,

vicerit, nunc te tanto Principi illi conjuncto, timore prohiberi quominus aditum ad ſe aperiat ſponſæ animæ ſuæ, mecum una & cum Petro tamdiu ad fores expectanti; qui præſertim tot & tam miris modis cuſtodem ejus ſe, defenſoremque eſſe declaraverit. Noli enim, Rex, putare, me, aut ſolum ad veſtram Regiam domum, aut uno tantum Petro comitatum veniſſe; cujus rei hoc quidem tibi certum argumentum eſſe poteſt, quod tamdiu perſevero pulſans: nam ſive ego ſolus veniſſem, ſolus jampridem abiiſſem, querens & expoſtulans quæ aliis omnibus pateant, mihi uni occluſas eſſe fores; ſive una mecum ſolus Petrus, jampridem is quoque diſceſſiſſet, meque ſecum abduxiſſet, pulvere pedum excuſſo, quod ei præceptum fuit a Domino ut faceret quotieſcunque ejus nomine aliquo accedens non admitteretur. Cum vero nihil ego, quod ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perſeverem, cum Petrus pulſare non deſiſtat, utrumque ſcito ab ipſo Chriſto retineri, ut ſibi ſponſo animæ utriuſque veſtrum aditus ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam verebor dicere, Chriſtum in hac Legatione, qua pro ejus Vicario fungor, mecum adeſſe: quamdiu quidem mihi conſcius ero me nihil meum, me non veſtra, ſed vos ipſos toto animo omnique ſtudio quærere. Tu vero, Princeps Catholice, cui nunc divina Providentia & Benignitate additum eſt alterum hoc præclarum Fidei Defenſoris cognomen, quo Reges Angliæ Apoſtolica Petri Autoritate ſunt aucti atque ornati, tecum nunc conſidera quam id tuæ Pietati conveniat, cum omnibus omnium Principum ad te Legatis aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipſo cognomine adepto gratularentur, ſolum Succeſſoris Petri qui hoc dedit, Legatum, qui propterea miſſus eſt ut te in ſolio Regni divinâ ſummi omnium Regis quam affert pace & gratia, confirmet, non admitti? An ſi quidquam hic ad timorem proponitur, quominus eum admittis non multo magis Chriſti hac in re metuenda eſſet offenſio, quod ejus Legatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores expectet, cum cæteri homines qui multo poſt venerunt, nulla interpoſita mora, introducti auditique ſint & honorifice dimiſſi. At hic conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, ſed idcirco conqueror, ne juſtam tuæ Majeſtati cauſam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam ſane præberem, ſi cum periculi, quod ex hac cunctatione admittendi Legati a Chriſto Vicario miſſi, nobis veſtroque Regno impendet, Reginam ſæpe admonuerim, nihil de ea re ad Majeſtatem tuam ſcriberem; quod Officium cum tibi a me pro eo quo fungor munere maxime debeatur, id me ſatis perſoluturum eſſe arbitror, ſi his *Literis oſtendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud vere dici poteſt,* ‘ *diſtuliſti Chriſtum tuum.*’ *Is autem Chriſtum differt, qui* Legatum miſſum ab ejus Vicario, ad requirendam Obedientiam Eccleſiæ, ipſi Chriſto debitam, ex quo noſtra omnium pendet Salus, non ſtatim admittit. Differs vero, tu Princeps, ſi cum accerſitus fueris ut pro munere Regio viam ad hanc divinam Obedientiam in tuo iſto Regno reſtituendam munias, ipſe alia agas.

The

The *Papiſts* bloody Oath of Secrecy, and Litany of Interceſſion, for the Carrying on of this preſent Plot. With the Manner of taking the Oath upon the entering into any grand Conſpiracy againſt the *Proteſtants*. As it was taken in the Chapel belonging to *Barmbow-Hall*, the Reſidence of Sir *Thomas Gaſcoigne*, from *William Ruſhton*, a Popiſh Prieſt, by me *Robert Bolron*. Together, with ſome further Informations, relating to the Plot, and Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*.

Jovis 16*to Die Decembris*, 1680.

Ordered, That Mr. Robert Bolron *have Liberty from this Houſe, to print and publiſh the ſaid Oath of Secrecy and Litany.*

William Goldsbrough,
Cler. Dom. Com.

London, Printed for *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers*-Hall, 1680.
Folio, containing Twenty-four Pages.

AFTER the ancient Piety, Zeal, and Strictneſs of Life, exemplary in the Primitive Chriſtians, had in a Meaſure put the Dominion of this World, and the Keys of the next, into the Hands of the Clergy, the Care of gaining Souls became, in a few Centuries, obſoleted; the former illuſtrious Times of Virtue vaniſhed, and a gloomy Night of Ignorance ſoon overſpread the Univerſe. The Clergy (the Authors of this Unhappineſs) finding their Religion and Greatneſs muſt be maintained by Power and Policy, and conſcious to themſelves, that their Lives and Doctrine held no good Correſpondence with the Purity and Poverty of their Predeceſſors, took a Courſe, becauſe they had little left of their own, to trade with the Piety of the Ages paſt, and prop up their own Ignorance and Sloth by that Means. To Work they go: They make Gods of the deceaſed Propagators of Chriſtianity, and inſhrine their rotten Bones, or thoſe of others, in Caſes of Gold and Silver. The next Thing was to perſuade or compel the People to adore them. In this Erecting a new Order of Demi-gods, they imitated the Pagans in their Wickedneſs, but not in their Virtue or Valour, and clapped the Feſtivals of theſe new Pagods into the Calendar, in the Places of the old Holidays of *Saturn*, *Minerva*, and *Bacchus*, &c. This Project anſwered Expectation, they grew greater, but not better; the Miracles, pretendedly wrought at thoſe Shrines, and Multitude of Ceremonies, dazzled the Vulgar, ſupported the Reputation, and ſupplied the Defect of the Clergy; the glorious Lives, Wonders, and Martyrdoms of the Ancients were made into Mantles to hide the Ignorance, Luſt, and Avarice of worthleſs Impoſtors; and Laws every-where were made to reſtrain Men from Peeping into the Ark of the Church. And, to ſtrip Princes privily of their Power, and to draw their Subjects to other Dependencies, numerous Orders and Societies are conjured

up (as though the Laity had not groaned enough under the Seculars) to erect a Kingdom in every Kingdom for the Pope, and to ſupply him, in every Corner, with a Villain Spiritual, to ſtab or poiſon what Potentates he pleaſes.

Things thus jogged on till the Days of our Grandfathers, when, in *England*, the Pope and his Clergy were ſecluded, and it was made Death for any *Romiſh* Prieſt to enter the Realm; yet, ſince, they have not only come hither, but, by Help of Factors and Proſelytes, acquired great Eſtates in theſe Kingdoms, and arrived to a Height of no leſs Confidence, than of ruling the Roſt, deſtroying us all, and introducing Popery. This is as clear as Noon-day, by many Teſtimonies; among which, this Oath following is a moſt notorious Evidence, on which I ſhall make ſome Remarks.

The Oath of Secrecy, given by William Ruſhton *to me* Robert Bolron, *the Second of* February, 1676-7.

✝ *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Amen.

'I *Robert Bolron*, being in the Preſence of 'Almighty God, the Bleſſed *Mary* ever 'Virgin, the bleſſed *Michael* the Archangel, 'the bleſſed St. *John Baptiſt*, the holy Apoſtles 'St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and all the Saints in 'Heaven, and to you my ghoſtly Father do 'declare, and in my Heart believe the Pope, 'Chriſt's Vicar-general, to be the true and 'only Head of Chriſt's Church here on Earth; 'and that, by Virtue of the Keys of Binding 'and Looſing, given his Holineſs by our Saviour Chriſt, he hath Power to depoſe all 'heretical Kings and Princes, and cauſe them 'to be killed. Therefore, to the utmoſt of 'my Power, I will defend this Doctrine, and 'his Holineſs's Rights, againſt all Uſurpers 'whatever, eſpecially againſt the now pretended King of *England*, in Regard that he 'hath broke his Vows with his Holineſs's Agents beyond Seas, and not performed his 'Promiſes, in bringing into *England* the holy 'Roman Catholick Religion. I do renounce 'and diſown any Allegiance, as due to the 'ſaid pretended King of *England*, or Obedience to any of his inferior Officers and Magiſtrates; but do believe the Proteſtant Doctrine to be heretical and damnable, and that 'all are damned, which do not forſake the 'ſame; and, to the beſt of my Power, will 'help his Holineſs's Agents, here in *England*, 'to extirpate and root out the ſaid Proteſtant 'Doctrine, and to deſtroy the ſaid pretended 'King of *England*, and all ſuch of his Subjects as will not adhere to the holy See of 'Rome, and the Religion there profeſſed. I 'further do promiſe and declare, That I will 'keep ſecret and private, and not divulge, 'directly or indirectly, by Word, Writing, 'or Circumſtance, whatever ſhall be propoſed, given in Charge, or diſcovered to 'me by you my ghoſtly Father, or any other 'engaged in the Promoting of this pious and 'holy Deſign, and that I will be active, and 'not deſiſt from the Carrying of it on; and 'that no Hopes of Rewards, Threats, or Puniſhments ſhall make me diſcover the reſt 'concerned in ſo pious a Work; and, if diſcovered, ſhall never confeſs any Acceſſaries 'with myſelf concerned in this Deſign. All 'which I do ſwear by the Bleſſed Trinity, 'and by the bleſſed Sacrament, which I now 'purpoſe to receive, to perform, and, on my 'Part, to keep inviolable; and do call all the 'Angels and Saints in Heaven to witneſs my 'real Intention to keep this Oath. In Teſtimony whereof I do receive this moſt holy 'and bleſſed Sacrament of the Euchariſt.'

It is manifeſt, that the Grandees of the *Roman* Church make no more Account of Religion, than the Profit and Convenience, it brings along with it, are able to compenſe; yet they ever begin with a holy *Canticum*, *In nomine Patris*, by ſuch Means inducing the People to ſwallow their gilded Pills, or Poiſons rather, to the Deſtruction, oftentimes, of Body and Soul too.

In this wicked Thing called an Oath, they blaſphemouſly ſet up the Bleſſed *Mary*, St. *John*, St. *Michael*, St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and *Ruſhton* the Prieſt, in an equal Claſſis with God Almighty; but mention not Chriſt, till they come to declare the Pope to be his Vicar, and that thereby the

Pope

Pope hath Letters Patents to impower him to do what he ſhall think fit, in Heaven, Hell, Earth, and in Purgatory, to depoſe and kill Heretick Kings, yea, and Catholick ones too, when he wants Opportunity to advance a Harlot, a Baſtard, or a Nephew. In ſuch Caſes, a *Caſtle*, a *Clement*, a *Ravilliack*, or a *Pickering*, are ever ready to tranſmit whom he pleaſes, into another World, whilſt himſelf, without ſuch Help, but not without Money, puts a Soul into Heaven, or pulls one out of Purgatory.

Indeed, this Oath is its own Herald; it is its own Comment; every Word of it is Rebellion, Treaſon, and Murder, ſtyled hypocritically pious and holy Deſigns; it was ſtamped in the Mint of the Jeſuits, and is a very notable Comment, upon that Oath, which Bleſſed *Ignatius Loyala* impoſed upon his ſpiritual *Mamaluks*, and may give us to underſtand, that *Romiſh* Wickedneſs is ſublimated, ſince theſe Days, into a much higher Spirit of Treachery and Impiety. The Oath, then made to the Father General, is as followeth:

'EGO *N.* Profeſſionem facio, & promitto 'omnipotenti Deo, coram ejus Virgine 'Matre, & Univerſa cœleſti Curia, ac omnibus 'circumſtantibus; & tibi Patri Reverendo *N.* 'Præpoſito Generali Societatis *Jeſu*, Locum Dei 'tenenti, & ſucceſſoribus tuis, vel tibi reverendo 'Patri, vice Præpoſi o Generali ſocietatis *Jeſu*, & 'ſucceſſoribus tuis, locum Dei tenenti, perpetuam Paupertatem, Caſtitatem, & Obedientiam, '& ſecundum eas, peculiarem Curam, circa pueorum Eruditionem, juxta formam vivendi in 'Litteris Apoſtolicis Societatis *Jeſu*, & in ejus 'Conſtitutionibus contentam; inſuper promitto ſpecialem Obedientiam Summo Pontifici 'circa Miſſiones, prout in eiſdem Litteris Apoſtolicis & Conſtitutionibus continetur.'

Which is Engliſhed *thus*:

I *N.* Make my Profeſſion, and promiſe to the Omnipotent God before his Virgin Mother, and all the whole Court of Heaven, and all that here ſtand by, and to you our Reverend Father, the Father General of the Society of *Jeſus*, God's Lieutenant; and to your Succeſſors (or to you, Reverend Father, in Place of the General of the Society of *Jeſus*, God's Lieutenant, and his Succeſſors) perpetual Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience; and, accordingly, peculiar Care in the Erudition of Youth, conſentaneous to the Form of Living, contained in the Apoſtolick Letters of the Society of *Jeſus*, and in the Conſtitutions thereof. Moreover, I promiſe ſpecial Obedience to the Pope, concerning Miſſions, as contained in the ſame Apoſtolick Letters and Conſtitutions.

Our new Explanation, or Expoſition, far exceeds the old Text, and is a Superſtructure upon that priſtine Foundation of Villainy, erected ſince thoſe Times. The bleſſed Trinity, the holy Sacrament, and the whole Hoſt of Heaven, are made Stalking horſes for impious Mortals, in the ungodly, uncharitable, Antichriſtian Works of ruining Kings, Kingdoms, and all Mankind beſides themſelves, only to ſet up the Court of *Rome*, and a Deſpotick Power. Theſe horrid Impieties (but that we are promiſed the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt them) might make conſcientious Men, with Trembling, preſage, and dread, That the Ruin of Chriſtianity is not far off. Theſe Men, when they ſwear their miſled Proſelytes into Treaſons, Murders, Felonies, and Secrecy, little mind to conſider what is taught in Holy Writ concerning an Oath, *Jerem.* iv. 2. *And thou ſhalt ſwear, The Lord liveth in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteouſneſs*, &c. What Regard theſe Oaths have to Truth, Judgment, and Righteouſneſs, let the Reader take Notice, and proceed to obſerve one unparalleled Clauſe in the Oath, *viz.* 'And that no Hopes of Re-'ward, Threats, or Puniſhments, ſhall make 'me diſcover the reſt, concerned in ſo pious a 'Work; and, if diſcovered, ſhall never confeſs 'any Acceſſaries with myſelf concerned in this 'Deſign.'

Here they lead their Proſelytes into a Labyrinth of Wickedneſs, but then they leave them no Way, or Means, to diſengage themſelves, or others out of it, and conſequently to be hanged, and damned afterwards. This may learn the moſt wilful and moſt obſtinate Charity, to have a Care how it extends itſelf, in believing the Words of the late dying Jeſuits, and others. *Diſcite Juſtitiam Moniti.* And let it teach all good Proteſtants the Nature of theſe *Romiſh* Wolves, who, though they change their Hair, will never change their Hearts.

Now, having given an Account of the Oath of Secrecy, next, I will render you an Account how the Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts inſinuate themſelves into the Hearts of thoſe, that they inſnare to engage in this damnable Deſign; which,

which, particularly being exemplified in myself, may serve as Instructions, how others were induced and encouraged to propagate their hellish Principles. The Relation is as followeth:

About the latter End of *January*, 1676, *Thomas Thwing*, a Priest, and *William Rushton*, another Popish Priest, who was my ghostly Father, came to my House at *Shippon-hall*, in *Yorkshire*; and there examined me how I was affected to the *Romish* Religion, and if there were any Occasion, What would I do for the Good of that Religion? To whom I replied, That I was so well affected to the *Romish* Religion, that I would venture my Life and Estate, in the Management of any Design whatsoever, for the Good of that Religion. The Priests then said, That they were glad to hear me in so good a Humour, and heartily wished, That all the Catholicks in *England* were of my Mind; and further told me, That all *England*, in a little Time, would be *Roman* Catholicks; for that the Duke of *York*, next Heir to the Crown, had renounced the Protestant Religion. Therefore, Force was to be used, for the more speedy Bringing him to the Crown: But added, That, before I could be any further acquainted with the Particulars of this Design, I must first take the aforementioned Oath of Secrecy, which all good Catholicks must take; for, if any Catholicks refused it, they could not be admitted to know of their Designs and Contrivances: For that Sir *Thomas Gascoigne*, *Thomas Gascoigne*, Esq; and other Gentlemen, had taken the same, and engaged themselves, and given Security for their respective Performances.

Then I told the said Priests, That I would not deny to take it, for I would obey my ghostly Father in all Things. And on *Candlemas Day*, 1676, I did accordingly go to *Barmbow-Hall*, as was formerly agreed, where I heard Mass, and took the Oath of Secrecy from the Hands of my ghostly Father, to be private, and keep secret the Design of Killing his sacred Majesty, and the Destruction of all such Protestants, as would not be of the *Romish* Religion; which Oath of Secrecy is before related, and is the true Copy of the said Oath, as I got it from the said *Rushton* accidentally, the very same Day it was ministered unto me by him.

Before I took the Oath of Secrecy, I went to Confession, where my ghostly Father, in my said Confession, told me, that I must believe, 'That it was a mortal Sin, to reveal what was 'told me by my ghostly Father, in my Con-'fession, and that I was certainly damned, if 'ever I discovered the Concerns of this Design, 'or Taking the said Oath of Secrecy.'

But, after I had taken the said Oath of Secrecy, and was acquainted with the Design, whenever I went to Confession, my ghostly Father would be sure to examine me, how I had kept my Oath; upon which, if my Father-Confessor did judge that I had not so truly kept the same as I ought to have done, then must I have taken the same Oath over again. Besides, my ghostly Father frequently taught me how to make Use of Equivocations and mental Reservations:

First, How to defend myself against the Protestants: If I were asked by a Stranger, Whether Mr. *Rushton* was a Priest? That then I might lawfully deny it; or, upon Oath before a Magistrate, I might positively deny my Knowledge of *Rushton* to be a Popish Priest: But then I must privately to myself make Use of this Equivocation, That I did not see the said *Rushton* take his Orders beyond Sea; therefore could not swear him to be a Priest. And then followed the Benefit of Absolution for this, or any other Service done for the Good of the *Romish* Religion.

And, indeed, my Penance in Confession was once enjoined me by Father *Rushton*, to lash myself with a Cat of Nine-tails, or Discipline, because I did not deny, with Asseverations, to one Mr. *Burman*, that he was no Popish Priest; although I did not confess the same to Mr. *Burman*, yet he alledged, that I did it but faintly, and therefore that should be my Penance.

Secondly, If reproached by the Protestants, that they of the *Romish* Religion made no Conscience to destroy those that were of a contrary Opinion to them:

Then, with Imprecations, I might lawfully deny the same; only making Use of this Reservation to myself, that I must deny any Thing which is against the Interest of the Church; besides, if I should own it to be the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church, that then the Protestants would beat out my Brains, as was taught me by my ghostly Father *Rushton*.

Thirdly, That, since the Discovery of this Popish Plot, if I at any Time heard the Protestants discourse, that they of the *Romish* Church taught the Murthering of Kings and Princes, and that the King was to have been murthered by the Papists, that then I must vindicate the *Romish* Religion; arguing, that such Doctrine

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the Papiſts held not, with Reſervation to myſelf, that I muſt not own ſuch a Deſign, unleſs effected, believing, that Proteſtants being Hereticks had no Power to examine me, neither was I obliged to anſwer directly to the Queſtion.

The Ceremonies, Manner, and Form uſed, in the Taking of the ſaid Oath of Secrecy, are thus:

AT the Chapel Door, I ſprinkled myſelf with Holy Water, and then went into the Chapel, where, bowing towards the Altar, I made the Sign of the Croſs, and ſaid, *Sprinkle me with Hyſſop and I ſhall be cleanſed, waſh me and I ſhall be whiter than Snow:* Then, kneeling, I made the Sign of the Croſs, and ſaid, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy-Ghoſt, Amen.* After that, I ſaid certain Prayers uſed before Confeſſion, and, at the Concluſion, made again the Sign of the Croſs; which being ended, I went into the Veſtry, where, kneeling, I aſked my ghoſtly Father's Bleſſing, as Children uſually do their Parents. Then, after that, I made again the Sign of the Croſs, and then had the Benefit of Confeſſion, and Abſolution from my Sins; and then I went into the Chapel, and ſaid Prayers, before Receiving the Sacrament.

But, when Maſs was ſaid, I did not communicate with the reſt there preſent, although the Sacrament was conſecrated for me, but after the reſt were gone; then *William Ruſhton*, my ghoſtly Father, called me to the Altar, where, bowing my Body and kneeling, I made the Sign of the Croſs; then I kiſſed the Maſs-book, and laid my Right-hand upon it, and ſo had the Oath of Secrecy given me by my ghoſtly Father *Ruſhton*, repeating it after him. But at theſe Words, *In Teſtimony whereof, I do receive this moſt holy and bleſſed Sacrament of the Euchariſt*, *Ruſhton* put the Sacrament into my Mouth, and ſaid this little *Latin* Prayer following:

Corpus Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti *cuſtodiat animam tuam in Vitam Æternam.* Amen.

Then again I kiſſed the Maſs-book, held in the Prieſt's Hand, but held my Hand on the Maſs-book all the Time I was taking the Oath, aforeſaid; and after that, riſing, bowed my Body to the Altar, in an humble Manner, and ſo returned to my Place again.

Now, after I had taken the ſaid Oath of Secrecy, *Ruſhton* went again into the Veſtry, to ſay his Prayers on his Breviary, but I continued ſtill in the Chapel, to ſay my Prayers, uſed after the Taking of the Sacrament. Then, after *Ruſhton* my Confeſſor came forth out of the Veſtry, he went towards his own Chamber, whither I followed him; but, Sir *Thomas Gaſcoigne* haſtily calling the ſaid *Ruſhton*, he laid down his Breviary in his Cloſet, to which was no Door, and is ſituate near his Chamber, which ſaid Breviary I taking up, found therein the ſaid Oath of Secrecy; of which Oath I had a ſufficient Time to take a true Copy, and it is the real Copy which is before recited; although, when I took the Copy of the ſaid Oath, I never intended that any Proteſtant ſhould have ſeen it.

The ſame Day, were hallowed for myſelf two Piſtols, which were to be made Uſe of, for the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Party, if the *Roman* Catholick Religion had prevailed in *England*. There were alſo Swords, Guns, and Piſtols hallowed for *Thomas Gaſcoigne*, Eſq; and others engaged in the Popiſh Plot. And, in the ſaid Month of *February*, I had an Indulgence, or Pardon, for Thirty-thouſand Years, given me by the ſaid *Ruſhton*, my ghoſtly Father, for my Encouragement in my Proceedings of my being ſo zealous againſt his Majeſty and Government; and the Penance enjoined me was to ſay every Day a Litany, for the Interceſſion, and Converſion of *England*: But, if I twice a Day ſaid the ſaid Litany, then ſhould I each Day redeem a Soul out of Purgatory. But I have heard my ghoſtly Father ſay, that ſome Catholicks had their Indulgences for Fifty-thouſand Years; others, a plenary Indulgence, to encourage them to be firmer to this Deſign. Such a plenary Indulgence I ſaw in the Hands of Mr. *Mowbray*, about the latter End of *January*, 1676-7. And the Litany of Interceſſion for *England* is as follows:

The Litany of Interceſſion for England.

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LOrd have Mercy on us, *Chriſt hear us.*
Chriſt have Mercy on us, *Chriſt hear us.*
Lord have Mercy on us, *O Chriſt hear us.*
O Father of Mercy, and God of all Conſolation, *Have Mercy on* England.
O Son, Redeemer of the World, and of all Things in Heaven and Earth, the Pacifier, *Have Mercy on* England.
O Holy Ghoſt, Light of thoſe that err, and of the Miſerable, the only Comfort, *Have Mercy on* England.

Holy *Mary*, Mother of God, and Mother of Mercy,
Holy *Mary*, who haſt deſtroyed all Hereſies,
Holy Virgin of Virgins, famous in *England* for many Miracles,
St. *Michael*, Prince of the Church,
St. *Gabriel*, privy to the Myſteries of God,
St. *Raphael*, faithful Guide of Travellers,
Holy Angel, Prince of *England*,
St. *John Baptiſt*, Maſter, and Form of Penance,
All holy Patriarchs, and Prophets, Friends of God, and Preachers of Truth,
St. *Peter*, Paſtor of Sheep, and Prince of the Apoſtles,
St. *Paul*, Doctor of the *Gentiles*, in Faith and Verity,
St. *Andrew*, Friend and Lover of the Croſs,
All holy Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts, and ſpecial Increaſers of Chriſtianity, Faith, and Unity,
All holy Innocents ſlain for Chriſt,
St. *Stephen*,
St. *Lucius*, King,
St. *Alban*,
St. *Amphibale*,
St. *Sophias*,
St. *George*,
St. *German*,
St. *Coleman*,
St. *Kylian*,
St. *Adrian*,
St. *Ethelred*, King,
St. *Tancon*,
St. *Ifenger*,
St. *Edmund*, King,
St. *Edward*, King,
St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*,
All holy Martyrs of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*,
St. *Fugatius* and *Damianus*,
St. *Gregory*, and St. *Auguſtine*,
St. *Ethelbert*, King,
St. *Patrick*, and St. *Columbe*,
St. *Pethno*, and St. *Cuthbert*,
St. *Furſeus*, and St. *Malachi*,
St. *John*, and St. *David*,
St. *Brandon*, and St. *Fiaker*,
St. *Archibald*, and St. *Macarius*,
St. *Marianus*, and St. *Alexander*,
St. *Bennet*, St. *Boniface*, and St. *Bede*,
St. *Dunſtan*, St. *Henry*, and St. *Robert*,
St. *Richard*, St. *Roger*, and St. *Hugh*,
St. *Gilbert*, St. *Lanfranck*, and St. *Anſelme*,
All holy Biſhops, and Confeſſors of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*,
St. *Helen*, Queen, St. *Urſula*, and St. *Agnes*,
St. *Bridget*, St. *Buryen*, and St. *Tecla*,
St. *Agatha*, St. *Mechtil*, and St. *Maxentia*,
St. *Chriſtine*, and St. *Winifred*,
St. *Ethelred*, Queen, and St. *Margaret*, Queen,
All holy Virgins, and Martyrs of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*,
All bleſſed and holy Saints of all Places,

Pray for England.

Be merciful, Spare England *good Lord,*
Be merciful, Hear us O Lord.

From all imminent Perils of Sins, and Backſlidings,
From the Spirit of Pride and Apoſtaſy,
From the Spirit of Ambition,
From the Spirit of Rebellion,
From all Hardneſs, and Blindneſs of Heart,
From all Surfeiting, and Drunkenneſs,
From the Deſires, and Liberty of the Fleſh,
From Hatred, Contempt, and Neglect of ſacred Things,
From Prophaning of Churches, and from all Sacrilege,
From the Tyranny, and Cruelty of Hereticks, which it now groans under,
From wicked and pernicious Councils,

Deliver England *O Lord.*

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We Sinners, O God of Pity, do beseech Thee to hear us.

That thou wouldest direct the Pope's Holiness, and all Prelates, to pacify and govern the Church,
That thou wouldest be pleased to bring again into this Kingdom the ancient Catholick, Apostolick, and *Roman* Faith,
That thou wouldest put into the Hearts of all Christian Kings and Princes Unity, Peace, and Concord, and that their fervent Zeal may be stirred up, to put their helping Hands, to reduce it to the Obedience of the holy See of *Rome*,
That thou wouldest comfort, and fortify, all such as suffer Imprisonment, Loss of Goods, or other Affliction, for the Catholick Faith,
That neither by Frailty or Inticements, or any Torments, thou permit any of us to fall from thee,
That thou wouldest give us perfect Patience in our Afflictions, and to make ghostly Profit of all our Miseries,
That thou wouldest mercifully hasten the Conversion of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from the Infection of Heresy and Infidelity,
That thou wouldest deliver and keep, in these Times of Persecution, the Pastors of our Souls, from the Hands of their Enemies,
That thou wouldest daily augment in them the Fire of thy Love, and the Zeal of gaining Souls,
That thou wouldest preserve all the Catholicks of this Land in Holiness of Life, and from all Manner of Sin and Scandal,
That thou wouldest so adorn us with Holiness of Life and Conversation, that our Enemies *seeing our good Works, may glorify thee, our heavenly Father*,
That thou wouldest reduce from Error, and Heresy, our Parents, Friends, and Benefactors whom thou hast so dearly bought with thy precious Blood,
That thou wouldest illuminate the Hearts of all Schismaticks, which live out of the Church, to see the grievous Danger of their Estate.
That thou wouldest mercifully look down from Heaven, upon the Blood of so many Martyrs, as have given their Lives to convert us unto thee,

O Lord, &c.

Jesus Christ, Son of God, and of the Virgin *Mary*, *We beseech Thee to hear us.*
Jesus Christ, Saviour and Redeemer of the World, *We beseech Thee to hear us.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the Sins of the World, *Spare us O Lord.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the Sins of the World, *Hear us O Lord.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the Sins of the World, *Have Mercy on us.*

Lord have Mercy, *Pater Noster*, &c.
Christ have Mercy, *Et ne nos inducas*, &c.
Lord have Mercy, *Sed libera nos a malo.*
Amen.

O Lord, we beseech Thee to hear us.

About the latter End of *October*, or the Beginning of *November*, 1678, my Occasions called me to *Leeds* Market, within four Miles of my Habitation, and a Market that I frequently used: After my particular Business was done, my Curiosity led me, as usually it did, to a Coffee-House; where, amongst other News and Reports, I heard that one Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, a Justice of Peace, at *London*, was missing, and that it was suspected and feared, that he was murdered, or made away by the Papists.

At my Return Home, I repaired to Sir *Thomas Gascoigne*'s House at *Barmbow*, one Quarter of a Mile from my House, and there meeting his Son, *Thomas Gascoigne*, Esq; I acquainted him with the News I heard at *Leeds*.

Who, thereupon, took a Letter out of his Pocket, directed to himself, which he shewed me; which Letter was subscribed *T. Corker*, wherein he acquainted the Esquire in Words to this Effect: *That Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey *had been a very busy Man, and a great Enemy to the Catholicks, therefore they had procured him to be destroyed.*

And, some few Days after, we had the same Thing confirmed in Print, *viz. That he was murthered.* Upon which, my ghostly Father, *William Rushton*, sent for me, to come to Mass, at Sir *Thomas Gascoigne*'s House; and,

at Confeſſion, did charge me to give out, *That I heard that Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey *was a melancholy Gentleman, and, in a Diſcontent, went into the Fields, and there murdered himſelf with his own Sword.*

Which accordingly I did, as Occaſion offered, in all Companies I happened into; but was contradicted by many; and by ſome, that it could not be, for that his Neck was broke, which he could not do after he had murdered himſelf, nor be capable to do it, if his Neck was broke before: And, being thus run down in my Aſſertions, I acquainted my ſaid ghoſtly Father *(William Ruſhton)* therewith, who told me, he had received new Inſtructions, which he ſhewed me in Writing, and were to this Effect:

That Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was a Gentleman who had often attempted to deſtroy himſelf; that he did really hang himſelf in his own Silk-girdle, in his Chamber, at the Bed's Feet; which being diſcovered, two of his Servants acquainted his Brothers therewith, who, coming thither, contrived his Taking down, and the Carrying him to the Place where he was found, where they run his Corps through, on Purpoſe to throw it on the Papiſts, thereby to ſave the Eſtate to themſelves, and from being forfeited to the King; and that the two Servants had fifty Pounds a-piece given them to keep it private. He alſo ſaid, that one of them, which was a Maid-ſervant, offered to diſcover this Contrivance to his Majeſty and Council, but that ſhe was by them rejected: Nevertheleſs, for all this, at the ſame Time, *Ruſhton* owned to me, that he was murdered by the Papiſts, but by what Hands he knew not; and further, he ſeemed much concerned that it was done; wiſhing it had never been done, becauſe it would make the Murder of the King the more difficult to be performed.

Robert Bolron.

A farther Information by Robert Bolron, *Gentleman.*

I Being ſent down by an Order of Council, bearing Date the Seventeenth Day of *October*, 1679, to ſearch ſeveral Papiſts Houſes in *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and *Northumberland*; among other Houſes, ſearching the Manſion-houſe of *Richard Sherborn* of *Stony-hurſt*, in the County of *Lancaſhire*, Eſq; in the Chamber of *Edward Cottam*, a Jeſuit, or Popiſh Prieſt, I found the Paper hereunto annexed.

This ſame *Cottam*, upon the Death of *Henry Long*, mentioned in the ſaid Paper, was, by the ſaid Mr. *Sherborn* entertained as his domeſtick Prieſt, in the Stead and Place of the other, who, as the Papiſts gave out, drowned himſelf; but was rather made away by the *Romiſh* Party, as being one that was diſcontented in his Mind, and of whom they had a Suſpicion, that he would diſcover this *damnable Popiſh Plot*, carried on by the Papiſts, who therefore, as I have heard from ſeveral underſtanding Papiſts, engaged in the Plot, procured his Death.

The original Copy being in *Latin*, it was thought convenient to print it in that Language:

——*Celebrare quis aſtringetur.*

Poſtremo, Ut evidenter teſtetur, quod omnes ad hoc Opus pium aſſentiantur, has Conſtitutiones propria manu ſubſignabant.

—— Every one ſhall be bound to celebrate.

Laſtly, That it may be evidently teſtified, that all do unanimouſly aſſent to this pious Work, they did underwrite theſe Conſtitutions with their own Hands.

Ricardus Moorus.
Petrus Giffardus,
Henricus Long,
Jacobus Markland,
Ricardus Sallins,
Marmaduke Dalton,
Rogerus Anderton,
Thurſton Anderton,
Edvardus Anderton,
Ricardus Barton,
Edvardus Mollineux,
Thomas Eccleſton,
Petrus Goodenus,
Henricus Holden,
Georgius Catterell,
Johannes Mollyns,
Johannes Holden,
Gulielmus Gerard,
Edvardus Blackburn,
P. Winder,
Johannes Urmeſton,
Thomas Hugonis,
Georgius Brown,
Georgius Rich, ai: d: s: onus.

Quando Omnes unanimiter conſentierant his Conſtitutionibus, die 28 *Februarii*, 1675, *hi deſignabantur Superiores.*

When

When all had consented to these Constitutions, the Twenty-eighth of *February*, 1675, these were designed Superiors.

Reverendissimus Dominus.
Ricardus Moorus,
D. *Johannes Holdenus,* } Thesaurarii.
D. *Johannes Mollyns;*
D. *Petrus Giffardus,* Secretarius.
D. *Rogerus Anderton,* Collector pro sex Hundredis pro *Derbiensi,* Collector for Six Hundreds in *Derbyshire.*
D. *Ricardus Bartonius,* for *Layland.*
D. *Tho. Hugonis,* for *Amounderness.*
D. *Ed. Blackburn,* for *Loynsdale.*
D. *Petrus Goodenus,* } for *Blackburn* Hun-
D. *Henricus Long* } dreds in *Lancashire.*

Having thus given the Reader an Account of this Paper, how I came by it, and in whose Custody I found it, I shall leave it to the Consideration of any Person of impartial Judgment, What should be the Design of so many Priests and Jesuits to make such Orders and Constitutions among themselves? And for what Reason those Orders must be confirmed by so many manual Subscriptions? Certainly the Orders of their Society needed no such Confirmations. This must be then some eccentrick Business, for so many Priests and Jesuits to meet and cabal in the remote Parts of the Nation; and there also to appoint Treasurers and Collectors, not ordinary Persons neither, but such as could not be named without the Title of *Most Reverend Lord*; which imports them not the Treasurers of Alms, but of Contributions. Now, Contributions signify Sums; and Sums, it cannot be imagined, should be collected in those Parts for the Jesuits to build Colleges in *England.*

It remains then, that these Collectors were appointed for the Collection of considerable Sums (the Largesses of blind Zeal and deluded Piety, or the Price of Indulgences for Fifty-thousand Years, and Exemptions from Purgatory) to carry on the great Work of their *damnable Plot*, which, it is apparent, was hatching in the Year 1675, and long before.

And this, I hope, may, in, a large Measure, serve to prove and make good that Part of my Information already given; wherein I have declared, that, in the Counties of *York, Lancaster, Northumberland,* and Bishoprick of *Durham,* there have been no less than Thirty-thousand Pounds collected by the Jesuits and Priests, which were, no Question, the Effects of such Orders and Constitution as these above-named, for the more speedy Bringing to pass the Destruction of his most sacred Majesty, and the Protestant Religion.

As for *Long, Dalton, Thurston, Anderton, Tho. Eccleston,* and *Urmeston,* I know them to be all Jesuits; therefore it is probable to believe the rest are of the same Stamp.

London, *December* the 6th, 1680. *Robert Bolron.*

The Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and *Jure Divino*, disproved, and Obedience to the present Government proved, from Scripture, Law, and Reason. Written for the Satisfaction of all who are dissatisfied at the present Government. By a Lay-Man of the Church of *England*. *London*, printed for *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1689. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

GOD by no Word binds any People to this, or that Form of Government, till they by their own Act bind themſelves.

None ought to advance the Greatneſs of his Sovereign, with the publick Detriment.

The End of Magiſtracy is the Good of the whole Body, Head and Members conjunctly; but, if we ſpeak *diviſim*, then the Good of the Society is the ultimate End; and, next to that, as conducent to that, the Governor's Greatneſs and Prerogative.

The Meaſure of our Government is acknowledged to be by Law; and therefore the King cannot confer Authority to any beyond Law; ſo that thoſe Agents, deriving no Authority from him, are mere Inſtruments of his Will, unauthoriſed Perſons, in their Aſſaults, Robbers.

King *Charles the Firſt*'s Declaration at *Newmarket*, 1641, ſays, that the Law is the Meaſure of his Power.

There is no abſolute Authority, where there is no abſolute Subjection due, and there can be no abſolute Subjection due, where there is no abſolute Authority; no Man wants Authority to defend his Life againſt him, who has no Authority to take it away; but no Man whatſoever has any juſt Authority, that is, any Authority at all, to take it away contrary to Law.

He, that reſiſts the Uſurpations of Men, does not reſiſt the Ordinance of God, which alone is forbidden to be reſiſted; but Acts of arbitrary and illegal Violence are the Uſurpations of Men, therefore may be reſiſted.

We are bound not to part with our Lives, but to defend them; unleſs, when the Laws of God, or our Country, require us to lay them down.

Voluntary Slavery is a Sin againſt the Law of Nature, which no Man, in his right Mind, can be guilty of.

Self-Defence never did any Miſchief in this World, and it is impoſſible, that one Man's Righting himſelf can do another Man Wrong; the Miſchief, that happens in that Caſe, is wholly to be charged upon thoſe, that invade Men's Lives and Liberties, and thereby put them upon a Neceſſity of defending them.

Every Man has the Right of Self-Preſervation as intire under Civil Government, as he had in a State of Nature: Under what Government ſoever I live, I may ſtill kill another Man, when I have no other Way to preſerve my Life from unjuſt Violence, by private Hands; now the Hands of ſubordinate Magiſtrates, employed in Acts of illegal Violence, are private Hands, and armed with no Manner of Authority at all; of which this is a moſt convincing Proof, that they may be hanged by Law, for ſuch Acts, which no Man can or ought to ſuffer, for what he does by Authority; for illegal Violence is no Part of their Office.

What can be more contrary to Reaſon, and the Government of the World, yea, to the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of Almighty God, than that ſome Thouſands, or Millions of People, ſhould be ſo ſubjected to the Power of one Man, of the ſame Infirmities with themſelves; and, in Caſe he ſhould command all their Throats to be cut, they are obliged under the Pain of no leſs than Damnation, by a Thing called Paſſive Obedience, *to ſubmit their* Necks tamely to the Blow!

Kings were made to govern and protect the People, not to deſtroy them; but I never heard that the People were made for Kings.

Ah, but ſome do object, the Corporation Oath binds us to be Paſſive, the Deſign whereof I ſhall here inquire into, *viz.* This Oath was made quickly after the Reſtoration of King *Charles the Second*, from an unnatural Rebellion and a Popiſh King was not then thought of, King *Charles the Second* being as likely or likelier to live, than the late King *James*; and can it be thought this Oath was made with any other Deſign, than to prevent the like Rebellion, for the future; that, as ſoon as we were delivered from one unreaſonable Tyranny and Oppreſſion, we ſhould run ourſelves wilfully into another? Which is in Effect, if this Oath is to be taken in the ſtricteſt Senſe, or, at leaſt, ſtanding to the Mercy of the Prince, whether he will be ſo or no; Can any Man be ſo ridiculous as to think, the Legiſlators deſigned, by this Oath, to bind themſelves and the Community to be ſo paſſive, that, if the King endeavoured to cut our Throats, or overthrow the Laws, Rights, and Privileges of the Subject, and endeavoured to bring in Popery and Slavery, we ſhould ſtand ſtill, and let him? Let all the World judge, whether it can with any Reaſon be thought.

If

If an abſolute Monarch ſhould degenerate into ſo monſtrous unnatural a Tyranny, as apparently to ſeek the Deſtruction of the whole Community, then ſuch Community may negatively reſiſt ſuch Subverſion, and, if conſtrained to it, poſitively reſiſt ſuch Endeavours, and defend themſelves by Force, againſt any Inſtruments whatſoever, for the Effecting thereof.

Firſt, *David* did ſo, when purſued by *Saul*; he made negative Reſiſtance by Flight; and doubtleſs, if Negative would not have ſerved the Turn, he intended,

Secondly, To make poſitive Reſiſtance, elſe why did he ſtrengthen himſelf by Forces, but by that Force of Arms to defend himſelf? If then he might do it for his particular Safety, much rather may it be done for the publick, eſpecially in a limited Monarchy.

Reſiſtance ought not to be made againſt all illegal Proceedings, but ſuch which are ſubverſive and unſufferable, as when there is an Invaſion actually made, or eminently feared, by a foreign Power, or when, by an inteſtine Faction, the Laws and Frame of Government are ſecretly undermined or openly aſſaulted; in both theſe Caſes, the Being of the Government being indangered, the People's Safety and Truſt bind them, as well to aſſiſt the King in ſecuring, as to ſecure it by themſelves, the King refuſing.

A Monarch acting according to his Power, not exceeding the Authority which God and the Laws have conferred on him, is no Way to be oppoſed either by all or any of his Subjects, but in Conſcience to God's Ordinance obeyed. This is granted on all Sides.

The Prince is bound to the Laws, on the Authority whereof his Authority depends, and to the Laws he ought to ſubmit.

The End of a King is the general Good of his People, which he not performing, he is but the Counterfeit of a King.

The Obligation of an Oath is diſſolved by the Ceſſation of the Matter of it, or by any remarkable Change about the principal Cauſe of the Oath; the Obligation of a Nation's Allegiance to their Prince can be nothing elſe, but his being in actual Capacity to command and protect them; whenſoever therefore this actual Capacity is changed, then the Obligation to Obedience muſt be changed alſo.

The reciprocal Obligation, there is between the King and the People, binds the one to Protection and juſt Government, and the other to Tribute and Obedience; and thoſe Duties of Protection and Obedience appear to be correlative; ſo the Law has appointed reciprocal Oaths to be taken for the better Inforcing the Performance of theſe reſpective Duties, that is, the Coronation Oath on the King's Part, and the Oath of Allegiance on the Subjects, which is an Agreement or Covenant between King and People: All Agreements are Covenants, but much more that, which hath the Obligation of an Oath to bind it.

I aſk, Whether it is not as reaſonable, a King conſpiring the Ruin and Deſtruction of his People, by breaking his Oath or Contract, and deſtroying the very Foundation of Government, and in Lieu thereof bringing in Popery and Slavery, as the late King *James* did, he ſhould forfeit and loſe the Right of Governing, as that the People conſpiring againſt him ſhould ſuffer Death?

I aſk, Whether the Authority which is inherent in our Kings be boundleſs and abſolute, or limited and determined? So that the Acts which they do, or command to be done, without that Compaſs and Bounds, be not only ſinful in themſelves, but invalid, and not authoritative to others.

The Word *Loyal* comes from the *French* Word *La Loi*, which is to be legal, or true to the Laws of the Land; and, on the contrary, he that obeys the Commands of his Prince, contrary to the Laws of the Land, is ſo far from being Loyal, that he is an illegal Perſon, and a Betrayer of the known Laws of his Country.

Paſſive Obedience is Popery eſtabliſhed by Law, whenever the Prince ſhall pleaſe, and by Conſequence Slavery; whereas the Subjects of *England* never were Slaves in any Particular, nor ever would be in the darkeſt Times of Popery.

I aſk, Where was the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, when Queen *Eliſabeth* aſſiſted the *Hollanders* againſt their lawful Sovereign the King of *Spain*, and when ſhe aſſiſted the Proteſtants of *France* at a vaſt Charge, in the Reigns of *Charles the Ninth*, and *Henry the Third*, and, in King *Charles the Firſt*'s Reign, the Expedition of *Rochel* was carried on by King, and Parliament, and cordially agreed to by the Fathers of our Church, and yet the Proteſtants of *France* could never pretend to any ſuch Privileges as *England* can juſtly claim?

The

The late King *James*'s Life has been but one continued and formed Conſpiracy againſt our Religion, Laws, Rights and Privileges; and what can be expected from ſuch a Prince, who is a *Romaniſt*, and has violated his Oath before God and Man, and endeavours to re-eſtabliſh himſelf with the Sword, by the Aſſiſtance of one of the greateſt Tyrants that ever the World produced?

It cannot be proved that Monarchy was originally inſtituted by God Almighty, or that we are commanded to obey Kings, excluſively to all other Government.

I aſk, Where was there ſuch a Thing as a King for the firſt ſixteen hundred Years and upwards, which is to the Deluge, or for ſeveral hundred Years after it? The firſt King, at leaſt the firſt mentioned in holy Writ, is *Nimrod*, of the Poſterity of *Cham*, who began his Kingdom in the ſecond Century after the Flood; whoſe Kingdom was founded by Force and Violence; ſo that the very Foundation of Monarchy ſeems to be laid from this Perſon, which makes but little for *Jure Divino*. If Kings are by divine Appointment, Is it not rational to believe that God would have commanded all the World to have been governed by Kings, or at leaſt the Chriſtian World, and have given them a particular Law to govern by?

If Monarchy be *Jure Divino*, then all other Government is ſinful.

Allegiance is due to him from whom we receive Protection; this is allowed on by all the World, elſe why do Men, after having ſworn Allegiance to their native Prince, and going into another Country, ſwear Allegiance to the Prince thereof?

Allegiance is due to a King in Poſſeſſion, who is called a King *de facto*, and Treaſon may be committed againſt him, as well as againſt a King by regular Deſcent; and yet, by the Law, Treaſon cannot be committed againſt the rightful Heir, who is called a King *de Jure*, who is out of Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and all judicial and political Acts, done by a King *de Facto*, are as valid and obligatory, as if they had been done by a rightful King, in actual Poſſeſſion of the Throne: Whereas, on the contrary, all ſuch Acts done by a King *de Jure*, who is not in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, are totally void: In like Manner, the Law prefers the Peace and Order of the Polity, before the particular Rights of the King himſelf; and the great End of the Regal Authority, and of the Law itſelf, is the Quiet and Proſperity of the Commonwealth.

It is an acknowledged Aphoriſm, That the Safety of the People is the ſupreme Law, and therefore to be preferred before Titles to Succeſſion.

The Succeſſion of the Crown of *England* is not by Divine Right, but by Political Inſtitution; and all the Prerogatives and Authorities of the Crown belong to the Succeſſor *de Facto*, and not to the Heir *de Jure*, or *ex ordinâ*, being out of Poſſeſſion; and that Allegiance is due in ſuch Caſe to the former, and not to the latter.

All the Proofs that are brought out of the Goſpel, for Obedience to Princes, do confirm this Maxim of our Law; for neither our Saviour or his Apoſtles bid Chriſtians enquire into the Right and Title of the *Roman* Emperors, but obey them, under what Government, it was their Lot to fall, for few of them could pretend a legal Title to the Crown.

I challenge all the Paſſive Obedience and *Jure Divino* Men in *England*, nay, in the whole World, to anſwer theſe Aſſertions and Propoſitions, and prove the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience and *Jure Divino*, by Scripture, Law, or Reaſon; when theſe are proved, I dare be bold to affirm the Nation will ſend for the late King *James*, and ſubmit to his Yoke, and lay down their Necks upon the Block, and ſtand to the Mercy of the *French* and *Iriſh* Dragoons, to cut their Throats.

I conjure all the diſſatisfied Perſons, in their Majeſty's Dominions, to be ſatisfied with theſe Aſſertions and Propoſitions, or to anſwer them, and ſhew ſound Reaſon for their Diſſent from the preſent Government, for a wilful Schiſm in the State is a Sin; and he that endeavours to ſow Diſſenſions amongſt the People, and to draw their Majeſties Subjects, from their true Allegiance, is guilty of a double Sin.

And, becauſe it may be objected, in Anſwering theſe Propoſitions, they muſt be forced to write againſt the Government, I do promiſe, if they ſend a ſhort, but direct Anſwer, to Mr. *Randal Taylor*'s, to print it, with a Reply annexed to it.

Licenſed *May* 7, 1689. *J. Fraſer.*

A Relation

A Relation of the true Funerals of the great Lord Marquis of *Montroſe*, his Majeſty's Lord High Commiſſioner, and Captain-General of his Forces in *Scotland*; with that of the renowned Knight, Sir *William Hay* of *Delgity*. Printed in the Year 1661. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages.

GOD Almighty's Juſtice, and Revenge of Murder, is ſo frequently recorded by many famous Hiſtorians, that nothing ſhall be ſaid here on that Theme in general, leſt I ſhould grate on ſome, who, though ſubtle, have been ſurpriſed in their Subtlety, while they deveſted themſelves of Chriſtian Maxims, to raiſe themſelves, through human Policy, by the Ruin of the moſt Eminent; and yet that their promiſed Stability hath been overturned, and their cut-out Ways damped and overclouded with Abyſſes and Darkneſs. The Briquals and Returns of Providence of this Nature, diſcovered in our late unnatural Civil War, are Teſtimonies ſufficient to convince and confound the moſt peremptory Atheiſt of the Eternal and Immortal Deity, that will ſuffer no Wickedneſs, under what ſpecious Pretences ſoever of Reformation, or good Cauſe, to paſs unpuniſhed. I ſhall not mention thoſe ambitious Spirits, who grounded their proper Advancement by overthrowing Religion and Law; how, I ſay, ſome of thoſe Vagabonds are expoſed to Shame and deſerved Obloquy. But the Divine Providence teacheth us to make this Difference, That, when Virtue and Loyalty have groaned and ſuffered under Tyranny and Oppreſſion, in the End they have been crowned with Fame and Admiration, as our dread Sovereign and noble Parliament would have it witneſſed in the Celebration of the great Marquis of *Montroſe*'s Funerals, in the higheſt and moſt magnificent Grandeur, to counterbalance the Height of malicious Invention exerciſed on him to the Full. The Particulars of the honourable Ceremonies will, in true and exquiſite Heraldry, diſplay the ſeveral Dignities he had, either as a Peer of the Land, or charged with his Majeſty's Service; ſo, in a proportionable Manner, we ſhall ſhew the Honour done to the Memory of that renowned Colonel, Sir *William Hay* of *Delgity*, who, ſuffering Martyrdom with him in the ſame Cauſe, ambitioned his Funeral under the ſame infamous Gibbet; prophetically, certainly, that he might participate with him the ſame Honour at his firſt bodily Reſurrection. This his Requeſt was eaſily aſſented to by theſe monſtrous Leeches, whoſe greateſt Glory was to be drunk and riot in the Blood of the moſt faithful Subjects; nay, even ſome of thoſe, whoſe Profeſſion ſhould have preached Mercy, belched out, That the good Work went bonnily on, when the Scaffold, or rather Shambles, at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, for the Space of ſix Weeks, was daily ſmoaking with the Blood of the moſt valiant and loyal Subjects. But we proceed to the Funeral Pomp, hoping that theſe glorious Martyrs are praiſing and glorifying God, while we are amuſing ourſelves in this ſcantling tranſitory following Deſcription: From the Abbey-Church of *Holy-Rood Houſe*, to that of St. *Giles* in the High Town, the Funeral Pomp was as followeth:

Two Conductors in Mourning, with black Staves.

Twenty-five Poor in Gowns and Hoods; the firſt of which went alone next to the Conductors, carrying a Gumpheon; the other twenty-four following two and two, carrying the Arms of the Houſe on long Staves.

An open Trumpet, cloathed in a rich Livery of the Marquis's Colours, carrying his Arms on his Banner.

Sir

Sir *Harry Grahame*, in compleat Armour on Horſeback, carrying on the Point of a Lance the Colours of the Houſe; this noble Gentleman accompanied his Excellency in all his good and bad Fortunes, both at Home and Abroad.

Servants of Friends in Mourning, two and two.

The great Pincel, with his Arms, carried by *John Grahame* of *Douchrie*, a renowned Highland *Hector*, and one who ſtuck peremptorily to the preſent Marquis of *Montroſe*, in the laſt Expedition under his Grace the Lord Commiſſioner; he is beſt known by the Title of *Tetrarch* of *Aberfoyl*.

The great Standard in Colours, with his Arms, carried by *Thomas Grahame* of *Potentie*, a hopeful Cadet, of the ancient Family of *Clarriſſe*.

An Horſe of War, with a great Saddle and Piſtols, led by two Lacquies in Livery.

The Defunct's Servants, two and two, in Mourning.

An Horſe in State, with a rich Foot-mantle, two Lacquies in rich Livery, and his Parliament Badges.

Four cloſe Trumpets in Mourning, carrying the Defunct's Arms on their Banners.

The great Gumpheon of black Taffety, carried on the Point of a Lance, by *William Grahame* the Younger, of *Duntrum*, another ſprightful Cadet of the Houſe of *Clarriſſe*.

The great Pincel of Mourning, carried by *George Grahame* the Younger, of *Cairnie*, who, from his firſt Entry to Manhood, accompanied his Chief in the Wars.

The Defunct's Friends, two and two, in Mourning.

The great Mourning Banner, carried by *George Grahame*, of *Inchbraky*, the Younger, whoſe Youth-head only excuſed him from running the Riſques of his Father.

The Spurs, carried on the Point of a Lance, by *Walter Grahame* the Elder, of *Duntrum*, a moſt honeſt Royaliſt, and highly commended for his Hoſpitality.

The Gauntlets, carried by *George Grahame*, of *Drums*, on the Point of a Lance; a worthy Perſon, well becoming his Name.

The Head-piece, by *Mungo Grahame* of *Gorthy*, on the Point of a Lance; whoſe Father had ſome Time the Honour to carry his Majeſty's Standard under his Excellency: His great Sufferings and Forfeiture are enough to ſpeak his Actions and Honeſty.

The Corſlet, by *George Grahame* of *Monzy*, on the Point of a Lance; a brave young Gentleman, whoſe Father fell in his Majeſty's Service under the Defunct.

A Banner all in Mourning, by *John Grahame* of *Balgown*, who likewiſe hazarded both Life and Fortune with his Chief.

The Lord Provoſt, Bailiffs, and Burgeſſes of *Edinburgh*, two and two, all in deep Mourning.

The Burgeſſes, Members of Parliament, in Mourning, two and two.

The Barons, Members of Parliament, two and two, in Mourning.

The Nobles in Mourning, two and two.

Next followed the eight Branches firſt of the Mother's Side.

Halyburton, Lord *Dirleton*, carried by *William Halyburton* of *Bittergaſk*.

Douglas, Earl of *Angus*, by Sir *Robert Douglas* of *Blackerſtoun*, a moſt worthy Perſon, and great Sufferer for his conſtant Adherence to his Majeſty's Intereſt.

Stuart, Lord *Methuen*, by *Stuart*, Sheriff of *Bute*: It is to no Purpoſe to commend their Loyalty, for there can be no Doubt of it, when the Relation of their Predeceſſors to his Majeſty's Progenitors is conſidered.

Ruthven of *Gowrie*, by *William Ruthven*, Baron of *Gairnes*, a Gentleman of clear Repute and Honeſty, ſuitable to his noble and valiant Couſin the Earl of *Forth* and *Brandford*.

Next, on the Father's Side,

Keith Earl of *Marſhal*, by Colonel *George Keith*, Brother to the ſaid Earl, a noble Gentleman, whoſe Behaviour in his Majeſty's Service diſcovered him a worthy Inheritor of his illuſtrious Progenitors.

Fleming, Earl of *Wigtoun*, by Sir *Robert Fleming*, Son to the ſaid Earl, a gallant Soul, carved out for his King and Country's Service, as are all his Family; witneſs his noble Uncle Sir *William Fleming*.

Drummond Earl of *Perth*, by Sir *James Drummond* of *Machiny*, one whoſe Fidelity to his King and Country was never brought in Queſtion.

Grahame, Marquis of *Montroſe*, by *James Grahame*, Baron of *Orchel*, whoſe Life and Fortune

Fortune never cauſed him to ſcruple to advance the Royal Intereſt.

The Arms of the Defunct in Mourning by *James Grahame* of *Bucklevy*, Son to the Baron of *Fentry*, a Gentleman which nothing could ever ſtartle from his Majeſty's Service; and that he was a Favourite of the Deceaſed, and accompanied his Son in the late Highland War, is ſufficient to ſpeak his Praiſes.

An Horſe in cloſe Mourning, led by two Lacquies in Mourning.

Four cloſe Trumpets in Mourning, with the Defunct's Arms on their Banners.

Six Purſuivants in Mourning, with their Coats diſplayed, two and two.

Six Heralds with their Coats, as followeth:

The firſt carrying an antick Shield with the Defunct's Arms on it.

The ſecond carrying his Creſt.

The third his Sword.

The fourth the Target.

The fifth the Scroll and Motto.

The ſixth his Helmet.

Two Secretaries, Mr. *William Ord* and Mr. *Thomas Saintſerf*.

Then Dr. *Middleton* and his Chaplain.

His Parliament Robes carried by *James Grahame* of *Killern*, a Gentleman whoſe Merit, as well as his Birth, procured this noble Employment.

The Generals Batton, by *Robert Grahame* elder of *Cairnie*, a brave and bold Gentleman, who, from the Beginning of his Chief's Enterpriſes, never abandoned him, and one whoſe Fortune endured all the Miſchiefs of Fire and Devaſtation.

The Order of the Garter by *Patrick Grahame*, Baron of *Inchbraiky*, elder, a Perſon moſt eminent for his Services upon all Occaſions, and the only Companion of the Defunct when he went firſt to *Athole*, and publiſhed his Majeſty's Commiſſion.

The Marquis's Crown carried by Sir *Robert Grahame* of *Morphy* younger, a noble Perſon, no leſs renowned for his Affection to Royalty than for his Kindneſs and Hoſpitality amongſt his neighbour Gentry.

The Purſe carried by *David Grahame*, Baron of *Fentry*: This noble Gentleman's Predeceſſor was the Son of the Lord *Grahame*, then Head of the Houſe of *Montroſe*, who, upon a ſecond Marriage of King *James the Firſt*'s Siſter, begot the firſt Baron of *Fentry*, which in a Male Line hath continued to this Baron; and, as their Births were high, ſo their Qualifications have, in every Reſpect, been great; for, in all Ages, ſince their Riſe, nothing unbecoming loyal Subjects or Perſons of Honour could be laid to their Charge, and he who poſſeſſeth it now can claim as large a Share as any of his Anceſtors.

Next before the Corpſe went Sir *Alexander Durham*, Lion King of Arms, with his Majeſty's Coat diſplayed, carrying in his Hand the Defunct's Coat of Honour.

The Corpſe was carried by fourteen Earls, *viz.*

The Earls of *Mar*, *Morton*, *Eglington*, *Caithnes*, *Winton*, *Linlithgow*, *Hume*, *Tullibardine*, *Roxburgh*, *Seaforth*, *Kallender*, *Annandale*, *Dundee*, and *Aboyne*.

The Pale above the Corpſe was likewiſe ſuſtained by twelve Noblemen, *viz.* The Viſcount of *Stormont*, *Arburthnot*, *Kingſtone*, the Lords *Stranaver*, *Kilmaurs*, *Montgomery*, *Coldinghame*, *Fleming*, *Gask*, *Drumlanerick*, *Sinclair*, and *Macdonald*.

Gentlemen appointed for Relieving of thoſe who carried the Coffin under the Pale.

Earls Sons, Sir *John Keith*, Knight Marſhal, *Robert Gordon*, *Alexander Livingſton*, Sir *David Ogilvie*, the Barons of *Pitcur*, *Powrie*, *Fotheringhame*, *Cromlis*, *Abercairny Ludwharne*, *Denholm*, *Mackintoſh*, *Balmedie*, *Glorat*, *Cahoun*, *Braco*, *Craigie*, *Morphy*, *Bandoch* elder and younger, and the ingenious Baron of *Minorgan*, and *John Grahame* of *Creeky*, who likewiſe accompanied the Lord Marquis in his Travels in *France* and *Italy*.

Next to the Corpſe went the Marquis of *Montroſe* and his Brother, as chief Mourners, in Hoods and long Robes, carried up by two Pages, with a Gentleman bare-headed on every Side.

Next to him followed nine of the neareſt in Blood, three and three, in Hoods and long Robes, carried up by Pages, *viz.*

The Marquis of *Douglas*, the Earls of *Marſhal*, *Wigtoun*, *Southask*, Lords of *Drummond*, *Matherti*, *Naper*, *Rollo*, and Baron of *Luz*, Nephew to the Defunct.

Next to the deep Mourners went my Lord Commiſſioner, his Grace, in an open Coach and ſix Horſes, all in deep Mourning; ſix Gentlemen of Quality on every Side of the Coach, in deep Mourning, bare-headed.

The Corpſe of Sir *William Hay* of *Delgity* followed in this Order.

Captain *George Hay*, Son to Sir *John Hay*, late Clerk-Regiſter, carried the Standard of Honour.

William Ferguſon of *Badyfarrow*, the Gumpheon.

Mr. *John Hay*, the Pinſel of Honour.

Alexander Hay, the Spurs and Sword of Honour.

Mr. *Henry Hay*, the Croſlet.

Mr. *Andrew Hay*, the Gauntlets.

Next followed his four Branches.

Hay, Houſe of *Arrol*, carried by *Alexander Hay*.

Leſly, Houſe of *Balquhine*, by *George Leſly* of *Chapleton*.

Forbes, of the Houſe of *Forbes*, by *Forbes* of *Leſly*.

Hay of *Delgity*, by *Robert Hay* of *Park*.

Two cloſe Trumpets in Mourning.

Then the Corpſe garniſhed with Eſcutcheons and Epitaphs, attended by the Earl of *Arrol*, Lord High Conſtable of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Buchan*, *Tweedale*, *Dumfrees*, *Kinghorn*, the Viſcount of *Frendraught*, the Lords *Ray*, *Fraſer*, *Foſter*, Mr. *Robert Hay* of *Dronlaw*, *George Hay* of *Kinninmouth*, with a Multitude of the Name of *Hay*, and other Relations.

As the good Town of *Edinburgh* was never wanting to the Celebration of loyal Solemnities, ſo they appeared highly magnificent in this; for their Trained Bands, in gallant Order, ranged both Sides of the Streets betwixt the two Churches; and, as the Corpſe of the great *Montroſe* was laying in the Grave of his Grandfather, who was Viceroy, they did nothing but fire excellent Vollies of Shot, which were anſwered with Thundering of Cannon from the Caſtle; the ſame was done to the Baron of *Delgity*, as he was interring by his General's Side. There were two Things remarkable; the one, that, before the Beginning of the Solemnity, there was nothing but ſtormy Rains; but the Corpſe no ſooner came out, but fair Weather, with the Countenance of the Sun, appeared, and continued till all was finiſhed, and then the Clouds returned to their Frowns, and the Storm begun a-freſh. The other, it was obſerved, that the Friends of both the Deceaſed had Wedding Countenances, and their Enemies were howling in dark Corners, like Owls. Some ſay, that there was then a Kind of Collective Body, or Sort of ſpiritual Judicatory in Town, that would not be preſent at the Funeral, leſt the Bones of both ſhould bleed.

Never Funeral Pomp was celebrated with ſo great Jollity, neither was it any Wonder, ſince we now enjoy a King, Laws, Liberty, and Religion, which was the only Cauſe that the Deceaſed did ſo bravely fight for; and who would not be good Subjects, ſince there is ſo great Honour paid to their Memories, when we ſee Traitors, for their Villainy, have their Carcaſſes raiſed and hung upon Gibbets, as was the late *Cromwel* and others? All that belonged to the Body of this great Hero was carefully recollected, only his Heart, which, two Days after the Murder, in Spite of the Traitors, was, by the Conveyance of ſome adventurous Spirits appointed by that noble and honourable Lady the Lady *Napier*, taken out and embalmed in the moſt coſtly Manner, by that skilful Surgeon and Apothecary Mr. *James Callender*; then put in a rich Box of Gold, and ſent by the ſame noble Lady to the now Lord Marquis, who was then in *Flanders*.

The Solemnities being ended, the Lord Commiſſioner, with the Nobility and Barons, had a moſt ſumptuous Supper and Banquet at the Marquis of *Montroſe*'s Houſe, with Concerts of all Sorts of Muſick.

Nothing here was wanting for compleating the Solemnities, but the good old Cuſtom of a Sermon, which (in regard of the true and excellent Character of the great *Montroſe*, given by that learned and ever loyal Dr. *George Wiſhart*, in his Book *De Rebus Montis-roſ.* &c.) was the more eaſily diſpenſed with, and indeed it is a ſufficient Monument to perpetuate his Memory to Eternity: However, becauſe the Book is in the Language of the Beaſt, which perhaps ſome will ſcruple at, and many not underſtand, for their Satisfaction, I have glanced at the Characters of theſe two noble and crowned Martyrs. And, firſt, it is known, that he is Head and Chief of that moſt ancient and famous Family of *Grahame*, called, in our old *Scots* Language, the great *Græm*. The Riſe of the Race is from that *Græm* ſo famous in Hiſtory, Father in-Law to *Fergus the Second*, King of *Scotland*, from whom he received Lands for his ſignal Service, in demoliſhing the *Vallum Severi*, which, to this Day, is known by the Name of *Græm*'s Dike, and is ſtill in Poſſeſſion of the noble Marquis of *Montroſe*. If the heroick Act-

on

ons of this late Martyr could be more ſplendid by theſe of his Anceſtors, we could mention the valiant *Grahame*, who ſo often baffled the *Danes*, then Maſters of *England*, and Sir *John* the *Grahame*, who gave ſo much Trouble to *Edward* King of *England*, who took Occaſion of the Difference betwixt *Bruce* and *Baliol*, to invade our Country's Liberties. But theſe, and many other of that ancient Race, I paſs to haſten to our Martyr; only this, his Grandfather's Memory is yet freſh for his great Services to King and Country, both as Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Viceroy of this Kingdom; his Father likewiſe, for his ſingular Eminencies, both of Body and Mind, inferior to none, who, after he had acquitted himſelf moſt honourably of ſeveral Royal Ambaſſages, was, to the great Loſs of his Country, taken away by untimely Death. But, to paſs much which might be ſaid of the Fame of his Progenitors, I ſhall acquaint you with what I know myſelf (having followed him ſeveral Years in his Expeditions) and what I have learned from others of good Name and Credit. He was of a middle Stature, and moſt exquiſitely proportioned Limbs; his Hair of a light Cheſnut, his Complexion betwixt pale and ruddy, his Eye moſt penetrating, though inclining to grey; his Noſe rather aquiline than otherwiſe: As he was ſtrong of Body and Limbs, ſo was he moſt agile, which made him excel moſt others in theſe Exerciſes where theſe two are required: In Riding the great Horſe, and Making Uſe of his Arms, he came ſhort of none; I never heard much of his Delight in Dancing, though his Countenance, and other his bodily Endowments, were equally fitting the Court as the Camp: In his younger Days he travelled *France* and *Italy*, where he made it his Work to pick up the beſt of their Qualities neceſſary for a Perſon of Honour, having rendered himſelf perfect in the Academies. His next Delight was to improve his Intellectuals, which he did, by alloting a proportionable Time to Reading, and Converſing with learned Men; yet ſtill ſo, that he uſed his Exerciſe as he might not forget it: He ſtudied as much of the Mathematicks as is required for a Soldier; but his great Study was to read Men, and the Actions of great Men; thus he ſpent three Years in *France* and *Italy*, and had ſurveyed the Rarities of the *Eaſt*, if his domeſtick Affairs had not obliged his Return Home, which chanced at the Time the late Rebellion began to peep out; the Conſpirators, knowing his great Abilities, and the great Eſteem he had amongſt the People, ſought by all Means to enſnare him with themſelves, and ſo wrought in him a Diſcontent, that, notwithſtanding his Grandfather's, his Father's eminent Services, together with his own Merit ſo highly deſerving, yet he had not the Honour of being a Counſellor: Beſides, they knowing how good a Patriot he was, they left not that String untouched, by perſuading that his Majeſty intended to provinciate us, and to introduce Popery; with which, and the like cunning Forgeries borne in upon him by ſome ſetting *&cs.* kept on Purpoſe for that Uſe, they got him to aſſociate in the Cabal; but his generous Soul, ſoon after his Engagement, ſmoaked out their Hypocriſies and rotten Enterpriſes, and from that Time, which was in the latter End of the Year 1639, he abandoned them, and faced about to his Allegiance, reſolving to ſacrifice all that was precious to him in his Majeſty's Service; and accordingly diſcovered all the Engines of the Plot, the many Circumſtances of which muſt be left to the Hiſtorians of the Time. In the End of the Year 1643, when a great Party of our Nation had been involved againſt the King of *England*, he, with the Help of a Thouſand *Iriſh*, gave Opportunity to the Royal Party to beſtir themſelves and join with him, with whom he eſtabliſhed an Army, more conſiſting in the Valour, than Number of the Perſons, as was ſeen in a Year's Space, in which he clearly gained ſix Battles, where there fell 20,000 of the Rebels. In the Management of this Service, though he had never been bred a Soldier, yet he ſhewed admirable Knowledge in the Art of War; and, though he never confined himſelf to the Practice of other Nations, yet he never did any Thing but with ſtrong Reaſon, his Stratagems ſeldom miſſing of being ſucceſsful; his Vigilance and Toil were ſo wonderful, that the Enemy knew not where he was, till he was on them, and he again never ignorant of their Place, Strength, and Condition. His Fight was ſtill on the Plains, though the Hills were advantageous to him, his Cavalry not being the fourth Part of the Enemies, but all of Gentlemen, particularly of the noble Families of *Gordon* and *Ogilvy*. He ſhewed greateſt Chearfulneſs in his greateſt Extremities: If his Infantry at any Time

ſcrupled the Wading of little Rivers, he was the firſt who diſmounted to ſhew others the Way, and this baniſhed all Repining: He accuſtomed himſelf to coarſe Feeding, and conſtant Drinking of Water; he knew they were ſtill to be found, ſo that the Want of Delicacies ſhould be no Temptation to him to be weary of the Service. He had many Opportunities of large Sums of Money, but ſhunned the Making Uſe of them, knowing he could never enjoy both their Hearts and Purſes, ever intimating to them that his Majeſty demanded nothing but the Performance of their Duty in Point of Allegiance. Indeed, the Propagators of the Good Cauſe had a religious Way to inrich themſelves, by flaying to the very Skin the Royal Party, whom they termed *Egyptians*. It was wonderful with what Dexterity he kept his Army intire, without Pay or Plunder; which Behaviour of his did ſtrangely undeceive the People, that neither his Majeſty nor his Followers were ſuch Heathens, as they were held out to them by their black-mouthed Juries: Nay, he was moſt happy in reſtoring Fanatical Enemies to their Wits, either by convincing them of their erroneous Courſe, or perſuading them to join with *him*; and this was according to one of his own Principles, *viz.* That a Perſon in publick Employment ſhould rather court the People for his Prince's Intereſt, than his Prince for his own. If this Rule were exactly followed by all Favourites, it would ſmother all dangerous Heart-burnings, and contribute highly to ſecure the People's Affections to their King. His vaſt Knowledge in Military and State Affairs was admirable: He was pleaſant and witty in Converſation, with an Affability in Private becoming a Comrade; ſcandalous and obſcene Wit durſt not appear before him. In this Sort he made War in *Scotland* againſt his Majeſty's Enemies, for the Space of eighteen Months, bearing the Trophies of ſix Battles, with the Defeat of ſix Armies: And, no Doubt, he had continued victorious, if the Art of Trepanning had not been prevalent: However, the Slur he received at *Philipſhaugh* was not the Cut-throat of his Majeſty's Army; for, through his Enemy, he made Way to his Friends in the North, though far off, where his Preſence gave Life to drooping Spirits, and in a ſhort Time made up ſo conſiderable Forces, as could give Check to the inſulting Enemy: But his Majeſty, coming to *Newcaſtle*, put a Period to that War. Here our Hero was as conſpicuous for his Paſſive Obedience, as either he or his noble Anceſtors were for their moſt deſerving Actions. His Army he had ſo endeared to him, that they would have followed him upon any Account; but, according to the Commands received from his Majeſty, he capitulated nobly for theſe Gentlemen who had accompanied him in the Service; which Capitulation was moſt ſacredly and inviolably kept by that noble Perſon who treated with him. The Marquis, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Orders, went to attend the Queen's Commands at *Paris*, where he ſtayed for ſome Time, caſting about and deſigning in ſeveral Nations, what was conducible for his Majeſty's Recovery: At length, weary of Delays, and impatient of Action, he came to be ſurpriſed, as he was enterpriſing to come to his ancient Friends, whoſe gallant Behaviour in the former War had made both him and them ſo famous. I ſhall not ſpeak of his barbarous Uſage, whilſt he was Priſoner, becauſe they were Countrymen, and pretended to be Chriſtians; but, as to himſelf, never Martyr for the Cauſe of Chriſt went with greater Chearfulneſs to the Fire, than he did embrace all the Indignities put on him, and all without Vanity or Pageantry, as many are uſed to do on ſuch Occaſions: His Compoſedneſs and Gravity can ſcarce be mentioned without Hyperbole's: When he was reviled, and the Lye put upon him (by him whom *Caledonius* called the *Athenian* Hocus) he returned no other Anſwer, than that he had heard him ſpeak to better Purpoſe at other Times. He was frequent in his Devotions and heavenly Meditations; and, having reconciled himſelf with a true Contrition to his gracious God, he advanced to finiſh his Courſe with a courageous Gravity, and pious Modeſty, as his glorious martyred Maſter had done before; which Carriage turned the Hearts of his Enemies, who came to inſult at the Butchery, and generally the Barbarity of his Uſage was condemned by all; and truly it is to be regretted to think how ſome on the Scaffold (eſpecially a little *Levite*) laboured to diſcompoſe his Soul by their horrid Upbraidings and Reproaches; but his unſpeakable Chriſtian and mild Behaviour ſhew, how firmly it was fixed in the State of Grace: I ſhall ſay little more of this great Martyr, than what was ſaid of the Reverend Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, martyred on the ſame Account, when a worthy Knight

Knight was, in a contemptible, jeering Way, demanded, what his Epitaph ſhould be, he anſwered, That, ſo long as St. *Paul's* Church ſtood, and his Book was preſerved, he could neither want Monument nor Epitaph; ſo, I ſay, ſo long as his Hiſtory is in Being, and the Heaps of Stones which covered his Enemies Carcaſſes in *Tipper-moor*, *Aberdeen*, *Ennerlochy*, *Aldern*, *Alford*, and *Kilſyth*, are laſting, he can neither want the one nor the other; and that is ſo long as there is a Summer to ſucceed the Spring, and the celeſtial Bodies to terminate their uſual Courſe.

A Word now to the noble Cavalier that accompanied him in the ſame Fortunes, and with the ſame Genius, though in a leſſer Sphere. He is deſcended of that ancient and noble Family of the Earls of *Arrol*, Chief of the Name of *Hay*, Lord High Conſtable of *Scotland* hereditably. The Eſtabliſhment of this Family is moſt famous in our old Records and Hiſtories, their Honours and Eſtate were conferred by King *Kenneth the Third*, on this Occaſion: The *Danes*, at a Battle, had put to a diſorderly Retreat the *Scots* Army, which one named *Hay*, with his three Sons, being, as the Story goes, at the Plough, perceiving, ſtopped them at a narrow Paſs, and, what with Threats, and what with other perſuaſive Notions, animated them to rally, and to turn Face, they going on with the foremoſt, with ſuch Arms as their Plough, with its Accoutrements, did furniſh them, where they ſhewed ſuch Eminence of Valour, in a moſt furious Charge, that immediately Victory attended them, with the total Overthrow of the Enemy: For which great Action, the King gave to them a Falcon's Flight of the choiceſt Land, ennobling them, and giving for their Arms, in a Field Argent, three bloody Shields, a Falcon in Creſt, and two Savages for Supporters; the Motto, *Servo Jugum*. This noble Riſe, being eight-hundred Years ago, may well place them amongſt the moſt honourable Families in *Europe*, and thus for his Extraction: Being the firſt Cadet of this Family, his Youth-hood he ſpent in *Germany*, under the Command of his Uncle, the renowned Count *Leſly*, Great Chamberlain to the Emperor; but, hearing that his Majeſty was in War with his Rebels, he ſhook off all Expectations of Preferment there, and came Home with the Tender of his Service to his Majeſty, where firſt with the great Marquis of *Montroſe*, and the valiant Lord *Gilby*, he gave many and ſingular Proofs of his Proweſs in his Majeſty's Service in *England*, till the Affairs of *Scotland* drew him thither, in which Service with his General, how eminent he was, his Sufferings ſhew; he never diſputed the Command put on, though carrying never ſo many Difficulties and Dangers, which he always judiciouſly and hardily put in Execution. His Stature was much of the Marquis of *Montroſe*'s, but more ſquare, of great Bones, his Limbs equally proportioned, of a very flaxen and buſhy Hair, his Complexion rarely delicate, Red and White well mixed, ſuch as a Lady would have, who would vie for Beauty; of Diſpoſition affable, a Stock of Courage and Liberality, becoming both a Soldier and Gentleman; his Conſtancy, at his Death, ſhews well he repented nothing he did, in order to his Allegiance, and his Majeſty's Service, to the great Shame of thoſe who threatened him with their apocryphal Excommunications, to which he gave no more Place, than our Saviour to the Devil's Temptations. He was murdered the next Day after his General, the Lord Marquis. Many other noble Gentlemen's Murders, in the ſame Nature, I will not name at this Time; yet I cannot paſs that of *John Spotſwood*, Grandchild to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who died in Exile, and Nephew to the great Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, butchered in the like Manner: This young Gentleman, on his Knees, ready to lay his Head on the Block, had theſe ſelf-ſame following Words, *O Lord, who haſt been graciouſly pleaſed to bring me through the Wilderneſs of this World, I truſt at this Time, thou wilt waft me over this Sea of Blood to thy heavenly* Canaan. To which heavenly Ejaculation, a Miniſter, ſtanding by, replied, *Take Tent, take Tent, Sir, that you drown not by the Gate*; an Expreſſion ſufficient to have diſtracted an ordinary Soul, but our Chriſtian Martyr anſwered, *He hoped he was no* Egyptian; which he delivered with ſuch Chriſtian Modeſty, that the Lout ſtole away in the Crowd, being confounded. His Uncle, Sir *Robert*, was no otherwiſe dealt with by another of the Brethren, being on the Scaffold at St. *Andrews*, for the ſame juſt Cauſe: In his Speech to the People, while he was recommending to them their Duty and Obedience to the King, eſpecially ſo good a King, one interrupted him, and forbade the People to believe him, being the Son of a falſe Prophet, meaning that great Light in the Church,

his Father, the Archbiſhop of the Place. Hence may the People learn, if they ought to truſt the Doctrine of their Allegiance to ſuch ones, who drench themſelves in the Blood of the beſt Subjects, whoſe Fame and Acts ſhall ſerve as Examples of future Loyalty, Gallantry, and Piety: And it is hoped that none will be ſo mad again, as to worſhip Meteors, when God Almighty hath provided a ſhining Sun, our lawful and dread Sovereign, whom God long preſerve. *Amen, Amen.*

Immortali veræ Nobilitatis, inæquandæ Magnanimitatis, incontaminati Honoris, & intemeratæ Fidelitatis, Magni Grami *memoriæ* Sacrum.

SI quis hic jacet quæris, Viator, Magnus hîc eſt ille Montis-roſarum Marchio, generoſi Genii ſuæ familiæ generoſus hæres; qui vireſcentibus adhuc (licet annoſis) Majorum ſuorum palmis, tot victrices contexuit lauros, ut ſi omnes Illi huic Uni an Unus hic Illis omnibus plus gloriæ contulerit ſcire ſit nefas. Hic eſt Nobilis Ille Montis-roſarum Marchio; qui ſi proſapiâ an virtute illuſtrior, conſilio an dexterâ promptior, aulæ an caſtris charior, principibus ſuis an exteris gratior, perduellionis malleus durior, an monarchiæ aſſertor acrior, fama an fortunâ clarior, in vitâ denique inſignior, an in morte conſtantior exſtiterit dictu difficile: Hic eſt, Viator, Magnus Ille *Dux*, ducum ſui ſæculi facilè princeps: *Dux*, qui cum peditum manipula (ne dicam exercitulo) penè inermi, victus & amictus inopè, cauſæ æquitati, ducis magnanimitati, & gladiis confiſo ſuis, ingentes hoſtium acies armatas duodecim menſium (plus minus) ſpatio ſepties Vidit, Vicit, Delevit. *Majora* hæc Cæſaris Oculatâ victoriâ. Sed proh inſtabilem lubrici fati rotam! Qui arma, caſtra, oppida, turres, propugnacula, qui frigus, famem, ſitim, inacceſſa montium juga, immo omnia ſuperare conſueverat, tandem maligno fortunæ errore victus, nequiſſimè hoſtibus traditus, quid non paſſus! Protomartyris regii ſui martyr pediſſequus, plus quam barbaro inimicorum furori (niſi tam generoſo ſanguine implacabili) & effrænæ præſtigiatorum Druidum inſolentiæ victima oblatus, invictam malis exſpiravit animam. Sic concidit Nobile illud diadematis fulcrum, ſic occidit Reſplendens ille *Caledoniæ* Phoſphorus, ſic occubuit Magnus ille Martis Alumnus, & cum illo maſcula quæque ſuperfœtantis Virtutis ſoboles, per obſtetrices indigenas, *ipſis Ægyptiis* crudeliores, trucidata. Poſt undecennium oſſa *effodi, membra recolligi, & per Proceres &* regni Comitia à Cœnobio regio S. Crucis per Metropolim ſummo cum ſplendore ad Ædes D. Ægidio ſacris comitata, impenſis ſuis regiis ſub hoc Monumento magnifico cum Avo ſuo Nobili quondam *Scotiæ* prorege ſepeliri mandavit Auguſtiſſimus Regum *CAROLUS* II. imperio ſuo divinitus reſtitutus. Vale, Viator, & quiſquis es, immenſam ſereniſſimi Principis erga ſuos pietatem, & Poſthumum hunc Magni *Grami* priſtinæ ſuæ gloriæ redivivi cole *Triumphum.*

J. E. Miles Philo-Gramus *Po.*

At the Funerals of the Lord Marquis of Montroſe, 1661.

HERE reinterr'd *Montroſe* lies, though not all,
As if too narrow were one Funeral.
So *Orpheus'* Corpſe, diſcerp'd by wicked Fury,
His Friends *Apollo* and the Muſes bury.
That Head, his Enemies Trophy, and their Shame,
Which oft had been a *Gorgon* unto them;
The Badge of their foul Perfidy and Pride,
When to their Sovereign's View they own'd the Dead;
Had ſcarce been three Months mouſited, whenas all
Like *Cæſar* under *Pompey's* Statue fall:
Brought down by their own *Alcis*, and that Sin,
Which like the Sin of *Nebat's* Son had been.
Ten Years the Land's Debauch, Religion's Mock,
Drew on for ten Years more a foreign Yoke;
Till, by the Revolution of Heaven's Face,
Montroſe gets Glory, and the Land gets Grace.

When

When after Ages shall recount his Worth,
And read his Victories on *Dee*, *Tay*, *Forth*;
Atchievements noble of a loyal Band
Upon a brainsick Faction of the Land:
His Conduct, his Submission to the Crown,
T'advance arm'd or unarm'd, and lay Arms down:
His Scorn of Lucre, Care of keeping Faith,
His matchless Constancy in meeting Death.
They'll doubt what Epithets, great, generous
Suit best, or loyal, or magnanimous.
Whether more Splendor to his Name do bring,
His Actings, or his Suff'rings for his King.

W. D.

COme here and read Varieties,
A Man of Contrarieties
Most loyal to his King, although
A Traitor to the Kingdom: So
His Country-men he still oppress'd:
Yet still his Prince's Wrongs redress'd.
He did invade his native Land,
Yet wanted ne'er his King's Command:
His Country-men he fought, he kill'd,
Yet ne'er but Traitors Blood he spill'd.
He scourg'd the Land, did tyrannise,
Yet only Rebels did chastise.
He caus'd the Subjects Liberties,
Advanc'd the King's Prerogatives;
Our Edicts he did still neglect,
Th' ancient Laws he did respect;
An Apostate he branded was,
Yet still maintain'd the Good old Cause:
He lik'd not well our Church's Form,
Yet to the Scriptures did conform.
He's Excommunicate, and why?
He sinn'd too much in Loyalty.
He dies a Rebel to the Crown,
Yet for the King his Life lays down:
He's punish'd as a Murtherer,
Yet's hang'd a valiant Martyr:
His Courage here was sole *Roman*,
His Imitation's Christian.
Our Wits consult him how to shame
And yet our Wits procure his Fame:
Alive and dead thus he doth prove
The equal But of Hate and Love.
Expect not here, in Things complext,
That mid-mouth'd Distinction 'twixt
True and false: And such like moe,
'Twixt really and deemed so:
To reconcile thy Doubts. Attend
Till our Posterity shall lend
Their Sense upon the Matter; so
The Mother then shall let thee know
The Daughter, polish'd fair and clear
From Errors. Then perhaps you'll hear
Them say, *His Life's his Country's Fame,*
His Usage and his Death their Shame.

Hunc {*fur.* / *am*} *or immanis reg-* {*ni jugula* / *is sepeli*} *vit aperte.*

Huic {*fur* / *am*} *or immanis reg-* {*ni* / *is*} *dat* {*Golgotha Furcam.* / *Funera Tumbam.*}

φιλώρανθος

IN Vain thou looks that I should show,
Whose Ashes here doth sleep below:
For, if thou wouldst acquainted be
With his great Parts and Virtues high,
Consult with After-times, they'll tell
What we delight not to reveal.
Our Off-spring will the Truth discover,
Where we took Pains the Truth to smother:
Advise with Times-Recorder: Come,
He'll give you Reasons why we're dumb;
My Prince bids me but only say,
Montrose's Bones we here did lay;
The pious Dust forbids me breath
Aught of his Usage or his Death,
Lest sober Infidels should spy
Our Church's Weakness, and deny
The Gospel for our Sakes, and cry,
His Death's his Country's Obloquy.

On

On the great Montroſe.

SEraphic Soul, what heavenly Powers combine
To re-inter theſe ſacred Bones of thine?
Thy glorious Relicts, by Malice Bonds detain'd
In ſilent Grave, will no more be reſtrain'd,
But muſt appear in Triumph, glad to ſee
The bleſſed Year of *Britons* Jubilee:
Should there a Phœnix from thy Aſhes riſe,
Would not all Nations it idolatriſe?
Thy noble Stem and high Extraction
Was beautified with ſuch Perfection,
As makes thee ſtill to be thy Nation's Glory,
Europe's great Wonder, ſtately Theme of Story:
Thy valorous Actings far tranſcend the Praiſe
Of Tongues or Pens, or theſe my rural Lays;
Therefore I muſt ſo high a Subject leave,
And what I cannot ſpeak, or write, conceive.

Mr. *John Chalmers.*

A Reflexion on the firſt and ſecond Funerals of the great Montroſe.

AMazed with theſe glorious Shews, I find
A Crowd of Fancies ſtruggling in my Mind;
Staggering me in a Doubt, which will be chief,
A grievous Joy or a rejoicing Grief.
While I behold the Trophies of thy Worth,
With all this Joy and Splendor now ſet forth;
And hear thy Name, perfumed by the State,
With Titles of ſo loyal and ſo great;
And ſee pure Honour in ſo lofty Strains,
Hov'ring above thy late diſdain'd Remains.
Thy parboil'd parched Head, and thy dry Bones,
Courted by *Mars* and *Pallas* both at once.
Thy conquering Palm with Loading higher riſe,
And, in the Treaſury of thy growing Praiſe,
Each caſt his Mite: And here thy En'mies cry
Hoſanna now for their late Crucify.
To ſee thy Friends their Honour yet retain,
Rearing thy Trophies with triumphant Train:
This over Treaſon adds a Victory more,
A ſeventh Conqueſt to the ſix before.
To ſee thy Torments travelling with thy Praiſe,
And thy Herſe crowned with thy conquering Bays:
To ſee thy Pains, thy Infamy, thy Death,
Give Life to Loyalty, to Honour Breath;
That after thee theſe Virtues may revive,
And in thy glorious Iſſue ever live.
Theſe do commence our Joys, theſe expiate
Our former Crimes, although they came too late.
And yet our Griefs from that ſame Fountain ſprung,
He's dead, for whom our jovial Ecchoes ring.
He's dead, the Shame of all our *Britiſh* Story.
He's dead, the Grace of all our *Scottiſh* Glory.
Valour's great *Mimon*, the true Antidote
Of all Diſgrace that e'er deſam'd a *Scot*.
The Flower and Phœnix of a loyal Stem,
In *Charles*'s Crown the moſt illuſtrious Gem.
And yet this Gem is broke, this Phœnix dead,
This Glory buried, *Mimon* murdered.
A Sight would made, had he been there to ſee't,
Argus with all his Eyes turn *Heraclit:*
Would metamorphos'd *Mars* to *Niobe*,
And turn'd the World all but to one great Eye,
To have delug'd that ghaſtly rueful Place
Where *Albion*'s Faith, and Honour, buried was:
A Place which ever wiſe Poſterity
Shall ſtile, hereafter, ſecond *Calvary*.
It was no Dint of Steel, nor Force of Arms,
Nor Traitors Plots that did procure his Harms.
To encounter and to conquer, all did ſee,
Was one to him; at his Nativity,
He had *Mars* in the Aſcendant, whoſe bright Flame
Made mighty Nations tremble at his Name.
Valour with Valour, Force with Force controul
He then, he only could: *But's loyal Soul*
To be a willing Victim thought it meet,
While Monarchy lay bleeding at his Feet;
For, ſeeing *Charles* firſt run that ſad Diſaſter,
In that ſame Cup he pledg'd his Royal Maſter.
And now, and not till now, that loyal Spirit
Hath got the Honour due unto his Merit.
But ſince a Schedule will not quit the Score,
Fit for great Volumes; here I'll give it o'er.
Too mean a Tribute of a ſlow-pac'd Verſe
Is the Affectory to ſo great a Herſe.
Or he or Heav'n muſt make the Epitaph,
That will be fit for ſuch a noble Grave.
He did; and, after the Solemnity,
Ev'n Heav'n itſelf did weep his Elegy.

Dignum laude virum muſa vetat mori

IN

IN Patriam, Regem, Legis ceu perfidus Hoſtis
Pro Patriâ, Rege, & Legibus occubui;
Legibus antiquis Patriæ Regique fidelis,
A Patriâ, Rege, & Legibus intumulor.

The Noble Aſhes here ſhall only tell
That they were buried, not how they fell;
For faithful Patriots ſhould ne'er proclaim
Such Acts as do procure their Country's Shame.

Go, Paſſenger, perſuade the World to truſt,
Thou ſaw intomb'd the great *Montroſe*'s Duſt:
But tell not that he dy'd, nor how, nor Why?
Diſſuade them in the Truth of this to pry:
Befriend us more, and let them ne'er proclaim
Our Nobles Weakneſs, and our Country's Shame.

Let it content thee, Paſſenger, that I
Can tell thee here intomb'd my Bones do lie.
Do not enquire if e'er I died, or Why?
Speak nought of cruel Rage, Hate, or Envy,
Learn only this, 'tis Malice to reveal
Our Country's Shame, but Duty to conceal.

A Letter to a Friend *, concerning a *French* Invaſion, to reſtore the late King *James* to his Throne: And what may be expected from him, ſhould he be ſucceſsful in it. *London*: Printed, and are to be Sold by *Randal Taylor*, near *Amen-Corner*, 1692. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages.

SIR,

IN your laſt you ſeem much concerned about the *French* Invaſion, and deſirous to know what I think may probably be expected from the late King, ſhould he prove ſo ſucceſsful, as to recover his Throne? And what *Engliſh* Subjects are bound in Conſcience to do, ſhould he land in *England*, and demand his Right?

The laſt is a material Queſtion, but I wonder how you came to ask the Firſt, as if it could be any Queſtion. What the late King will do, if he were reſtored by Power to his Crown? For I think it paſt all Doubt, that he will do as he *did* before, only, in all Probability, a great deal worſe: And you remember how that was; for Arbitrary Power and Popery are of too great Concernment, and have left too frightful an Impreſſion behind them, to be ſo ſoon forgot; and this will go a great Way towards an Anſwer to your *ſecond* Queſtion, unleſs you think we are bound to take King *James*, and a *French* Government, and a *French* Popery with him; which I ſhall not eaſily be perſuaded to; and, I believe, there are not many *Engliſh* Proteſtants will.

But to anſwer your Queſtions diſtinctly: As to the *Firſt*, When we ſee what the late King *James* has done, What Reaſon have we to expect, that, ſhould he return with Power, he would ever do otherwiſe? Is he more obliged now, by his Proteſtant Subjects, than he was before? Can he make fairer Promiſes, than he did before? Is he leſs zealous for Popery, or grown more out of Conceit with Arbitrary Power? Or will he be leſs able to make himſelf Arbitrary, and ſet up Popery, when he returns a Conqueror? For I take it for granted, he muſt conquer firſt, becauſe King *William* will not abdicate nor ſteal away, and the Power that conquers will give Laws and Religion to the Conquered.

I know there are two Things pretended, as a Foundation for better Hopes. *Firſt*, That the late King is now ſenſible that the *Engliſh* Nation will never bear Popery, nor Arbitrary Power, and that he has ſuffered ſo much by theſe Attempts already, that he will never venture the like again. *Secondly*, The great Merits of the Non-ſwearing Clergy and Gentry, which will atone for the *Church of England*, and make him their ſure and faſt Friend, Patron, and Defender, eſpecially if thoſe, who have been too forward in complying with the late Revolution, ſhall expiate that Crime by an early Repentance, and a vigorous Aſſiſtance to reſtore him to his Throne.

* *Vide* the 261ſt Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Firſt, As for the *Firſt*, there are too many Anſwers to be given to it, to hinder it from being the leaſt probable Ground of Hope; though Hope itſelf is *Rei incertæ nomen*, ſo very uncertain, eſpecially when we gueſs only at the Inclinations of Princes, that Lives, and Fortunes, and Liberties, and Religion, are not to be ventured on it, againſt former Experience.

But, to let that paſs, pray conſider what the true Import of this Argument is; for it amounts to this, that all Men will learn by Experience; that Men will not venture on thoſe Things a ſecond Time, which have proved fatal to them once; that Princes will certainly for ever after diſlike ſuch Counſels and Meaſures, as have already ſhaken their Thrones, and made their Crowns fall from their Heads.

Now we may flatter ourſelves with ſuch Hopes as theſe, which may, upon ſome Account, be called reaſonable Hopes, becauſe there is great Reaſon it ſhould be ſo; but yet they ſo often fail, that there is no Reaſon to rely upon them. The Repentance of dying Sinners, and of undone Prodigals, who return to their old Sins again, if they recover their Health, or find new Treaſures to waſte, confutes ſuch Expectations. Sufferings rarely cure a vehement Love and fond Paſſion for any Thing, which is the Caſe of old habitual Sinners; and no Man can be fonder of any Vice, than ſome Princes are of Unlimited and Arbitrary Power.

And, when this is joined with a reſolved and inflexible Temper, which ſcorns to yield, and had rather be undone a Thouſand Times, than own, retract, or amend a Fault: Such Misfortunes do but whet Revenge, and make them ſwell, as a River does when its Current is ſtopped, which flows with a more rapid and foaming Stream, when it has once forced its Way.

Eſpecially when Superſtition is the prevailing Ingredient, which fires the Spirits, and raiſes imaginary Scenes of Glory out of the Loſs of Crowns and Kingdoms: And what will ſuch a Prince, if he ever recover his Throne and Power, forfeit the Glory of loſing his Kingdoms again, by deſerting the Cauſe for which he loſt them before? No Man can certainly tell, how Superſtition will act, nor how it will reaſon: Eſpecially, when the Conſciences of Princes are under ſuch Directors, as will venture their Crowns for them over and over, to carry on their own Deſigns, and know how to expound Providence to flatter Superſtition. And then the Recovery of his Throne may be made a better Argument, and a ſtronger Obligation to revive and proſecute his old Deſigns, than the Fear of loſing it again can be to make him deſiſt.

And, to make this yet more demonſtrative, with Reference to the late King, we ought to conſider, that this is not the firſt Trial he has had, and that this Conſideration has done him no Good.

He ſaw before what his Father King *Charles the Firſt* ſuffered, only for ſome Attempts towards arbitrary Power, and for mere Jealouſies and Suſpicions of his favouring Popery. He loſt his Kingdoms and his Life, and his Sons ſuffered a long and hard Exile. *Charles the Second*, indeed, took Warning by this, and, though poſſibly he might be big with the ſame Deſigns, yet would he not venture too far, nor diſcover himſelf too openly, for Fear of Travelling again, as he uſed to ſpeak: *But King James* had not Patience to conceal his Inclinations, till he came to the Crown; and that had like to have coſt him his Crown before he had it; and, yet, this was not ſufficient to caution him againſt thoſe violent Methods he afterwards uſed to advance Popery, which were ſo ſeaſonably defeated by the happy Arrival of our preſent Sovereign, whom God long preſerve: And thoſe who are ſo deſirous to try him again in *England*, as they have lately done in *Ireland*, to their full Satisfaction, if they could try only for themſelves, ſhould have my free Conſent to make the Experiment.

Have not the poor *Iriſh* Proteſtants made it to their Coſt, even ſince this very Revolution, from whence, and from the Wiſdom he muſt needs have learned by it, this miraculous Change in him is now expected? And did they find any ſuch Change in him, unleſs for the worſe? And yet, if ever, then he was upon his good Behaviour, when he wanted their Aſſiſtance to ſecure his Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, and to recover his other Dominions. And when, in Reaſon, it might have been expected, that, whatever Reſentments he had, he would have thought it his Intereſt to have treated Proteſtants with greater Tenderneſs and Reſpect. But, if the Neceſſity of his own Affairs could not obtain this from him, What muſt Proteſtants expect, if he return with Power? And, though ſome

Proteſtants

Proteſtants here in *England* ſeem not to be at all affected with this Experiment, yet it hath made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, that they are for ever cured of their Fondneſs, and have not the leaſt Curioſity left to make any further Trials.

It is pretended, indeed, in Excuſe of this, that he was then under the Government of *French* Miniſters and Counſels, and under the Power of *Iriſh* Prieſts and Papiſts, and ſo was not at Liberty to follow his own Inclinations: I ſhould be very glad of a good Argument to prove, that he had better Inclinations. But however, What Comfort is this to Proteſtants, that he has better Inclinations, but is not his own Maſter? For, if he muſt never ſhew any Kindneſs to Proteſtants, it is no Matter what his Inclinations are: And can any Man imagine, That, if the *French* King, by Force and Power, place him on the Throne, he will be leſs under his Government than he was in *Ireland?* The *French* King, among many other wiſe Maxims, has this, I am ſure, for one, Never to make a King, without Making him his own Vaſſal; and the Power, that can make a King, can make him his Slave: So that it is to no Purpoſe to enquire what King *James* will do; but what King *Lewis* will do, if King *James* returns?

Secondly, As for the great Merits of the Non-ſwearing Clergy and Laity, I greatly ſuſpect, that neither the late King *James*, nor King *Lewis*, will think them ſo great as they themſelves do. Their Merit muſt conſiſt either in their Principles, or in their Practices. And we will briefly conſider both:

Their meritorious Principle is this, That the Rights of Princes, eſpecially of Hereditary Princes, to their Thrones, are ſo ſacred and inviolable, that, as they cannot forfeit them to their own Subjects by any Male-adminiſtration, ſo neither can they, by any Provocations, or by any Succeſs of War, forfeit them to any other Princes: That, while ſuch a Prince, or any legal Heir is living, no other Prince can have any Right to his Throne, nor muſt his Subjects own and ſubmit to any other Prince, as their Sovereign Lord.

Now, as much as this Principle ſeems to flatter Princes, and to make their Thrones eternal, I am apt to ſuſpect, that no Prince, who conſiders the juſt Conſequence of Things, can think it ſo very meritorious; for it is a very dangerous Principle to weak and unfortunate Princes, and an intolerable Reſtraint upon the Aſpiring and Ambitious. It is dangerous to the Unfortunate, becauſe it lays a Neceſſity upon the Conqueror to take away his Life, if he can, as well as his Throne, ſince he cannot loſe his Throne without loſing his Life, though moſt Princes would rather chuſe to have them parted, than loſe both together: And how do they think King *Lewis* will like this Principle, which ſtands in the Way of his Glory, and preaches Reſtitution to him of all thoſe Dominions, whoſe legal Heirs are living; which teaches the Subjects of other Princes to deny him Fealty and Obedience, and to conſpire with their legal Princes againſt him? I doubt not but he likes the Principle as little as he would like the Practice, and that our Non-ſwearers would quickly underſtand, were they the Subjects of his new Conqueſts, which God grant *England* may never be.

Indeed, how great a Compliment ſoever this Principle may be thought to Princes, it can have no Merit, becauſe, though it may in ſome Junctures do them Hurt, it never did, and never can do them any Service. It never yet hindered a Revolution, and never can make one; and the Reaſon is plain, becauſe no Princes, and very few Subjects, do believe it and practiſe upon it. If a Prince have a juſt Cauſe of War againſt another Prince, he makes no Scruple, if he conquers, to take his Crown; and the Subjects of ſuch a conquered Prince make no Scruple of Conſcience to ſubmit to the Conqueror; though ſometimes a perſonal Kindneſs for a juſt and indulgent Prince, and a Concernment for their own Liberties and Fortunes, may make them uneaſy under it, and glad of the firſt Opportunity to do themſelves and their Prince Right.

The Truth is, Princes have no Reaſon to like this Principle; for, were it true, they could have no Remedies againſt the Injuries of Neighbour Princes; they might, indeed, fight and conquer, but they had better let it alone, if they muſt not take the Throne, which their Sword has won; for it is only the Fear of Conqueſt, and loſing their Crowns when they are conquered, that can keep Princes in Awe, and bring them to juſt and equal Terms; and if no Prince muſt loſe his Crown, becauſe no Prince muſt take it, it will be impoſſible to beat an injurious and obſtinate Prince into good Terms;

and, I believe, Princes will as ſoon be perſuaded, That it is as unlawful to make War, as that it is unlawful to ſeize a conquered Crown, and will think one as meritorious a Principle as the other.

And it is certain, Subjects have leſs Reaſon to like this Principle, becauſe it makes them Sacrifices, even to the Misfortunes of their Prince. A Prince, when he is conquered, or ſees that he muſt be conquered, may eſcape by Flight, but a whole Nation cannot run away; and, if they could, have no Reaſon to leave their Country and their Fortunes behind them; and yet, according to this Principle, they muſt not ſubmit, nor ſwear Allegiance to the Conqueror, while the Prince who has forſaken them lives, though they cannot ſecure their Lives and Fortunes without it. But Nature and common Senſe is too powerful for the Sophiſtry of ſuch Principles, and thoſe, who cannot reaſon, can feel what they are to do in ſuch Caſes. The loyaleſt Subjects, when no perſonal Obligations, or ſecret Intereſts determine them otherwiſe, will ſave themſelves by Submiſſion, when they cannot defend their Prince by their Arms; and do not think they do Ill in it; and I ſuppoſe Princes do not think ſo neither, becauſe they expect the ſame from the Subjects of other Princes, in the like Circumſtances; and ſuch an univerſal Conſent, both of Princes and Subjects, when there is no Law of God or Nature againſt it, makes it a ſtanding Law in all Revolutions, which both Princes and Subjects muſt ſubmit to. So that this Principle, were it never ſo true, can do no Service, and therefore can have no Merit in this World, becauſe there are ſo few that believe it, that they are not Hands enough, either to keep a Prince on his Throne, or to reſtore him to it. All our Non-ſwearers could not hinder the late Revolution, nor can they make another: They are enough to make a Noiſe, eſpecially if the loud and zealous Ladies of that Side be reckoned in; but other Hands and other Pretences muſt do their Work, if ever they hope to ſee it done; and then no Thanks to their Principles for it. Whatever Reward their future Services may deſerve, Princes themſelves will not think, that their Principles deſerve any.

Let us then now conſider the Merit of their Actions, and what Opinion the late King is like to have of that, if he ſhould return.

I ſuppoſe they will be contented he ſhould forget their Merits towards him, while he was on the Throne, eſpecially about Reading his Declaration; as likewiſe their *Tower* and their *Weſtminſter-hall* Merits; which were indeed great, and did deſerve, and would have had a better Reward from a better Hand, had they not rendered themſelves incapable of it. But, ſure, they do not expect the late King ſhould reward them for ſuch Services. He knew, that this raiſed that general Diſcontent, which occaſioned that general Revolt, which coſt him three Crowns. And, if all their Merits can expiate this Guilt, they come off well; and they had need be very extraordinary Merits, which have firſt ſo great a Guilt to expiate, before they can pretend to Merit. Could their Non-ſwearing reſtore him to his Throne again, it would but juſt undo what they had done, which is no more than their Duty, and therefore cannot merit, no, not ſo much as a Pardon, though it may make them capable of it, if they fall into merciful Hands. But ſtill there are four Years Exile, and the Loſs of three Crowns, and the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure; the Diſhonour of ſo many Defeats, and the Ruin of *Ireland* to be accounted for: And how can they make Reſtitution for all this? Which yet they muſt do, before they can lay Claim to Merit.

Let all this then be forgot, for it is their Intereſt it ſhould; but they are very ſanguine Men, if they hope it will: Whence, then, will they date their Merits?

When it was certainly known, that the Prince of *Orange*, now our gracious Sovereign, was ready to land, they ſeemed as well pleaſed with it, as other Men, and refuſed, when they were preſſed to it by the late King, to declare their Abhorrence of it; but, inſtead of that, took upon them to give him Advice, and to publiſh it when they had done. In which Advice they recommended almoſt every Particular of the Prince's Declaration, complained of the ſame Abuſes, and adviſed the Calling of a Parliament to redreſs them; as if the Prince's Declaration and their Advice had been drawn by the ſame Pen, and the Advice had been publiſhed on Purpoſe to ſecond the Declaration. This, I ſuppoſe, they will not reckon among their Merits neither; and, if they can excuſe what was ſo haſtily done at *Guildhall*, before the late King was gone out of the Land, they may

may very well be contented no more ſhould be ſaid of that.

The only Merit, then, they have to pretend, is their Refuſing the Oath of Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and Forfeiting their Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military Preferments for it: But what is this to the late King? Is this done out of Kindneſs to him, or his Government? Would they not have been contented to have lived peaceably and quietly, as they themſelves profeſſed, could they have kept their Preferments, and have been excuſed from the new Oaths? And how do they merit of him, by refuſing the Oaths with the Loſs of their Preferments, if they did it not for his Sake, but for another and better Reaſon, for Fear of being damned? God may reward this, but King *James* is not beholden to them. Will they be better Subjects hereafter? Will they read his Declaration, when he returns? Will they make his Will their Law? Will they ſubmit to his next Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and give up their Colleges and Churches to *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*? Will they be content to take him the very ſame Man that he went away, and to ſerve him in his own Way? Will they no more fill the Nation with the Noiſe and Fears of Popery and arbitrary Power? Will they turn Papiſts themſelves? Or ſtand by patiently, and give Leave to his Prieſts to pervert Proteſtants as faſt as they can? Will they promiſe to demean themſelves with more Reſpect towards the King's Religion, and to leave off their old Saucineſs of Printing and Preaching againſt Popery? This, indeed, would bid fair for Merit; but, if they oppoſe his Methods of Government, and his glorious Deſigns, as much as they do King *William*'s Right; if it be only a Title they boggle at, if this be all that makes them uneaſy at the Change, their not Swearing does him no Service: He could have kept his Kingdoms upon theſe Terms before, but he ſcorned it; and ſo he will thoſe, who, to ſave their Conſciences, or their Honours, and to recover their Preferments, would have him upon theſe Terms again.

As much as ſome Men glory in their Steadineſs to Principles (which is certainly a very honourable Thing, and an excellent Degree of Virtue, when the Principles are plain and certain) yet few Princes (to be ſure, not the late King) like ſuch a Steadineſs to Principles, as oppoſes their Deſigns; a ſtubborn, inflexible Conſcience is a very unruly Thing, and Kings do not like ſuch Subjects, as dare oppoſe a King upon the Throne, whatever the Cauſe be: So that, I ſuſpect, their very Boldneſs and Reſolution, in oppoſing their preſent Majeſties, upon a mere Point of Law, will be thought no Virtue fit to be rewarded by a Prince, who would make his Will ſuperior to all Laws.

And, if the Merit of the Non-ſwearers is likely to vaniſh into nothing, eſpecially when there is no Occaſion any longer to court and flatter them, and Prieſts and Jeſuits have free Liberty to comment on their Merits, What Merit will thoſe Men have to plead, who were forward and zealous in the Revolution, have ſworn Allegiance to their preſent Majeſties, have ſerved them in their Armies and Navies, at Home and Abroad? There is no Doubt, but they ſhall have fair Promiſes and good Words at preſent, and ſhall be remembered hereafter, when there is Occaſion.

But, ſuppoſe the Merits of the Non-ſwearing, or For-ſwearing Clergy and Laity, who will help forwards another Revolution, ſhould be acknowledged to be very great, What Probability is there, that the Church of *England* ſhould fare ever the better for it, when Popery and arbitrary Power ſtand in the Way? Paſt Experience gives no great Encouragement to hope this. King *Lewis* was as much obliged to his Proteſtant Subjects of *France*, as it is poſſible for any King to be; for they ſet the Crown upon his Head; and, how he has rewarded them, all the World rings of it. The late King was not much leſs beholden to the Church of *England*, when they ſo vigorouſly oppoſed the Bill of Excluſion; and, how he alſo rewarded them, we all lately ſaw and felt: And ſhall Proteſtants, after this, think of obliging ſuch Princes by their Merits? They underſtand better, that Merit is no Proteſtant Doctrine, and that there can be none out of the Church of *Rome*: And why ſhould any Body expect that which cannot be? Nay, ſhould the late King return again, and be as much at the Devotion of his Non-ſwearing Friends, as they promiſe themſelves he will be, I very much doubt what the Church of *England* will gain by this. If we may gueſs at the Spirit of the Party by the bitter Zeal which inſpires all their Writings, I can expect nothing from them, but as fierce a Perſecution

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of the Church of *England*, as ever it ſuffered from Papiſts or Fanaticks, excepting *Smithfield* Fires, which poſſibly may be exchanged for *Tyburn*. All, who live in the Communion of the Church of *England*, as now eſtabliſhed, are, in their Account and conſtant Language, no better than Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, and perjured Apoſtates; much greater Crimes than the *Traditores* were guilty of, which was the only Pretence for the *Donatiſt* Schiſm and Perſecution. They ſeem to comfort themſelves, under their preſent Sufferings, more with the ſweet Hopes of Revenge, than any great Expectations of future Rewards; that they ſhall live to ſee the Swearing Biſhops and Prieſts the Contempt of Princes and People *; for, if the Archbiſhop of *York*, who is particularly named, cannot eſcape them, I doubt they will make but very few Exceptions. And is not this a great Encouragement to any, who have complied with the preſent Government, to help theſe Men to Power again? Muſt not the Nobility and Gentry expect their Share of Vengeance, as well as the Clergy? And is not the Church of *England*, then, in a hopeful State? Which muſt be purged and reformed into *Jacobite* Principles, and by a *Jacobite* Spirit.

Theſe are all very ſenſible Proofs (as far as we can reaſon about ſuch Matters) how little Good is to be expected from the Return of the late King with a *French* Power: He muſt return the ſame Man he went, and then Popery and arbitrary Power muſt return with him; nay, he muſt return much worſe than he went, becauſe he muſt return more a Vaſſal to *France*; which, I ſuppoſe, will not mend the Condition of *Engliſh* Subjects, during his Reign.

Theſe Things ought to be well conſidered; for, if his Government was ſo uneaſy before, and gave us ſuch a frightful Proſpect, as made the Nation very willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them, it would ſeem very ſtrange to By-ſtanders, ſhould they now grow fond of his Return, when it is certain, if he does return, and returns by the Methods now intended, Popery and arbitrary Power muſt be more triumphant than ever.

He wanted nothing but Power to make himſelf abſolute, and to make us all Papiſts or Martyrs, or Refugees; and that he will now have: For, if a *French* Power can conquer us, it will make him as abſolute as the *French* King will let him be; or, to ſpeak properly, it will make him, though not an abſolute Prince, yet an abſolute Viceroy, and Miniſter of *France*: He will adminiſter an abſolute Power and Government, under the Influence and Direction of *French* Counſels; and then we know not what will become of the Liberties and Religion of *England*. And have we ſo long diſdained the Thoughts of Subjection to *France*? Has a *French* League been thought ſuch a National Grievance? Has the Pretence of a War with *France* been found ſuch an excellent Expedient to get Money of *Engliſh* Parliaments? Has the Expectation of it fired *Engliſh* Spirits, and, upon Occaſion, filled our Armies and Navies, without Need of Preſſing, or Beat of Drum? Have we ſo deteſted the *French* Cruelties to Proteſtants? And ſhall we now ſo willingly ſtoop to the Yoke, and think it a great Favour that they will vouchſafe to conquer us? Let us never complain hereafter, that our Chains pinch and gall us, when we ourſelves are ready with ſo much Joy and Thankfulneſs to put them on. And, whatever ſome fancy, they will find it a very eaſy and natural Thing for the late King, if he return by Force and Power, to make himſelf abſolute by Law: Princes always gain new Powers by the ineffectual Oppoſition of Subjects: If they loſe their Crowns and recover them again, they receive them with an Addition of ſome brighter Jewels, and turn diſputed Prerogatives into legal and undoubted Rights. Thus we know it was when King *Charles the Second* returned from a long Exile, all the new Acts and Declarations were made in Favour of the Crown, and Subjects bound to their good Behaviour, as faſt as Laws could bind them; for, in all ſuch Revolutions, thoſe who ſuffered, with or for their Prince, return with Zeal and Reſentment; and take Care, in the firſt Place, to eſtabliſh all ſuch Prerogatives of the Crown, as were diſputed before, and to grant ſuch new Powers as they think are wanting. And others there are always forward to make their Fortunes by complimenting the returning Prince; and to expiate their former Crimes by a forward and flaming Loyalty; and the reſt are over-awed and frighted into a Compliance; and thus it is commonly ſeen, that between Zeal and Flattery, and Fear, the King increaſes in Power, and the People forfeit their Liberties; and we muſt not expect that it ſhould be otherwiſe now, ſhould the late King return.

* Apol. for the new Separat.

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The firſt Compliment that muſt be made to him is a *Jacobite* Parliament, and God knows what ſuch a Parliament will do! Will they deny him a Toleration for Papiſts, the Repeal of the Teſt, the Forfeitures, or Surrenders of Charters, and a new Regulation of Corporations? Will they diſpute, nay, will they not declare his diſpenſing Power, and approve his Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions? Will they make any Scruple to declare the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, or to leave the Manner of his Education to thoſe who will certainly breed him up in Popery? Will they not take Care for new *Jacobite* Teſts to renounce and abhor all the ſeveral Hypotheſes and Principles of Government, which have been urged to juſtify our Submiſſion and Allegiance to their preſent Majeſties? And, when they have done this, How eaſy will it be for a downright Popiſh Parliament, which will be the next Step that will be made, to do all the reſt?

It is very evident what Advantages the Prieſts and Jeſuits will have, in ſuch a Juncture, to make Proſelytes, while the People are in a Fright, and grown giddy with ſuch frequent Revolutions; and thoſe, who, in the late Reign, were the great Advocates of the Proteſtant Cauſe, are diſgraced at Court, threatened into Silence, their Authority weakened, and their Perſons reproached both by Papiſts and *Jacobites*. Numbers of Converts was their great Want before, and the Preſs and the Pulpit their great Hinderance; but *Jacobites* will, by natural Inſtinct, learn more Loyalty, and others will be taught it, as *Gideon* once taught the Men of *Succoth*, with Briars and Thorns. And there never was ſuch an Opportunity ſince the Reformation for a plentiful Harveſt of Converts, as this would be like to prove. And who can bear the Thoughts of this, who has any Compaſſion for the Souls of Men, any Zeal for the Church of *England*, or any Concern to preſerve and propagate the true Faith and Worſhip of Chriſt to Poſterity?

All this is, upon a Suppoſition of the late King's Return, which I declare to you I am not afraid of, though it is fit to mind thoſe Men who are ſo fond of it, what they may reaſonably expect, if he ſhould return; which poſſibly may abate their Zeal in this Cauſe, and that may prevent the Miſchiefs of an Attempt; for, without a hopeful Conſpiracy in *England*, the *French* King is too wary to make ſuch an Attempt.

But, if they have any Love to their Country, any Pity left in them for the Lives and Fortunes of *Engliſh* Proteſtants, I beſeech them to conſider, what the Calamities and Deſolations of Civil War will be; for that it muſt end in, if there be an Invaſion from Abroad, ſtrengthened with a powerful Conſpiracy at Home: King *William*, as I ſaid before, will not deſert or abdicate; for I never heard of a Prince who had ventured ſo much to reſcue a Kingdom out of ſo great a Danger, that would ſo eaſily expoſe it again to the ſame, or a greater Danger. And ſurely the late King does not expect he ſhould, for he knows him too well: So that, if they look for ſuch another Revolution, to turn King *William* out, as brought him in, they will, in all Probability, be miſtaken. There are too many Perſons of Honour and Fortune engaged in this Cauſe, who know the late King too well to take his Word; and, were it poſſible to wheedle Men of Fortune and Senſe, the Genius and Spirit of the Nation is againſt them: And that, which could make the late Revolution, will probably be able to prevent *this*.

It muſt then come to Blows, if an Attempt be made; and the Fortune of one Battle may not decide it; and thoſe who are too young to remember the Deſolations which the late Civil Wars in *England* made, let them look into *Ireland*, and ſee to what a Heap of Rubbiſh a flouriſhing and fruitful Country is reduced by being the Scene of a three Years War.

It is made a popular Pretence to raiſe Diſcontents, and to make People diſaffected to the preſent Government, that the Taxes for Maintaining this War are grown ſo intolerable, and there is no Proſpect of an End of them: Now, I muſt confeſs, that the Taxes fall very heavy upon ſome, and am ſorry that the preſent Poſture of our Affairs does require it, and that there can be no eaſier Ways found to ſupply the plain and preſſing Neceſſities of the State: But we ought to conſider, that ſtill all this is infinitely eaſier than Popery and *French* Slavery, if we regard only our Eſtates. The annual Exactions of the Church of *Rome* (beſides all the cheating Ways their Prieſts had to get Money) while Popery was the Religion of *England*, uſed to be complained of as a National Grievance, and a heavier Tax upon the Subject, than all the King's Revenues: And, if thoſe who complain of our Taxes, were but one Month in *France*, to ſee the Poverty and Miſery

ſery which the *French* Government has brought upon them, they would come Home very well contented to pay Taxes, and to fight againſt the *French* too. We are free Subjects, not Slaves; we are taxed by our own Repreſentatives, who tax themſelves as well as us; and this not by the arbitrary Will of the Prince. We pay for our own Defence and Preſervation as all People ought to do; and, while we do not pay near ſo much as our Religion, and Lives, and Liberties are worth, and have left wherewithal to maintain ourſelves, we have no ſuch great Reaſon to complain.

But how heavy ſoever Taxes are, Are they like a Civil War? Like the Dread and Terrors of an Enemy's Army, or of our own? Are they like having our Houſes filled with Soldiers; or, which is worſe, burnt or plundered? Are they like Loſing our Friends, our Fathers, Huſbands, or Children, by whoſe Kindneſs or Labours we ſubſiſted? In a Word, Are they like the Spoils of Harveſt, or the Deſolation of a whole Country?

And can we be contented to ſee *England* again the Seat of War? It is certain, in our preſent Circumſtances, it cannot be made ſo, unleſs we ourſelves pleaſe: *France* has too many Enemies, to think of conquering *England* without Factions at Home; and, were it not for them, we need not fear its united Force; and I hope conſidering Men, of what Perſuaſion ſoever they be, will not think it worth the While to ruin their Country by a Civil War, to purchaſe a *French* Slavery and Popery; two very dear Things, could we purchaſe them never ſo cheap.

What I have ſaid, hitherto, concerns only *England*; but it becomes us to look a little Abroad, and conſider, what a fatal Influence a *French* Conqueſt of *England* will have upon the Affairs of all *Europe*. That it is not mere Juſtice and Honour that makes the *French* King eſpouſe the Cauſe of the late King *James*, his Incroachments and Uſurpations on his Neighbours will witneſs. He has no Scruples of Conſcience about the Rights of other Princes; all he can get is his own. But *England* was formerly a Friend and Confederate, at leaſt, not an Enemy; and now the Power of *England* (which the *French* have never had Reaſon to deſpiſe) is in the Hands of a King who owes the *French* King a good Turn, and will not, I hope, die in his Debt. This checks his ambitious Deſigns; gives Life and Spirit to the Confederacy; threatens to make him reſtore what he has taken, and what he keeps by mere Force and Violence, and to reduce him within his ancient Bounds, and to the ancient Conſtitution of the *French* Government; [illegible] he knows, while King *William* poſſeſſes the *Engliſh* Throne, and keeps up the Confederacy, he muſt not expect to get much more, and may be in conſtant Danger of loſing what he has gotten.

This makes the *French* King ſo concerned to reſtore the late King *James* to the Throne of *England*, to get rid of a formidable Enemy, and to ſtrengthen himſelf with the Alliance of a powerful Friend; for *England* will probably turn the Scales, on which Side ſoever it happens to be: And there is no Doubt, but the Arms of *England* muſt be devoted to the Service of *France*, if a *French* Power ſhould place the late King in his Throne again; and let any *Engliſh* Proteſtant, who can think coolly of Things, conſider what a malignant Aſpect this would have upon the Liberties of *Europe*, and on the whole Proteſtant Intereſt.

The Arms, or the Money of *France*, has, hitherto, been an equal Match, at leaſt, for all the Confederates; while he has found other Employment for the Imperial and *Engliſh* Forces; but, Thanks be to God, the King of *England*, and the *Engliſh* Forces, are now at Leiſure to attend his Motions; thoſe Forces which beat him at the *Boyne*, at *Athlone*, at *Agrim*, at *Limerick*; in a Word, which beat him out of *Ireland*, and have now got a Habit of Beating the *French*: And it is no Wonder that he is not fond of ſuch Company in *Flanders*, but endeavours to find ſome new Work for them at Home. And, if he can but ſend them Home again, and embroil us in a Civil War, that is one great Point gained; but, if he proves ſucceſsful in his Attempt, he makes *England* his own, and will turn their Arms upon the Confederates: And what can then ſtand in his Way? What ſhould hinder him from being the ſole and abſolute Monarch of the *Weſt*? And then it is eaſy to read the Fate of Proteſtants.

Thus, Sir, I have freely told you, what I apprehend will be the neceſſary and unavoidable Effects of a *French* Conqueſt. I pretend not to Prophecy, nor to Demonſtration in ſuch Caſes; but what I have ſaid, has all the Appearances of Probability, all the Degrees of moral Certainty, that any Thing of this Nature can have; and that is the only Rule in

theſe

theſe Matters by which wiſe Men are to judge and act.

And this has prepared a plain and eaſy Anſwer to your *Second* Queſtion, What *Engliſh* Subjects are bound in Conſcience to do, in caſe the late King ſhould land in *England* with *French* Forces to demand his Crown?

Now there are two Sorts of Perſons concerned in this Queſtion: 1. Thoſe who have not ſworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, but account the late King *James* as much their King, as he was when he ſat upon the Throne; and that their Obligations to him are the ſame now that ever they were. 2. Thoſe who have ſworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*: And there are two Parts of this Queſtion; 1. Whether they are bound in Conſcience to aſſiſt the late King, if he return? 2. Whether it be lawful for them to oppoſe him, and fight againſt him?

As for the Firſt Part of this Queſtion, and as far as it concerns the Non-ſwearers, I ſhall ask them two or three Queſtions, and leave them to anſwer them themſelves.

1. The *Firſt* Queſtion is, Whether they can think themſelves bound in Conſcience, upon any Pretence whatever, to fight for Popery againſt the Proteſtant Faith and Worſhip; that is (as they muſt confeſs, if they are Proteſtants) to fight for Hereſy and Idolatry againſt the true Faith and Worſhip of Chriſt; or to fight for Antichriſt, and againſt Chriſt? Can any Conſideration make this lawful? If nothing can (as I will venture to take it for granted, that nothing can) then whatever Duty they may fancy they ſtill owe to their abdicated Prince, it cannot be their Duty to fight for him, when they cannot fight for him, without fighting againſt Chriſt and his Religion; though they muſt not fight againſt their Prince for Chriſt, becauſe Chriſt in ſuch Caſes requires his Diſciples to ſuffer, not to fight for him; yet it does not follow, that they muſt fight for their Prince againſt Chriſt, to bring a Perſecution upon his faithful Diſciples, and to contribute what they can to extirpate the Name and the Religion of Proteſtants out of *Europe*.

Do they think themſelves bound in Conſcience to fight for their Prince, againſt the Laws and Liberties of their Country, as well as againſt the Faith and Worſhip of Chriſt? Let the Rights of Princes be never ſo ſacred, Have the reſt of Mankind no Rights, but only Princes? Is there no ſuch Thing as Juſtice due to ourſelves, nor to our Fellow-Subjects? Have the Free-born Subjects of *England* no Natural, no Legal Rights? And is there any Law of God or Man, to fight for our Prince, againſt the Laws and Liberties of our Country, which are the Meaſures and Boundaries of that Duty which we owe to Princes? That is, to fight for our Prince, againſt the Rule of our Duty and Obedience to Princes; when our Prince and the Laws and Liberties of our Country are on contrary Sides, though we ſhould grant them (according to their own Principles) that we muſt not fight againſt our Prince for our Laws and Liberties, yet no more muſt we fight for our Prince againſt our Laws and Liberties: It is abundantly enough to be Paſſive in ſuch Caſes; but a Nation, which fights againſt its own Laws and Liberties, is *Felo de ſe*, guilty of the worſt Kind of Self-Murder. Can any *Engliſhman*, whatever Opinion he has of the late King's Right, think himſelf bound in Conſcience to maintain his Right, by giving up his Country to *France*? To make him King, and all his Subjects *French* Slaves? For can any Prince have more Right to be King of *England*, than the Kingdom of *England* has to be *England*?

Is it not an unaccountable Tenderneſs and Scrupuloſity of Conſcience, to be ſo concerned for any one Prince's Right, as to ſacrifice the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in *Europe*, to his? To ſet him upon the Throne, to drive all other Princes from theirs? We are Citizens of the World, as well as Subjects of *England*, and have our Obligations to Mankind, and to other Princes, as well as to our own; and though our Obligation to no one other Prince is great, as to our own, yet the publick Good of Mankind, or of a great Part of the World, is a more ſacred Obligation, than the particular Intereſt of our own Prince or Country; much leſs then can the Right of any particular Prince, be it what it will, ſtand in Competition with the Rights and Liberties of our own Country, and of all *Europe* beſides.

It is to no more Purpoſe to diſpute with Men who do not feel the Force of this Argument at the firſt Hearing, than to reaſon with blind Men about Colours; they have no Senſe left, nothing but a ſtupid and ſlaviſh Loyalty; all Things, though never ſo ſacred, muſt give Place to this; the Care of Religion, the Love

of their Country, their Juſtice and Charity to all Mankind, muſt vail to their ſenſeleſs Miſtake of the true Meaning of this Word *Loyalty*; by which they will needs underſtand an Abſolute Obedience, without Limitation or Reſerve; when, moſt certainly, it ſignifies no more than Obedience according to Law.

2. I would aſk, What they would think themſelves bound to do in ſuch Caſes, were the late King upon the Throne again? Unleſs they have changed their Minds (and then they are not ſo ſteady to Principles, as they pretend to be) we may very reaſonably gueſs, what they would do, by what they did while he was upon the Throne. It is certain, they ſo much diſliked his open Deſigns of Popery and Arbitrary Power, that they oppoſed him as far as they durſt, and would not fight for him, to keep him on the Throne; nay, by their Examples and Counſels, they had ſo influenced the Army, that they would not fight for him neither; and ſo poſſeſſed the Country, that the Nobility and Gentry took Arms, and declared for the Prince of *Orange*, which they thought they might very well do, when the Biſhops would not declare againſt him. This was then thought conſiſtent enough with the *High-Tory* Loyalty; and yet, if they were not then bound to fight for him to keep him on his Throne, I am at a great Loſs to know, how it comes to be their Duty now to fight for him, to reſtore him to it: He was certainly their King then, and yet they would not fight for him, no, not to defend his Perſon, Crown, and Dignity. And, though they call him *their King* ſtill, it is certain he is not King of *England*, whatever Right they may think he has to be ſo; and, therefore, to fight for him now, is not to fight for the King, but to fight to make him King again. But, to let that paſs, ſuppoſe him to be their King, ſince they will have him ſo, How do they come to be more obliged to fight for him now he is out of the Throne, than they were to fight for him while he was in it? If they think it their Duty to fight for their King, againſt the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberties of their Country, it was their Duty to have fought for him then; if they do not think this, it cannot be their Duty to fight for him now.

But they did not expect what followed; they deſired to have their Laws and Liberties ſecured, but not that he ſhould loſe his Crown: I believe very few did then expect what followed, no more than they do now conſider what will follow: But, ſince he would leave his Crown, Who could help it? For no Body took it from him.

3. Let me then aſk them another Queſtion: Whether they would think themſelves bound in Conſcience to fight for him, did they verily believe, that, if he recovered his Throne, he would as zealouſly promote Popery and Arbitrary Power, as he did before? If they ſay they would not, they have been at their *non putaram* once already; a ſecond Overſight, in the ſame Kind, would be worſe than the firſt. If they ſay they would, I give them over, as profeſſed Enemies to the true Religion, and the Liberties of Mankind.

This, I hope, may ſatisfy the Non-ſwearers, if they will coolly and ſeriouſly conſider it, that they are not bound in Conſcience to fight for the late King; nay, that they are as much bound in Conſcience not to fight for him, as they are bound not to fight againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and Civil Liberties, not only of *England*, but of all *Europe*.

2. As for thoſe who have ſworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; beſides all the former Conſiderations, they are under the Obligations of an Oath, not to fight againſt their preſent Majeſties, whoſe ſworn Subjects and Liegemen they are. For let them expound Faith and true Allegiance, to as low a Senſe as poſſibly they can, the leaſt, that they ever could make of it, is to live quietly and peaceably under their Government; not to attempt any Thing againſt their Perſons, or Crowns; not to hold any Correſpondence with, nor to give any Aſſiſtance to their Enemies; and, therefore, to countenance a *French* Invaſion, or to aſſiſt the late King in recovering the Throne, which their Majeſties ſo well fill, and which they have ſworn not to diſpoſſeſs them of, muſt be downright Perjury. If they be ſure that their Oaths to the late King ſtill oblige them, that, indeed, would make void the Obligation of this ſecond Oath; but then they muſt be guilty of Perjury in taking it, and by the breaking of it will declare to all the World, that they deliberately and wilfully perjured themſelves when they took it; and let them remember this, when they take Arms againſt their Majeſties, and let them expect that Recompence which they deſerve.

Thoſe who took this, only as a temporary Oath, which obliged them no longer than till the late King ſhould return into *England* again to demand his Crown, are guilty of Perjury, if they keep it no longer than till they have a promiſing Opportunity to break it: For this is to mock God, and to deceive the Government by their Oaths: For no Man can think that the Meaning of the Oath was no more but this, *I do promiſe and ſwear to bear Faith and true Allegiance to King* William *and Queen* Mary, *till I have Power and Opportunity, by the Return of King* James *with a* French *Army, to join his Forces, and to aſſiſt him to recover his Throne.* Thoſe, who will take and keep Oaths at this Rate, we muſt leave to God: But nothing is more plain and certain, than that the new Oath of Allegiance obliges all, who have taken it, under the Guilt of Perjury, at leaſt not to fight for the late King, againſt King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

And here I may very fairly conclude, without entering into a longer Diſpute about the Lawfulneſs of Fighting againſt a foreign Army, though the late King were at the Head of it; for were thoſe, who ſcruple this, ſatisfied, that they ought not to fight for him, their preſent Majeſties have Friends enough, who are very well ſatisfied to fight againſt him; eſpecially bringing along with him the greateſt Enemies both to the Proteſtant Religion, and to the Civil Liberties, not only of the *Engliſh* Nation, but of all the Kingdoms and States of *Europe*, *France* itſelf not excepted.

However, this Letter is large enough already, and if I find you deſire farther Satisfaction in this Matter, eſpecially about the late King *James*'s Declaration, which is lately come to my Hands, you may expect a ſpeedy Account of it in a ſecond Letter, from,

Sir, yours.

A true Relation of the bloody Execution, lately performed by the Commandment of the Emperor's Majeſty, upon the Perſons of ſome chief Stateſmen, and others, in *Prague*, the chief City of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, the 11th of *June*, 1621. With the Manner and Proceedings therein obſerved. Faithfully tranſlated out of the *Dutch* Copy. Printed the 21ſt of *July*, 1621. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages.

THERE is no Doubt, but that many will be very deſirous to underſtand and be fully informed of the laſt moſt bloody and cruel Execution, with the criminal Proceedings concerning the ſame, againſt the noble Perſons of ſome Stateſmen, Directors, and other excellent and well-qualified Perſonages in the famous Kingdom of *Bohemia*; and therefore we have thought good to ſet in Writing, and to cauſe openly to be printed, the true Diſcourſe thereof, to the End it may come to the Knowledge of thoſe that deſire to be certified of the true Ground and Manner thereof; and this Execution, with the Circumſtances concerning the ſame, was done and accompliſhed in ſuch Manner as followeth:

After that the Majeſty of the *Roman* Emperor and King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* had ordained and given Commiſſion to his Excellency the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* (having to his Aſſiſtance ſome other Perſonages) concerning the Priſoners in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, his Majeſty gave Commandment, that the Execution of them ſhould be done and accompliſhed upon *Monday*, being the eleventh after the ancient, and the twenty-firſt Day of *June* after the new,

Computation; which, according to the Imperial Commandment, is performed upon the ſame Day, in the following Manner:

On *Thurſday* before, namely, the Seventeenth of the ſaid Month of *June*, there came ſeven Companies of Horſe, under the Command of his Highneſs the Duke of *Saxony*, into the City of *Prague*; whereof five Companies were ordained to lodge in the old City, and two Companies in the new City: They kept their Watches and Centinels, from that Day, here and there in the ſeveral Streets of the old City; but in the great Market-place, before the Town-houſe of the old City, there watched every Night continually a whole Company of the ſaid Horſemen.

On *Friday* following, being the Eighteenth of *June*, the *Theatrum*, or Scaffold of Timber, which was to be erected, and whereupon the following Execution of the Priſoners, for the moſt Part, was to be performed, was made ready and diſpatched in the common Carpenters Yard of the old City; and the ſame was the next Day erected and ſet up in the great Market-place of the ſaid City, cloſe and joining to the Town-houſe, ſo that they might, out of the ſame Town-houſe, go conveniently upon the Scaffold, through a Door purpoſely made to that End; the Scaffold being four Ells high, twenty-two Paces broad, and twenty-two Paces long, in a ſquare Form, all of good ſubſtantial ſtrong Timber, and Rails made round about.

On *Saturday*, the Nineteenth of *June*, very early in the Morning, there were thirteen of the Priſoners out of the old City, and ten out of the new City, by the Coaches and Horſes belonging to the Senators of the ſaid City, brought upwards in the Court to the Caſtle, conveyed with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe, and ſome Companies of Muſqueteers, where the others, as well Lords as Knights, who were of the Number of the Directors, had been kept Priſoners.

Whereupon, they proceeded to the Arraignment and Condemnation of the Priſoners; which Buſineſs was took in Hand and effected in the King's Court Chamber, right over the *Chancery*, where a royal Throne, or Seat, of ruſſet Velvet was erected; and thereupon his Excellency, the Prince of *Lichtenſtein*, and the other Lords and Commiſſioners were ſitting by and about him.

Then the Priſoners were one after another ſent for, and brought before the Imperial Court and Lords Commiſſioners, when the Emperor's Attorney came forth, and indicted every particular Priſoner, one after another, in the *German* and *Bohemian* Speech, for Matters enormous and criminal, as he alledged; requeſting the Lords Commiſſioners, in his Maſter's Behalf, to decree and pronounce their final Judgment againſt them.

Whereupon, Dr. *Melander* made Anſwer, in High *Dutch*, That the Judgment was decreed already, and ſhould not be executed, but in ſuch Sort as might be according to Right and Juſtice, and to the Laws of the Kingdom, and, beſides, as may ſtretch to the Reputation and Authority of the Emperor's Majeſty.

After him, Dr. *Kapper* made a Speech, in the *Bohemian* Tongue, being the ſame in Effect; thereupon is the Arraignment and Judgment pronounced by the Imperial Judge of the lower Part in the High *Dutch*, and preſently after him by another in the *Bohemian* Language: And thus were the forty-three hereafter-named Perſons, by the Judge's Sentence, in Manner as followeth, adjudged and condemned to ſeveral Puniſhments.

Firſt of all, ſome were condemned to Impriſonment of their Perſons, and others to corporal Puniſhment.

1. The Lord *William Poppel*, of *Lockowitz*, *&c.* High-Steward of the Kingdom, who was brought forth firſt of all: His Judgment was, That Grace ſhould be offered unto him; but yet, upon the Good-liking and Ratification of the Emperor's Majeſty, he was to remain in perpetual Priſon.
2. *Paul Rinſchan.*
3. *Hans Waſtrowetz.*
4. *Felix Wentzel Pietibeski.*
5. *D. Matthias Borbonius.*

Theſe are condemned, in like Manner, upon his Majeſty's Liking, to perpetual Impriſonment.

6. *Lucas Karabon* is condemned to be executed with the Sword; but, Grace being ſhewed him, his Judgment is, That he ſhall be ſent to *Raab*, and there remain in perpetual Priſon.

7. *Wolfgang Haſlawer* is to be ſent to *Raab*, and there to be ſhut up in iron Chains.

8. *Melchior Dubrecht* is to be baniſhed out of the Land for ever; but, Grace being ſhewed him,

him, he is to be ſent to *Raab*, and there to wear the iron Chains for a Year.

9. *George Sabiota* is alſo condemned to be baniſhed for ever; but, out of Grace, and upon the Emperor's Pleaſure, Execution was ſuſpended.

10. *Paul Petzko* ſhall remain in Priſon, for a Year.

11. *Caſpar Uſzler* is condemned to be hanged out of the Window of the new City's Council-Houſe, but, by Grace, till farther Order, the Execution is ſtayed, and he, in the mean Time, to remain in Priſon.

12. *Nicholas Diebis*, Officer to the Burgomaſters of the old City, is condemned to have his Tongue cut out of his Throat, and it faſtened to the Gallows, and after that, to be ſent to *Raab*, there to be ſhut up in Irons; but, by Grace offered him, he is to ſtand with his Tongue nailed on the Poſt of the Gallows, for the Space of an Hour, and then to be ſent to *Raab* aforeſaid, to perpetual Impriſonment.

13. *Wentzel Orſatzky*,

14. *Joſeph Kubin*,

15. *Hans Sirele*.

Amongſt theſe, are two *Bohemian* Procurators; all three are condemned to be whipped with Rods out of the City, and baniſhed the Land.

16. *John Kammerit* is to be baniſhed, for one Year.

Theſe Perſons following were condemned to Death.

Firſt, Men of Noble Houſes.

1. The Lord *Joachim Andreas Schlick*, &c. chief Miniſter of Juſtice, in the Land of *Bohemia*, one of the Privy-Council, Director, and Head Governor in *Upper Luſatia*, &c. whom the Elector of *Saxony* ſent Priſoner to *Prague*; he had this heavy Sentence of Condemnation, pronounced againſt him, That, firſt, his Right-hand ſhould be chopped off, then, to be quartered alive, and the Quarters to be hanged upon the High-ways; his Head and Hand to be faſtened on a Pole, upon the *Bridge-Tower*: But, Grace being offered unto him, he is to have his Head, and then his Right-hand cut off, and both to be nailed on the Top of a Pole, and ſet upon the *Bridge Tower*.

2. The Lord *Wentzel* of *Budowitz*, *Senior*, Preſident of the Appellations and Director, is condemned to the ſame Penalty, as the Earl of *Schlick*: Nevertheleſs, Mercy being ſhewed him, his Judgment is mitigated, and he is to be executed after the ſame Manner, as the ſaid Earl of *Schlick*.

3. The Lord *Chriſtopher* of *Harrant*, Preſident of the *Bohemian* Chamber, and Director, out of Grace, is adjudged to be executed with the Sword.

Theſe following were Knights, and of the Gentry.

4. *Bohuſzlaw* of *Michalowitz*, &c. Burghgrave of *Conig*, *Gratzer*, *Crailz*, and Director, *&c.* ſhall be executed with the Sword, and is to have his Right-hand chopped off, and both to be ſet and nailed faſt upon the *Bridge-Tower*.

5. *Gaſper Kaplitz*, Lord High Secretary of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and Director, is condemned to have his Head cut off, then to be parted in four Quarters, and the Quarters to be hanged upon the High-ways: But out of Grace, Mercy being ſhewed unto him, in Conſideration of his great Age, of fourſcore Years, this Judgment is mitigated, and he is to be executed with the Sword, and his Head to be faſtened with the others, upon the *Bridge-Tower*.

6. *Hinrick Otto* of *Loſz*, &c. Underburghgrave of *Carleſtein*, alſo Under-chamberlain of *Bohemia*, and Director, is condemned to be cut alive in four Quarters, and the Pieces to be hanged, and ſet up, as of the former: But, by Grace, this Judgment is mitigated, and he is condemned to die, in ſuch Manner, as the aforeſaid *Kaplitz*.

7. *Procopius Dworſetzky*, Under-chamberlain of *Bohemia*, and

8. *Friderick van Bilaw*, Captain of the *Dutch Leen*, or *Feofe*, both Directors, and both had ſuch heavy Sentence, as the aforeſaid *Kaplitz*: But yet, out of Grace, their Judgment is altered and mitigated, as of the aforeſaid *Kaplitz*; and they are to be executed with the Sword, their Heads ſet up, and faſtened as aforeſaid.

9. *Willem Koneg* of *Klumboky*, Director, and

10. *Dionyſius Tſcherin*, Captain of the Caſtle of *Prague*, by Grace ſhewed them, they are both

both ſentenced to have their Heads cut off with the Sword.

Theſe following are of the Burgeſſes, and of the beſt Citizens.

11. *Valentine Kochan.*
12. *Tobias Stefgeck.*
13. *Chriſtopher Cober, Senior.*
14. *John Theodorus the Sixth.*

The three firſt Directors, but all four condemned to be executed with the Sword, and their Heads on Poles, on the *Bridge-Tower.*

15. *John Schulthetſz*, Burgomaſter at *Kuttenburgh*, and

16. *Maximilian Heoſtelig*, *Primus* at *Satz*, both theſe are condemned to have their Heads ſtruck off, with the Sword; and the Head of the firſt is to be carried to *Kuttenburgh*, and of the other to *Satz*; and each to be nailed on Poles, and made faſt upon the Gallows of their ſeveral Places.

17. D. *Johannes Jeſſenius*, a Doctor in Phyſick, a famous learned Man, and one of the eloquenteſt Orators, that *Bohemia* ever brought forth; a Profeſſor in the College *Carolini*, in the old City of *Prague*; is ſentenced to this grievous and heavy Judgment: To have his Tongue plucked out of his Throat, and then to be quartered alive: But, by ſpecial Mercy, offered him, he is condemned to have his Tongue cut off, as aforeſaid, and thereupon to be executed with the Sword, and then to be quartered in four Pieces, which Quarters are to be hanged by the Gallows Tower, upon the high Streets, there to remain; but his Head to be poled, and ſet upon the *Bridge-Tower.*

18. *Wentzel Maſchiroffizky*,
19. *Hinrick Bock*,
20. *Elias Roſſin, Senior*,
21. *Elias Kotzaw.*
22. *George Stzetziſckky*,
23. *Michel Widman*,
24. *Simon Wockatſchtz.*

Theſe ſeven received all Grace, and are to be executed with the Sword.

25. *John Kuttenaw*, chief Captain of the Citizens in the old City, and

26. *Simon Suſſitzſzky*, Commiſſary of the Council, and of the Stewer-ampt; and alſo, in former Times, Commiſſary of the Jeſuits College: Both are condemned to be hanged out of the Window of the Town-houſe in the old City, on a Beam or Piece of Timber, to that End, ſtretched out of the ſame Window.

27. *Nathaniel Wodnianſzky* is condemned to be hanged and ſtrangled on the Gallows, in the Market-place in the old City.

Immediately after this Judgment and Sentence of Condemnation, it is likewiſe decreed, and pronounced to all in general, and to every Priſoner in particular, as well to thoſe that were left alive, as to them that were afterwards executed, that they had forfeited their Bodies, Lives, Eſtates, Honours, Dignities, Goods, and Blood; and that their Goods ſhould be ſeized upon, as already, in ſome Sort, it was effected, but only that ſome of their Bed Conſorts, and Wives, ſhould have free their Jointure that they brought with them, at their Marriage.

This bloody and tragical Act of Condemnation being ended, and brought to that Period, the Emperor's Attorney, in his Majeſty's Name gave hearty Thanks to the Lord Commiſſioners, both in the *Dutch* and *Bohemian* Language, and, thereupon, the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners, returned again to their Houſes; but the condemned Perſons were conveyed again to the Place of their Impriſonment, and there they obtained Leave, that every one, that knew any of them, might freely come to viſit them, to ſpeak and confer with them, and to comfort them, in this their Extremity. But, as ſoon as from their Arraignment they were returned into their Priſons, there reſorted unto them great Companies of Jeſuits, all two and two, who did their uttermoſt Endeavour, with exceeding great Perſuaſions, to turn them to their Opinion, and to convert them, if any wiſe it were poſſible, to their Idolatry and Popiſh Religion, they all being of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, and with great Conſtancy profeſſing the *Lutheran* Religion (except *Wentzel Badowitz*, being of the Reformed Religion, and *Dionyſius Tſchkerin*, a *Roman* Catholick) but they got as much of the one, as of the other, and, in Sum, effected Nothing at all. And becauſe they diſputed more than an Hour with D. *Jeſſenius*, in the Preſence of Mr. *David Lippach*, Miniſter and Preacher of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion; at laſt, he gave them this for his final Anſwer and Expedition, that all that, in his Baptiſm, he had promiſed to *Jeſus Chriſt*, his Lord and Saviour, he was reſolved to live and die thereby, and was moſt willing to ratify and ſeal the ſame with his Blood.

They

They likewiſe were ſuffered, either in general or particular, to have with them as well *Dutch* as *Bohemian* Preachers, both of the Confeſſion of *Auſburgh*, as of the *Huſſites*, to their laſt End, who did their beſt Endeavour, and took great Pains with comforting them, and gave them many good Admonitions to die conſtantly in the true Knowledge of God, and their Redeemer *Jeſus Chriſt*, to their great Strengthening in this their laſt Conflict.

On the aforeſaid *Saturday*, in the Night-time, beſides the Forty-three, whereof Twenty-ſeven were condemned to die, there were two Priſoners more adjudged to Death in the Manner as followeth, namely:

1. *Leander Ruppell* being of the Secret Council of the Elector Palatine of *Heidelburgh*, and alſo Counſellor and Agent for ſome other Princes; and,

2. *George Hawenſchildt*, Advocate and Counſellor of the Appellations and Commiſſary; they were both ſentenced to have their Heads and Hands cut off, and then the ſaid their Heads and Hands to be nailed on Poles, and ſet upon the *Bridge-Tower*; and all their Goods to be confiſcated: But, becauſe that theſe two were not with the other Priſoners conveyed to the Caſtle, their Sentence was not then pronounced unto them, as to the others, and therefore their Condemnation was ſent to them in Writing: And thus the Execution, which was to be done upon their Perſons, was denounced unto them in the ſame Night.

On *Sunday* following, being *June* the 20th, very early in the Morning, there came many of the condemned Perſons ſorrowful Wives, Children, and Friends, to his Excellency the Prince of *Litchtenſtein*, out of the very Bottom of their Hearts, crying moſt pitifully for Mercy, and interceding for their condemned Lords, Huſbands, Fathers, and Kinſmen; at leaſt, that their Puniſhment might be mitigated, and their Judgment limited: But they had a ſober Anſwer, to the ſmall Comfort of their Sorrows in this their Miſery.

Upon the ſame *Sunday*, the ſaid *Dutch Lutheran* Preacher, Mr. *Lippach*, in his Sermon, did, from the Pulpit, moſt earneſtly exhort the People, being there preſent in great Multitudes, to join their inſtant and ſerious Chriſtian Prayers with him, to God Almighty, for the condemned Perſons, that it would pleaſe his Divine Majeſty to vouchſafe them a moſt happy, conſtant, and Chriſtian End, to receive their Souls in the eternal Glory, which was done accordingly; and thereupon the moſt Part of them, that in great Numbers were in the Church, did weep and lament moſt bitterly: All which, as likewiſe the grievous and pitiful Lamenting, both before and after that, of Women and Children, and of other Perſons of all Sorts, ſtruck with great Compaſſion at ſuch a lamentable Spectacle, all bewailing and howling, the moſt Part of the Inhabitants of *Prague* doing nothing elſe but weeping and crying out inceſſantly, pitying their unfortunate and diſtreſſed State; all which, I ſay, it were not poſſible otherwiſe, but it would move any ſtony Heart, yea, the Stones themſelves to Commiſeration: But, in the mean Time, the condemned Perſons themſelves were ever joyful within their Souls, ſhewing a chearful Countenance; they reſolved all together to die courageouſly in the Chriſtian Faith, and were full of Comfort to their very laſt Ends.

In the Afternoon, Dr. *Jeſſenius*, *Leander Ruppell*, and *George Hawenſchildt*, cauſed in the Sermon, again chriſtianly and fervently to be prayed for them, deſiring that it might be denounced from the Pulpit, to all the People there preſent, that, if they had in any wiſe offended any of them, out of Chriſtian Charity, they would be pleaſed to pardon them.

Towards Night, the Theatre or Scaffold was over and over, and round-about, as well at the Sides, as towards the Town-houſe, over-covered ſome Ells high with black Cloth; and, as ſoon as, after the *Bohemian* Manner, the Clock had ſtruck twenty-four Hours, all the condemned Perſons were, in eight Coaches, brought from the Caſtle, down into the old City, being conveyed thither with two Companies of Horſe, and a Company of Footmen; and, immediately after that, the like is done with the other Priſoners that were in the new City. And, in this Night, all the Companies of Horſe and Foot held their Watches in ſeveral Places of the City of *Prague*; but, in the mean Time, the condemned Priſoners paſſed and brought over all this Night with continual Prayers, and Singing of Pſalms, till the next following *Monday* early in the Morning, when the Execution ſhould be done.

On *Monday*, the 21ſt of *June*, in the Morning betimes, when the Clock, after the

Dutch

Dutch Manner, was not Five, there were ſeen in the Element two fair Rainbows, ſtanding croſs-wiſe, one over another; what that ſignified, God knoweth only, for thereof it is diverſly diſcourſed and judged: And at the ſame Time, as alſo the whole Night before, and as long as the then following Execution did continue, two Companies of Horſe, and three Companies of Foot, were placed in the great Market-place before the Town-houſe. And, the Clock ſtriking Five, after the *Dutch* Manner, a Piece of Cannon was diſcharged in the Caſtle, for a Sign and Warning Token; whereupon, preſently all the Gates of the City, and that of the *Bridge-Tower*, were ſhut, and the Port-cullis let fall down, and then they went forward with the Execution.

Upon a leſſer Stage, which alſo was made purpoſely joining to the great erected Theatre or Scaffold, was ſitting the Imperial Judge, and with him the Council of the old City; but the three Judges of *Prague* gave Attendance to the condemned Priſoners, to bring and convey them, one after another, to the Place of Execution. Upon the ſaid Scaffold, in the ſame Place where they ſhould receive the mortal Stroke, a Crucifix was ſet by an unknown, diſguiſed Man, one, as it was thought, of the City's Officers, whereby every one of them, that were condemned, did kneel down upon a black Cloth, and there, with great Patience, received the corporal Puniſhment that he was to endure.

But, in the mean Time, during the Execution, near to the Place thereof, ſome Companies of Footmen, who, with ſome other Companies of Horſemen, ſtood there ranged in Order of Battle in the great Market-place round about the Scaffold, excluding all other Spectators from thence, as far as they could, were charged to make a Noiſe with their Drums; which was done accordingly, ſo that thereby it was impoſſible for any to hear his own Words, much leſs ſuch Things, as by every Patient in particular might have been related for the laſt Time, and in the End of their Lives, many being much deſirous to hear what ſhould be by them uttered for their laſt Confeſſion.

Firſt of all was brought forth the ſaid Lord, the Earl of *Schlick*, in a black ſilk Gown, having a little Book of Prayers in his Hand: He was of a joyful Countenance, and well animated, looking up to Heaven, and, without Intermiſſion, pouring out his fervent Prayers to God Almighty; he came to the Scaffold, in every Manner, free and looſe, as likewiſe did all the others that were executed in that Place: There one of his Servants pulled off his upper Garment and Doublet, and he himſelf, with the Help of his ſaid Servant, uncovered and made naked the upper Part of his Body; then the Earl kneeled down upon the black Cloth, which purpoſely was laid there, and with great Patience, calling upon the bleſſed Name of the Lord, he ſtretched forth his Neck, holding up his Head, which the Executioner ſtruck off with great Dexterity and Nimbleneſs; which being done, the ſaid Servant took his Maſter's Right-hand, and laid it upon a little Block, which the Executioner chopped off likewiſe, with his Sword: The ſaid Servant took preſently his ſaid Maſter's Head and Hand in his Cuſtody, but the Body was wrapped in the black Cloth whereupon he was executed, and then was as ſoon carried away from the Scaffold by ſix Men, who were all diſguiſed, and cloathed in black Mourning Gowns, wearing black Hats upon their Heads, and their Faces covered with ſome Kind of black Cyphers, to the End they might not be known, but were ſome Officers of the Magiſtrates and City of *Prague*, as is thought; ſo that the Executioner touched not, nor laid Hand on any Place of the Body of the ſaid Earl, nor on his Garments. The like was performed about all the others, being, in all, to the Number of Twenty-four, that there were executed with the Sword, Dr. *Jeſſenius* only excepted. And, as ſoon as the one was diſpatched, then there was brought another black Cloth to the Scaffold for him that ſhould be the next, and it was laid down in the Place of the former, to be uſed for the ſame End.

The ſaid Earl being diſpatched, as is above related, the Lord *Budowitz*, being of the Reformed Religion, came forth to the Scaffold, led by two of the Judges, no Prieſt nor Preacher with him: He, likewiſe, offered his fervent Prayers to God Almighty, and, preſently after, ſuffered the corporal Puniſhment decreed againſt him, as is before mentioned.

In like Manner, the other Twenty-two, who were yet remaining, were brought one after another to the Scaffold, and there their Judgment, in ſuch Manner as it was pronounced againſt their Perſons, was fully done

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and accompliſhed. And furthermore, as often as one was diſpatched, the Body of him, that was beheaded, was in an Inſtant carried away from the Scaffold by the aboveſaid ſix diſguiſed Men, wrapped in the ſaid black Cloth; and, inſtead thereof, other two Men, diſguiſed after the ſaid Manner, came in, and brought another new black Cloth, laying it down open for him that ſhould be the next.

And thus all the aforeſaid condemned Men being every one for his Particular, and all in General, full reſolute, and of good Comfort, with Pouring out their devout Prayers continually to God, truſting to be ſaved through the Merits of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, loſt their Heads, and died like good Chriſtians, perſevering conſtantly in the Evangelical Religion, according to the Confeſſion of *Auſburgh*, coming forth to the Scaffold with Evangelical Miniſters, only excepted the ſaid *Dionyſius Tſcherin*, who died a *Roman* Catholick, having with him a Popiſh Canon and a Jeſuit; and the aboveſaid Lord *Budowitz*, being of the Reformed Religion, who was not permitted to have a Miniſter of his Religion, and refuſed to have others with him.

Dr. *Jeſſenius* coming to the Scaffold laſt of all, the Executioner took him preſently, and tied his Hands upon his Back, and then ſitting down upon his Knees, a black Cloth being laid open under him, he ſtill calling upon the Name of God, where the Executioner, with a little Pair of Pincers, pulled out his Tongue, and cut it off with a Knife, and thereupon, preſently after, he cut off his Head with his Sword, which his decreed Judgment and corporal Puniſhment he ſuffered with great Patience and Conſtancy, having firſt offered his Prayers with great Devotion to the Almighty God, as is before ſaid.

Thus the Executioner of the City of *Prague* hath brought to Death, in Manner as is before related, the aforenamed twenty-four Perſons; all which was performed with four Swords: With the firſt were executed Eleven, with the ſecond Five, and, with the other two, Eight had their Heads cut off, and all with great Dexterity, not miſſing one Stroke, as if the Wind had blown their Heads from their Shoulders.

After this, he took the three other Men who were condemned to be hanged, and, in the great Market-Place before the Town-Houſe, he tied their Hands upon their Backs, whereof the two firſt were hanged upon a Piece of Timber, that was ſtruck out purpoſely of the Window of the Town-Houſe, but the Third was hanged on the ordinary Gallows; ſo that, within the Space of leſs than four Hours and a Half, by the Executioner's own Hands, twenty-ſeven Men were put to Death, and thus miſerably loſt their Lives.

This bloody and cruel Execution was Nothing elſe but a fearful and moſt lamentable Spectacle, which many of the Spectators did behold with the higheſt Commiſeration and Chriſtian Compaſſion; ſo that many hundred Men, Women, and Children, were then ſeen and heard, in the City of *Prague*, moſt bitterly to weep, lament, and bewail, wringing their Hands, with many heavy and woeful Exclamations, which might have moved any Heart, were it never ſo hard, to Compaſſion.

Which Execution was the more pitiful to behold, becauſe that thoſe that were condemned (no Regard being had, that many of them were of noble Blood, and of eminent Dignities, of the beſt Houſes of the Realm, and ſome of them being very old Men, whereof the moſt Part had fair grey Hairs upon their grave Heads, and ſnow-white Beards; amongſt them Ten, their Years being accounted together, made up the Number of ſeven-hundred Years of Age) that thoſe grave and ancient Men, I ſay, were forced to loſe their dear Lives in ſuch a miſerable Manner, and were brought to this infamous and ſhameful End. But they all, one with another, went to their Death moſt chriſtianly and willingly, with the greateſt Joy and Patience that may be related, remaining always conſtant in their profeſſed Religion, and in the Service of God, to their laſt Breath; ſo that many ſtood thereat amazed, and wondered at their great Conſtancy: Whereof, to the Number of twenty-five, have moſt happily ended their Lives in the Profeſſion of the Evangelical *Lutheran* Religion; no Doubt but their Souls enjoy, at this Time, the Glory and Felicity of eternal Life.

Elias Ruffin, the Elder, and *John Theodorus the Sixth*, were likewiſe, as is beforementioned, ſentenced, and ſhould have ſuffered the heavy Puniſhment whereunto they were condemned; but thus far is interceded for them, that thy Execution is ſtayed, till his Imperial Majeſte himſelf cometh to *Prague*, then to do as it ſhall pleaſe him.

And the Executioner laid no Hand on any of them that were put to Death (Dr. *Jeſſenius*

only excepted, with the three that were executed with the Rope) but they themſelves, with the Help of every one of his Servants, ſtripped off their Garments, till the upper Part of their Bodies was made naked, and thus they yielded themſelves willingly to die.

As ſoon as the Head of any of them was ſtruck off, as likewiſe any of the Hands being ſeparated from the Arm, at the ſame Inſtant one of the Servants took the Head and Hand of his Maſter, and carried it away, being, in the mean Time, left in his Keeping: And twelve of theſe Heads were placed and faſtened upon the *Bridge-Tower*, ſix on the one Side, and ſix on the other, and ſome of the Hands were nailed to their Heads: But the Hand of *Leander Ruppell* was nailed and made faſt on the Pillory, ſtanding before the Town-Houſe of the old City.

After this, the dead Carcaſe of Dr. *Jeſſenius* was quartered by the Gallows Tower, and the four Quarters were ſet upon Poles in the high Streets there to remain.

The dead Bodies of the others were delivered into the Poſſeſſion of their Widows (whereof ſome already were dead for very Grief) of their Children, and their Friends. And, although the Head of *Leander Ruppell* ſhould have been ſet upon the *Bridge-Tower* (which alſo they went about to do accordingly) yet it is delivered to the Friends to be buried with the dead Body.

The Lord *Budowitz*'s Hand was chopped off: But the Hand of the Earl of *Schlick*, his Head being faſtened upon the Pole, then his Hand that was chopped off was nailed upon his Mouth. Thus there were, in all, twelve Heads and four Hands ſet upon the *Bridge-Tower*; that of the Earl of *Schlick*, that of the Lord *Budowitz*, that of *Michalowitz*, of *Kaplitz*, of *Dworſetzky*, of *Loſſe*, of *Bilaw*, of *Kochan*, of *Steffetſchtz*, of *Kober*, of *Jeſſenius*, and of *Hawenſchildt*. And the ſaid Earl *Schlick*, *Michalowitz*, *Ruppell*, and *Hawenſchildt*, their Hands were alſo ſet upon the *Bridge-Tower*, being nailed on their Heads.

On *Tueſday*, then next following, the 22d of *June*, the aforeſaid *Nicholas Diebis*, according to his Judgment, ſtood for the Time of an Hour nailed with his Tongue on the Poſt of the Gallows, and after that was carried again into Priſon; he was condemned, this Penalty performed, to be locked up in Iron Chains, and to be ſent to *Raab* in perpetual Impriſonment; but, through the unſpeakable great Pain and Torment which he ſuffered thus ſtanding, he died the next Day after. On the ſame *Tueſday*, were likewiſe both the old City's Attornies aforeſaid, with another Officer of the ſaid City, with Rods, whipped through and out of the City, and for ever baniſhed out of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

On *Wedneſday* the 23d of *June*, in the Night-time, one of the Heads, that were ſet on Poles upon the *Bridge-Tower*, fell down at the one Side thereof, ſo that no Body doth know how it came down; neither is it, or, at leaſt, it will not be known whoſe Head of them that were executed it was, only, very timely in the Morning, it was carried up again, and ſet in the Place where it ſtood before.

And thus ended this bloody Tragedy.

On *Thurſday* next the 24th of *June*, the ſaid Mr. *Lippach* made an excellent and moſt godly Sermon in the *Dutch* Church in the high *German* Language; there, with a hearty Thankſgiving to the Almighty God, he related, That God, thro' his Divine Mercy and Goodneſs, had heard the earneſt Prayers, as well of them that were Priſoners, and now departed out of this miſerable World, as of others upright and true Chriſtians, ſhewing ſuch extraordinary great Grace and Clemency to thoſe that were condemned, in their laſt Going out of this mortal Life, that thereby they were ſtrengthened with great Patience, to perſevere in the conſtant Profeſſion of their Chriſtian Faith, in an aſſured Hope of their Reſurrection to eternal Salvation, in their Chriſtian and fraternal Charity, and in continual Prayers and Supplications to God, and his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, their Saviour and Redeemer, to the very laſt End of their Lives; yea, in the Death itſelf, and that, accordingly, as moſt bleſſed and happy Chriſtians; no Doubt, but God Almighty had already received their Souls into his eternal Glory, there to rejoice with him for ever: And that they, as a Hart thirſteth after freſh Waters, ſo they have longed for their temporal Death and Separation out of this miſerable Life, and, contrary to all Men's Expectation, not without great Amazement of many, they apprehended and accepted moſt willingly the happy laſt Moment of their Departure out of this Vale of Miſery.

Dr. *Luke*, Dr. *George Frederick*, and other Priſoners more of Quality, will be likewiſe executed.

executed within few Days hereafter, according as the Sentence of their Arraignment ſhall be.

The common Speech goeth, that, the next Week after the Execution above rehearſed, ſome other notable Men, being apprehended, are likewiſe to be arraigned, and to ſuffer Death in the leſſer Part of the City of *Prague*, ſo that every Day there are yet more and more arreſted and committed to Priſon; and, as Men ſay, there is already a great Number of Perſons, of all Conditions and Qualities, noted and inrolled in the black Regiſter Book.

The Emperor's Majeſty will be here himſelf within theſe three Weeks, when there ſhall be proceeded further in this Buſineſs; what Order ſhall be then given at his Arrival, Time will ſhew. In the mean Time, God grant in his Mercy, that now all Troubles and Sorrows may be once ended, and that the fair Sunſhining Light of God's Love towards us miſerable Offenders may ſhine once again in this Kingdom. To his godly and continual Protection I commend herewithal the benevolent Reader.

The Brewers Plea: Or, A Vindication of Strong Beer and Ale. Wherein is declared the wonderful Bounty and Patience of God, the wicked and monſtrous Unthankfulneſs of Man, the unregarded Injuries done to theſe Creatures, groaning, as it were, to be delivered from the Abuſes proceeding from diſdainful Aſperſions of ignorant, and from the Intemperance of ſinful Man.

1 COR. xii. 19, 20, 21.

If they were all one Member, Where would the Body be?
But now are they many Members, yet but one Body.
The Eye cannot ſay unto the Hand, I have no Need of thee,
nor, again, the Head to the Feet, I have no Need of thee.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas. Juven. Sat.

London, Printed for *I. C.* 1647. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Lectori candido & benevolo, *S. P. D.*

COurteous and judicious Reader, to thy View chiefly do I expoſe theſe my enſuing Lines, being urged thereunto by the loud Cry of two horrible Wrath-provoking Sins, now reigning amongſt us, viz. Unthankfulneſs towards God, and Uncharitableneſs towards Man; theſe two like inſeparable Companions always go together, both diſhonouring

the Creator; ſome unthankfully vilifying, and others intemperately abuſing the Creature; to reform which lies only in the Magiſtrate, yet Blame and Aſperſions are caſt upon thoſe who ſuffer moſt (by ſuch lewd and prodigal Offenders) I mean the diſtreſſed Company of Brewers, whoſe ſad Condition groans for ſpeedy Relief; a Company very needful, and alſo profitable to this City and Suburbs, yet looked upon with an unkind Aſpect, but occaſioned by thoſe who may be well affected, but, being miſtaken in their Judgment, can give no true and ſolid Reaſon for it. But, according to that of the Poet,

Non amo te Voluſi, nec poſſum dicere, quare;
Hoc tantum poſſum dicere, non amo te.

WHAT, a Vineyard in *England?* Hath God been pleaſed to warm this Weſtern Climate with a temporal Bleſſing of ſo excellent a Nature for the Suſtaining, yea, for the Reviving of the poor wearied labouring Men; and not only ſo, but alſo for the Chearing up of the drooping Spirits, and the Gladding of the Hearts of the Sorrowful and Afflicted? This is no ſmall Favour, which hath ſo long been beſtowed upon us in this accidental Part of the World; but it is a Wonder, that, for ſo great a Bleſſing, we ſhould return ſo little Thanks unto the Almighty; yea, many amongſt us take not ſo much Notice of it, as to account it for a Bleſſing; and others, more ungrateful, little knowing what the Want thereof would produce, ſeem to loath it in their Thoughts, by their diſdainful Expreſſions and Aſperſions caſt upon thoſe Creatures, without which this Kingdom, eſpecially near *London*, were in a ſad Condition, as I ſhall ſhew more plainly hereafter. And here is manifeſtly ſeen, not only the great Bounty of God, but alſo his exceeding wonderful Patience, that, notwithſtanding ſuch Murmurings, he hath yet continued this Bleſſing amongſt us, though he ſometimes threatened a Dearth thereof. Thus God dealt with his *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs; although ſome murmured at *Manna*, yet he withdrew not that Favour from them. But our Diſdainers will ſay, it is their Zeal againſt; Drunkenneſs; I may as well ſay, O ſinful Zeal! ſtaggering and wavering no leſs through Ignorance, than the Drunkard through his Intemperance. Becauſe ſome do abuſe the good Creature of God by that deteſtable Sin of Drunkenneſs, Shall others therefore (ſuch as would be thought to be religious) expoſe it to Diſdain? Nay, cry it down as a Thing to be extinguiſhed? Let ſuch ingenuouſly confeſs which they hold to be the greater Sin, to abuſe or to extinguiſh any of God's Creatures; the Abuſe, by Puniſhment duly inflicted, may be reformed; but to extinguiſh, or diminiſh the Vertue of any of the Creatures, is to deprive not only the Offenders, but alſo the Innocent, of the full Fruition of thoſe Creatures which God hath appointed for the Comfort of Mankind.

After *Noah* had offended, and ſuffered Reproach by his curſed Son, Did he, to manifeſt his Deteſtation againſt that Sin, give Order to deſtroy that Vineyard which he had ſo painfully planted? Had not this Error been greater than the former? For he, that will ſerve God aright, muſt neither turn to the Right Hand nor to the Left, but muſt walk before him in a ſtraight Path with an upright Heart; to diminiſh or detract from the Excellency of the Creature, is to diſhonour the Creature. And it is a Puniſhment from God upon a People, when a People degenerateth from its natural Vertue, or is deprived of its proper Excellency; as appeareth by the Expreſſion of the Prophet, bewailing the ſad Condition of *Iſrael*; ſaith he, *Your Silver is become Droſs, your Wine is mixed with Water*, Iſa. i. 22. And our Saviour, who came to repair our Ruins, and to purchaſe for us a better Paradiſe than that which *Adam* loſt, made it his firſt Miracle to make Water Wine, and that of the beſt, *John* xxix. whilſt ſome of us would turn our native Wine into Water, I mean our ſtrong Beer into Beer of the leaſt Nouriſhment and meaneſt Condition. For Brevity's Sake, let theſe two Witneſſes ſuffice, although the holy Scriptures are full of Expreſſions tending to the Commendations of thoſe Creatures moſt (I ſpeak concerning temporal Bleſſings) which are moſt cheriſhing to

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the vital Spirits, and moſt preſervative to the Health and Well-being of weak Mankind. The ſame holy Spirit, that pronounceth Woes againſt Gluttons and Drunkards, commendeth *Canaan*, becauſe it flowed with Milk and Honey, and Corn, and Wine, and Oil, *Deut.* xi. 9, 14. And, although *England* hath not naturally the Wine of the Vine, yet it enjoyeth the plentiful Fruition thereof; yea, in ſuch an abundant Manner, that many *Engliſh* Prodigals, though vaſt Eſtates have been left to divers of them, yet have complained more of the Want of Money than of the Want of Wine. But grant that theſe foreign Plantations ſhould fail us, or that we ſhould be diſappointed, yea, almoſt deſtitute of Wine by ſome unexpected Means proceeding from Providence, either divine or human, or that thoſe Ships that ventured, or thoſe Commodities tranſported for Wine, ſhould be otherwiſe employed, or improved to the Inriching of the Kingdom, that Wine thereby ſhould be ſcarce amongſt us, yet hath *England* whereat to rejoice within itſelf. For of Hops and Malt our native Commodities (and therefore the more agreeable to the Conſtitutions of our native Inhabitants) may be made ſuch ſtrong Beer, being well boiled and hopped, and kept its full Time, as that it may ſerve inſtead of Sack, if Authority ſhall think fit, whereby they alſo may know experimentally the Vertue of thoſe Creatures, at their full Height; which Beer being well brewed, of a low, pure Amber Colour, clear and ſparkling, Noblemen and the Gentry may be pleaſed to have *Engliſh* Sack in their Wine-Cellars, and Taverns alſo to ſell to thoſe who are not willing, or cannot conveniently lay it in their own Houſes; which may be a Means greatly to increaſe and improve the Tillage of *England*, and alſo the profitable Plantations of Hop-grounds, thereby inabling the induſtrious Farmers to pay their Rents, and alſo to improve the Revenues of the Nobility and Gentry; and ſo much the more may they be pleaſed to add ſome of thoſe Places, which, as yet, are Receptacles for wild Beaſts (Parks and Foreſts) in which may be erected fair and profitable Farms, and ſo become comfortable Habitations, for laborious and painful Huſbandmen, with no ſmall Profit to the Owners thereof, and alſo to the general Good of the whole Nation; ſhould Part of thoſe Commodities, tranſported for Wine, be more advantageouſly diſpoſed of, and our Vineyard at Home be better husbanded and manured, and at leſſer Rates ſuch good ſtrong Beer as ſhall be moſt cheriſhing to poor labouring People, without which they cannot well ſubſiſt, their Food being, for the moſt Part, of ſuch Things as afford little or bad Nouriſhment, nay, ſometimes dangerous, and would infect them with many Sickneſſes and Diſeaſes, were they not preſerved (as with an Antidote) with good Beer, whoſe Vertues and effectual Operations, by Help of the Hop well boiled in it, are more powerful to expel poiſonous Infections than is yet publickly known, or taken Notice of.

And ſhould the Almighty, being provoked by our Sins, afflict theſe Parts with the Infection of the Plague, in what a deplorable Condition would the Poor of this City and Suburbs be, if they ſhould be deprived of the comfortable Fruition of good ſtrong Beer and Ale? For the Providing whereof, the licenſed well governed Victualler is to be encouraged by Suppreſſing of unlicenſed Ale-houſes, which are the only Receptacles of Drunkards, and by ſevere Puniſhing thoſe lewd Livers, who frequent thoſe diſordered Houſes, which only dare harbour them, becauſe, having no Licences, they are in no Danger of the Loſs thereof, and being accuſtomed to their evil Courſes, both they that keep ſuch Houſes, and they that frequent them, regardleſs of their Reputation, by Reaſon of continual Impunity, grow impudent and fearleſs either of God or the Magiſtrate; which cauſes ſcandalous Aſperſions to be caſt on thoſe which offend not: But the licenſed Victuallers, keeping good Houſes and good Orders, paying Taxes according to their Degrees, are no leſs neceſſary for the poor neighbouring Inhabitants, and alſo for Strangers, as Occaſion may require, than any other retailing Trade; for, as the Brewer is the poor Man's Treaſurer, ſo the Victualler is the Yeoman of the poor Man's Wine-cellar, providing and preparing, for preſent Uſe, ſuch ſound well ripened Beer, as the poor cannot provide for themſelves, neither without it can they go on in their Labour, unleſs Beef, Pork, and Bacon, and ſuch hearty Meat could be afforded them at a cheaper Rate; but, although ſuch Meats ſhould prove more ſcarce and dear, yet, if it pleaſe God, in Mercy, to ſend Plenty of Corn for Bread and Beer, we ſhall not hear the Cry of the Poor complaining of Want, ſo long as, for a ſmall Matter, they can ſend for ſo much

goodi

good Bread and Beer, as will ſuffice their whole Families, which is not only a Suſtenance againſt Hunger, but a Preſervative againſt Sickneſs. But Grains, if they be taken hot, and put into a Veſſel fit for that Purpoſe, they are an excellent Bath for itching Limbs; alſo they are good Food for the Cattle of this City and Suburbs, without which, Hay and other Proviſions would be at a far dearer Rate than uſually they are. Thus we ſee that, among the many temporal Bleſſings, which the Lord hath beſtowed upon us, this is none of the meaneſt; the Lord in Mercy grant us thankful Hearts. But, *Neſcio quis teneros oculis mihi faſcinat agnos:* Behold a foul Monſter called Ingratitude, with two prodigious Heads and ſcorching Eyes, hath caſt ſuch Looks upon this our Vineyard, as if like *Balak* and *Balaam* they were conſpiring together to bring a Curſe thereon, though of differing Diſpoſitions, yet both dangerouſly provoking the Almighty to Diſpleaſure. The one of theſe Heads is of that Sort of People, who out of a fervent Zeal to the Glory of God the Creator, forget to honour him in a right Taking Notice of him, in his Mercy and Bounty towards us in his Creatures, but, with an auſtere Countenance and ſupercilious Eye, and Speeches agreeable thereunto, ſlight and deſpiſe the Creature, and thoſe that deal therein, becauſe abuſed by intemperate Perſons: Thus the Creature is made the Patient of Evil, groaning as it were to be delivered therefrom, and yet is burdened with hard Cenſure, a double Injury; Zeal without Diſcretion is like Heat without Moiſture, every Way deſtructive; let ſuch conſider, if at any Time Afflictions befall them, would they be contented therefore to be evil thought of, becauſe they fare ſo ill; nay will not the Calamity be the more heavy unto them, when they ſhall ſee that it lays them open to uncharitable Cenſure? This is all one, as if we ſhould afflict the Innocent, becauſe they are abuſed, and let the Guilty eſcape and proſper according to that Saying, *Fœlix ac proſperum ſcelus virtus vocatur. Optimi corruptio peſſima,* is a Deſtiny equally fatal to every good Creature, and, the better the Creature is, it, being corrupted or abuſed, is ſo much the more dangerous and hurtful; the ſweeteſt Ointment, being putrefied, becomes moſt noiſome; and Man himſelf, by Creation the moſt honoured of all the Creatures, being degenerated into a Condition tending to Cruelty and Violence, is more inſatiable and unavoidably dangerous than any Beaſt. Nay Religion itſelf, which is *illa aureæ catena* that golden Chain, whereby God and Man, with Reverence be it ſpoken, are ſo nearly linked together, *John* xvii. 11, 21. I ſay Religion which is that *ſcala milliarium*, by which we are directed the right Way to aſcend the heavenly Throne of Glory, is not free; *Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis?* From the foul Abuſes of audaciouſly wicked Mankind, the profane Perſon maketh a Mock of it, the Hypocrite maketh it his Cloke for every Occaſion; but it will prove a mourning one at the laſt, full of Lamentations and Woes. But this is not a Subject now to treat of; wherefore I ceaſe, but I ſhall not ceaſe to mourn, although in Silence *curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent. Igne quid utilius?* What more needful than Fire? Yet many fair Buildings have been deſtroyed thereby, Shall it therefore be forbidden? Then let not thoſe, whoſe better Fare maketh them ſo inſenſible of poor Men's Wants, deny them that good Beer, which is ſo needful to their meaner Food, becauſe that ſome abuſe it. But alas! Who complaineth of that foul Sin of Gluttony? Which, as a Grave inſatiable, hath ſwallowed up many of thoſe good Creatures, which are appointed for our Nouriſhment and Comfort; but, by the exceſſive Abuſe thereof, many of excellent Parts have been much diſabled both in Body and Mind from the free and happy Uſe of thoſe good Gifts, which God beſtowed upon them to be improved, and alſo employed to his Glory; and that in their latter Days moſt, which is that Age of Man which ſhould be moſt adorned with Wiſdom by Reaſon of long Experience; yet let not any cry out againſt or lay any Blame upon *Eaſtcheap*, plentiful *Cheapſide* or *Leaden-Hall*, or either *Fiſh-ſtreet*, or any other of thoſe fair and plentious Markets in about this City, wherein God's Bounty is manifeſted and extended towards us in ſo large a Manner; but rather, in a Deteſtation of our own Unworthineſs, and Unthankfulneſs, let us all cry out and ſay, *Nos, nos inquam, deſumus Iapeti genus qui præſumus; Prometheus* the Son of *Japhet*, for the Heathen look no higher but ſomewhat darkly concerning *Noah*, who was their two-faced *Janus* (who ſaw the End of the old World, and the Beginning of the new) having, as Poets feigned, ſtolen Fire from Heaven, and brought it amongſt the Sons of Men, it occaſioned many new and dangerous Diſeaſes; even ſuch is that Zeal, which is not guided by

by true Knowledge, and limited within the Bounds of Charity; it fills the Mind with many strange and dangerous Errors, corrupting the Judgment, which are the Diseases of the Soul; but doubtless those, that are truly religious, will qualify and cool (I do not mean, extinguish) the hot Fervency of their Zeal, with the sweet Dew of discreet and pious Charity, knowing, that God is a severe Judge against those, who, passing by themselves, presume to censure others; which is one of those crying Sins, which the Land now mourns. The other Head of that Wrath-provoking Monster, Ingratitude [*Si ingratum dixeris omnia dixeris*] is that wretched Sort of People, who falling, an Infirmity proper to the Drunkard, into the Error of the Left-hand, are so besotted with the Love of the Creature, as altogether to neglect their Duty towards the Creator, who is blessed for ever, *Amen.*

This brutish Sin, Drunkenness, may be called a Sin of Sins, the fruitful Mother of a numerous Brood, hateful even among the Heathen; the *Turks*, amongst whom our *English* Beer is of more Esteem, than any other Sort of Drink, are severe Punishers of Drunkenness; in *Cairo*, a fair City in *Turkey*, it is punished with Death; among the *Indians*, in some Parts, it was so severely punished with Death that they spared not the Magistrate, but gave Rewards to them, that slew him in the Time of his being drunk; such was their cruel Zeal, or Heathenish Severity, permitting no Time for Repentance, as being ignorant what belonged thereunto, nor to set their Houses in Order for the Good of their Posterity. But the indulgent Lenity of our Magistracy, to the Endangering of many Souls, hath so provoked the Almighty to take the Matter into his own Hands, that sometimes he hath also, for a Warning to others, punished this Sin by Death; witness those untimely Ends, some having died immediately in the Sin, yea in the very House, where they have so offended; others have broke their Necks off their Horses, and others, going a Ship board, have fallen between the Ship and the Boat, and so have been drowned, a manifest Token of God's Displeasure against that Sin; neither hath he spared the Glutton, though a Sin less scandalous, because not so easily discerned; yet no less detestable in the Sight of the all-seeing Almighty, witness that Rod of many Twigs, I mean the many Diseases, and divers Weaknesses, Pains, and Infirmities inflicted upon their Bodies, and also the Unfitness of their intellectual Parts to any Thing that is good: But now, in this Time of Reformation, better Things are not only hoped for, but also expected, that the Magistrate may be pleased, for the Glory of God, whose Substitute he is, and for the Good of the Commonwealth, whose Welfare is committed to his Care, to do his Endeavour, according to the Power and Trust committed unto him, to punish, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, those that wilfully offend and continue in those gross Sins, the Foulness whereof is expressed, *Deut.* xxi. 20, 21. *Prov.* xxiii. 21. *Rom.* xiii. 13. *Ephes.* v. 18. *Those which are drunken are drunken in the Night*, saith the Apostle, 1 *Thes.* v. 7. If such Modesty was amongst those, who, as yet, were not converted to the Faith, or perhaps, as yet, had no Knowledge of the Truth; How great a Shame is it, for such a Nation as this, where the Sound of the Gospel hath been so long heard, to harbour such Offenders, yea, to let them pass unpunished? The Consideration of which, doubtless, will move the Hearts of the pious Magistracy of those Times, to have a more vigilant Eye over those irregular unlicensed private Houses, which hitherto have been the more secure, because so little suspected, that not only the Drunkards, but also the Places of Drunkenness, may be punished, whereby the good Creatures may be delivered from those servile Uses, or rather freed from those base Abuses, which they are exposed unto, by unworthy intemperate Persons. And also, whereby those, who deal in those Creatures, may the more chearfully go on in their lawful Callings, and the more assuredly expect a Blessing from the Almighty, upon their careful Endeavours, that so the Company of Brewers may be looked upon as Supporters and Relievers of a great Part of the Poor of this City and Suburbs, and be had in such Respect, and enjoy such Privileges, as a Brother Company and Members of this City of *London*, according to that Admonition of the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* xii. 14. *The Body is not one Member, but many*, &c. and Verse 18, *God hath set the Members every one of them in the Body, as it hath pleased him*, &c. which holy Advice, let every one of them in the Body, as it hath pleased him, &c. which holy Advice, let every one so observe and follow, that Evil-speaking may be put away, that Envyings and Emulations

Emulations may ceaſe, that we may, all according to our Degree, like Stars in their Order, fight againſt Satan, that common Enemy to all Mankind, who would deprive us of our ſpiritual *Canaan*; as the Stars, in their Order, fought againſt *Siſera*, who would have deprived *Iſrael* of their temporal *Canaan*; that the Lord may be pleaſed to ſhine upon theſe three Kingdoms, with the Bleſſings of Truth and Peace; that the affrighting Voice of the Oppreſſor may ceaſe, and the Cry of the Oppreſſed may be no more heard; that all Men may receive their due Reſpect, not according to the Greatneſs of their Eſtates, but according to the Manner of their getting thoſe Eſtates; that the enſuing Year may be as it were a Jubilee, wherein every true *Iſraelite* may return to his own proper Inheritance; that the Winter Storms of Wars, and Rumours of Wars, may ceaſe, and Truth may ſpring forth like a Vine, with her Cluſters of Plenty, and the peaceable Voice of the Turtle may be heard in our Land; in the mean While, let every true-hearted Chriſtian ſend forth ſuch Sighs and Prayers to the Almighty, that he may be pleaſed to frame ſuch Hearts, in all the three Nations, that with Speed he may bring People from Captivity, that *Jacob* may rejoice, and *Iſrael* may be glad, which the Lord grant for his Mercies Sake.

Bibliotheca Militum: Or, the Soldiers publick Library, lately erected for the Benefit of all that love the good old Cauſe, at *Wallingford-Houſe*; and already furniſhed with divers excellent Treatiſes, herein mentioned. *London*, printed in the Year 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

1. THE *City Compliance*, for Gain without Conſcience, written by *Robert Tychborn*.

2. *The Cares of the World ſatisfied*: Or, a *Reſt from Labour*: Wherein is proved a Reſt for ſuch Souls, as could find no Reſt, under the old Government, written by *Henry Donne*, Executioner.

3. *Religion in Bonds*: Or the Saints Captivity and Perſecution experienced: By *John Barkſtead*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

4. *A new Way to make Lords*; Or, new Lords already made: Whereunto is added, the other Houſe, their Authority and Inſtitution; alſo are included their noble Acts and Atchievements, with their Fortunes inabling them, for their Services, written by *William Prynne*, Eſq.

5. *Perjury* (in *Folio*) proved to be *Jure Divino*, by his late Highneſs deceaſed.

6. *A Commonwealth expounded to be the ſafe Way through this World*, and the moſt certain to that *which is to come*; whereunto is added, That *Gain is great Godlineſs*; by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*.

7. *Verbum Doloris*: Or, *England in Mourning*: Prophetically foretelling the Deſtruction of Protectors, as likewiſe of the Succeſſion of their Families, by *Richard Cromwell*, Eſq.

8. *Patience per Force*; Or, a Medicine for a mad Dog: Treating of the infallible Vertue of Neceſſity, by the aforeſaid Author.

9. *The World in Amaze, or wiſe Men run mad*: Alſo is added hereunto an Exhortation, that thoſe who have worn out Religion's Cloke would get new ones, or turn the old; written by *Hugh Peters*, Maſter of Arts.

10. *Divide & impera*: The Art of Supplanting or Compaſſing one's Ends, being a ſubtle Piece, dedicated to the Lord *Lambert*, and written by *Peter Talbot*, Soc. Jeſu.

11. The Art of Preaching and Praying, with the right Uſe of Religion: By that incomparable Artiſt, Sir *Henry Vane*, Knight.

12. *Pucana de Scoto*: Or, *Scots Directory* for all ſuch, as Fortune ſhall hereafter make Secretaries of State; ſhewing their Neceſſity of being converſant in the Secrets of both Sexes, moſt politickly handled, and written by *Thomas Scott*, Secretary.

13. *Hey-*

13. *Hey-te Tyte:* Or, To-morrow Morning, I found an Horſe-ſhoe; being an excellent Diſcourſe concerning Government, with ſome ſober and practical Expedients, modeſtly propoſed, and written by *James Harrington.*

14. *Defamatio Regum:* Or the Hiſtory of Ingratitude, *Il Burdachio experto*; an *Italian* Tranſlation; every Thing, and Nothing, or the compleat Complier: By the Lord *Fines.*

15. *Apuleius in Laudem Aſini:* Or, a Panegyrick, in Commendation of his late Highneſs's ſingular Virtues, and Valour, by *Pagan Fiſher.*

16. *Well flown Buzzard:* Or, a holy Rapture of the Court-Confeſſor; wherein he made a new and incredible Diſcovery of his late Highneſs, ſince his Deceaſe, at the Right-hand of God: By *Peter Sterry.*

17. *Superſtition demoliſhed:* Or the old *Dagon* pulled down, and removed from *Weſtminſter*, by the Committee of Safety.

18. *A new Gag for an old Gooſe:* Or, a Reply to *James Harrington*'s *Oceana*, by Mr. *Wren.*

19. *Aſinus ad Lyram:* Or, a new Way of Improving the Gold-finders Office, propoſed to the Privy-Council, for the Eaſe of the City, by a Perſon of a good Report, and one who petitions to be Duke of the Dunghil, becauſe he has much Inſight into a Buſineſs of this Nature; the firſt Letters of whoſe Name, is Alderman *Atkins.*

20. *The Rebels Catechiſm*, tranſlated out of the *Scottiſh* Directory, by Colonel *Hewſon.*

21. *Berecynthius Heros:* Wherein it is demonſtrated, That Mr. *Rowe* is the fitteſt Orator for his Auditors extended Ears, his Voice being as low as his Rhetorick, and both as lean as his Perſon.

22. *An Owl in an Ivy-Buſh:* Or *Gilbert Millington* in the Chair; together with the excellent Improvement of ſcandalous Miniſters.

23. *A Curry-Comb for a Cox-Comb:* Or *inviſible* John *diſcovered*, by Colonel *Overton.*

Theſe are the Gift of *Charles* Lord *Fleetwood*, for the better Encouragement of future Benefactors.

A true and plain Report * of the furious Outrages of *France*, and the horrible and ſhameful Slaughter of *Chaſtillion* the Admiral, and divers other noble and excellent Men, and of the wicked and ſtrange Murder of godly Perſons, committed in many Cities of *France*, without any Reſpect of Sort, Kind, Age, or Degree. By *Erneſt Varamund* of *Frieſeland.* Printed at *Stirling* in *Scotland*, 1573. *Duodecimo*, containing One-hundred and Forty-three Pages.

YOU muſt ceaſe to marvel, my good Countrymen of Scotland, that I have cauſed this Book printed in our Country of Scotland to be publiſhed altogether in the Engliſh Phraſe and Orthography. For the Language is well enough known to our Countrymen: And the chief Cauſe of my tranſlating it was for our good Neighbours the Engliſhmen, to whom we are ſo highly bound, and upon whoſe good Queen, at this preſent, in Policy dependeth the chief Stay of God's Church in Chriſtendom. I know not what Reſpects have ſtayed the Learned of that Land from ſetting out this Hiſtory: Therefore, ſuppoſing the Cauſes to be ſuch as I conceive them, I have been bold to ſet it forth in their Language in our Country. And you, good Countrymen, that have received ſo honourable Succours from England, and from whence all Chriſtendom hopeth for charitable aſſiſtance, muſt be con-

* *Vide* the 176th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

tent to yield that this is framed to ſerve their Underſtanding: Ye Engliſhmen *our good Neighbours, Friends, Brethren, and Patrons, I pray you to conſtrue rightly of my Labour, that my Purpoſe is not here to offend any Amity, nor violate any Honour, nor prejudice any Truth, but to ſet before you a Story, as I found it, referring the Confirmation thereof to Truth, and Proof, as in all Hiſtorical Caſes is lawfully uſed. How many Hiſtories written in* Latin, Italian, *and* French, *by* Jovius, Paradine, Belleforeſt *and others, are printed in* Italy, France, *and* Flanders, *and publiſhed and freely had and read in your Land, although they contain Matter expreſly to the Slander of your State and Princes? Matters of that Nature are publiſhed, the Burden of proving reſteth upon the Author, the Judgment pertaineth to the Reader, there is no Prejudice to any Part, Books are extant on both Parts. The very Treatiſes of Divinity are not all warranted that be printed; you muſt take it as it is, only for Matter of Report on the one Part, ſo far to bind Credit as it carrieth Evidence to furniſh your Underſtandings, as other Books do that make Rehearſals of the Acts and States of Princes, Commonwealths, and Peoples. But, howſoever it be, good* Engliſhmen, *thank God that you have ſuch a Sovereign, under whom you ſuffer no ſuch Things; and, by the noble and ſincere Aid that your good Queen hath given us in* Scotland, *I pray you gather a comfortable Confidence, that, in Reſpect of ſuch honourable Charity to his Church in* Scotland, *God will not ſuffer you at your Need to be ſuccourleſs in* England, *as by daily Miracles in preſerving your Queen he hath plainly ſhewed: And the rather ye may truſt hereof, if ye be thankful and faithful to God and her; and that ye pray heartily to God, either by mediate Operation of your Queen's Juſtice, or by his own immediate Hand-working, to deliver his Church and People from the common Peril to both theſe Realms, and to the State of all true Religion in* Chriſtendom. *Farewel, and God long preſerve both your good and our hopeful Sovereign to his Glory.* Amen.

IT were to be wiſhed, that the Memory of the freſh Slaughters, and of that butcherly Murdering, that hath lately been committed, in a Manner, in all the Towns of *France*, were utterly put out of the Minds of Men; for ſo great Diſhonour, and ſo great Infamy, hath thereby ſtained the whole *French* Nation, that the moſt Part of them are now aſhamed of their own Country, defiled with two moſt filthy Spots, Falſhood and Cruelty; of the which, whether hath been the greater, it is hard to ſay. But, foraſmuch as there flee every-where Abroad Pamphlets, written by Flatterers of the Court, and Men corruptly hired for Reward, which do moſt ſhamefully ſet out Things feigned and falſly imagined, inſtead of Truth, I thought myſelf bound to do this Service to Poſterity, to put the Matter in Writing, as it was truly done in Deed, being well inabled to have Knowledge thereof, both by my own Calamity, and by thoſe that, with their own Eyes, beheld a great Part of the ſame Slaughters.

In the Year of our Lord 1561, when there ſeemed to be ſome Peril of Troubles to ariſe, by Reaſon of the Multitude of ſuch as embraced the Religion which they call *Reformed* (for, before that Time, the uſual Manner of puniſhing ſuch, as durſt profeſs that Religion, was, beſides the Loſs and Forfeiture of all their Goods to the King's Uſe, to burn their Bodies); at the Requeſt of the great Lords, there was held an Aſſembly of the Eſtates in the King's Houſe, at *St. Germains en Laye*, near to the Town of *Paris*; at which Aſſembly, in the Preſence, and with the Royal Aſſent of King *Charles the Ninth*, who now reigneth, it was decreed, That, from thenceforth, it ſhould not be prejudicial to any Man to profeſs the ſaid Religion; and that it ſhould be lawful for them to have publick Meetings and Preachings for the Exerciſe thereof, but in the Suburbs of Towns only.

At this Aſſembly, *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*, being deſcended of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, and at that Time Grand-maſter of the King's Houſhold, was not preſent; but, when he was informed of this Decree, he boiled with incredible Sorrow and Anger, and, within a few Days after, at a little Town in *Champaigne*, called *Vaſſey*, while the Profeſſors of the ſaid Religion were there at a Sermon, he, accom-

panied with a Band of Soldiers, ſet upon them, and ſlew Men and Women, to the Number of Two-hundred.

There was among theſe of the Religion (for ſo hereafter, according to the uſual Phraſe of the *French* Tongue, we intend to call them) *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, of the Blood Royal, commonly called Prince of *Conde*, after the Name of a certain Town, a Man of great Power, by Reaſon of his Kindred to the King; therefore, when the Duke of *Guiſe* moſt vehemently ſtrove againſt that Law, and, as much as in him lay, did utterly overthrow it, and troubled the common Quiet thereby eſtabliſhed, *Gaſpar de Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, and *Francis d' Andelot* his Brother, Captain of the Infantry, and other Princes, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the ſame Religion, come daily by Heaps to the Prince of *Conde*, to complain of the outrageous Boldneſs, and intemperate Violence of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

At that Time, *Catharine de Medicis*, Pope *Clement*'s Brother's Daughter, and Mother of King *Charles*, born in *Florence*, a City of *Italy*, had the Governance of the Realm in the King's Minority; for, though, by the Law of *France*, neither the Inheritance, nor the Adminiſtration of the Realm, is granted to Women, yet, through the cowardly Negligence of *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, the ſaid *Catharine de Medicis*, the King's Mother, againſt the Cuſtom of the Realm, was joined with him in that Office of Protectorſhip: She, fearing the Preſumption and fierce Pride of the *Guiſians*, wrote to the Prince of *Conde*, with her own Hand; which Letters are yet remaining, and, at the Aſſembly of the Princes of *Germany* at *Francfort*, held under *Ferdinand* the Emperor, were produced and openly read about ten Years paſt; wherein ſhe earneſtly beſought him, in ſo great Hardneſs and Diſtreſs, not to forſake her, but to account both the Mother and the Children, that is, both herſelf and the King, and the King's Brethren, committed to his Faith and natural Kindneſs, and that he ſhould with all Speed provide for their common Safety; aſſuring him, that ſhe would ſo imprint in the King's Mind his Pains taken in that Behalf, that he ſhould never be a Loſer by it.

Within a few Days after, the Duke of *Guiſe*, well knowing how great Authority the Name of the King would carry in *France*, and to the Intent that he would not ſeem to attempt any Thing rather of his own Head, than by the Privity of the King, and having attained fit Partners to join with him in theſe Enterpriſes, he got the King into his Power. Which Thing being known Abroad, and many hard Incumbrances thereupon ſuddenly riſing, and a great Part of the Nobility of *France* marvellouſly troubled with it, the Prince of *Conde*, by Advice of his Friends, thought it beſt for him to take certain Towns, and furniſh them with Gariſons; which was the Beginning of the firſt Civil War. For the Prince of *Conde* alledged the Cauſe of his Taking Armour to be the Defence of the King's Edict, wherein conſiſted the Safety of the Commonwealth; and that it could not be repealed without moſt aſſured Undoing of the Nation of *France*, and Deſtruction of the Nobility, by Reaſon of the exceeding great Multitude of thoſe that daily joined themſelves to that Religion; of which Number ſuch, as, being of noble Birth, were in Power, Dignity, Wealth, and Credit above the reſt, thought it not meet for them to ſuffer the Puniſhments and Cruelties accuſtomed to be exerciſed upon the Profeſſors thereof: Beſides that, they held them diſcontented, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, a New-comer, a Stranger tranſlated from the Foreſts of *Lorrain* into *France*, did take upon him, in *France*, ſo great Courage, and ſo high Dominion and Power. Thereto was added the Queen-mother's ſingular Care (as was reported) for Conſervation of Peace, and Repreſſing the Rage of the *Guiſians*. Upon which Opinion, it is certain, that above twenty-thouſand Men, having Regard only to the Queen's Inclination, joined themſelves to the Side of thoſe of the Religion, and to the Defence of their Profeſſion, which at that Time had beſieged the Force of the King's Power.

After certain Battles, and many Loſſes on both Parties, and the Duke of *Guiſe* ſlain, within a Year Peace was made, with this Condition, That they of the Religion ſhould have free Liberty thereof, and ſhould have Aſſemblies and Preachings for the Exerciſe of the ſame in certain Places.

This Peace continued in Force, but not in all Places, during five Years; for, in the moſt Towns and Juriſdictions, the Officers that were affectionate to the *Romiſh* Side, whom they commonly call *Catholicks*, did all the Diſpleaſure they could to thoſe of the Religion. Therefore, when *Ferdinando Alvares de Toleda*, com-

monly called Duke of *Alva*, was leading an Army not far from the Frontiers of *France*, againſt thoſe of the *Low-Countries*, which embraced the Reformed Religion; againſt the Will of the King of *Spain*, the Queen-Mother cauſed to be levied, and brought into *France*, ſix-thouſand *Switzers* for a Defence, as ſhe cauſed it to be bruited; but, as the Succeſs hath proved, for this Intent, that the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and other Noblemen of the Religion, if they eſcaped the Treaſons prepared for them, and liſted to defend themſelves by Force, and try it by Battle, might be ſuddenly oppreſſed before they were provided. For the Courtiers, which then had the Managing of theſe Matters, did not, at that Time, well truſt the Soldiers of *France*. Many Things pertaining to the Courſe of that Time, and the Renewing of the War, muſt here, for Haſte to our preſent Purpoſe, be neceſſarily omitted.

When the War had endured about ſix Months, Peace was made with the ſame Condition that we have above rehearſed, That all Men ſhould have free Liberty to follow and profeſs the Reformed Religion. For this was ever one and the laſt Condition upon all the Wars. But, within few Days or Months after, it was plainly underſtood, that the ſame Peace was full of Guile and Treaſon; and Finally, That it was no Peace, but moſt cruel War, cloaked under the Name of Peace. For, forthwith, all thoſe Towns, which they of the Religion had yielded up, were poſſeſſed and ſtrengthened with Gariſons of Soldiers on the contrary Side, ſaving only one Town on the Sea Coaſts in the Parts of *Xantoigne*, commonly called *Rochelle*. For the Men of that Town, about two-hundred Years paſt, had yielded themſelves to the King's Power and Allegiance, with this Condition, That they ſhould never be conſtrained, againſt their Will, to receive any Gariſon Soldiers.

Alſo the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral, were advertiſed, that there was Treaſon again prepared to intrap them, by *Tavaignes*, a Man given to Murther and Miſchief, who had lately been made Marſhal of *France*; and that, if they did not ſpeedily avoid the ſame, it ſhould ſhortly come to paſs, that they ſhould be deceived and taken by him, and delivered up to the Cruelty of their Adverſaries.

Upon the Receipt of theſe Advertiſements, they immediately make Haſte to *Rochelle*, carrying with them their Wives and young Children, which was the Beginning of the third Civil War, the moſt ſharp and miſerable of all the reſt.

There was, at that Time in the Court, *Charles*, Cardinal of *Lorrain*, Brother to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, as is aboveſaid, was ſlain in the firſt War; one accounted moſt ſubtle and crafty of all the reſt, but of a terrible, cruel, and troubleſome Diſpoſition, ſo that he was thought intolerable even at *Rome* itſelf. This Man they of the Reformed Religion reported to be the moſt ſharp and hateful Enemy of their Profeſſion, and him they abhorred above all others, for the Cruelty of his Nature, and named him the Firebrand of all Civil Flames. He, at the Beginning of the third Civil War, perſuaded the King to publiſh an Edict, That no Man profeſs any Religion but the *Romiſh* or Popiſh, and that whoſoever would embrace any other, ſhould be counted as Traitors. In that ſame Edict, printed at *Paris*, this Sentence was expreſly contained; and, for the Strangeneſs of the Matter, and for that it ſtained the King's Name with the moſt diſhonourable Spot of Perjury and Breach of Faith, it was, in other Impreſſions afterwards, omitted. And it was further then declared, that, albeit the King had, in many Edicts before that Time, permitted the Freedom of Religion, yet his Meaning ever was to retain, and cauſe to be retained of all Men, the only *Romiſh* or Popiſh Religion within his Realm.

After many Overthrows on both Parts given and received, whereas the End of this third War was thought likely to be the harder, by Reaſon of the Breach of Faith in the Years before; and, on the other Side, the State of the Realm, by Reaſon of the Waſte that the Cities were brought unto, and the extreme Poverty of the mean People and Huſbandmen, did require ſome Treaty of Compoſition; the King ſent Meſſengers to the Admiral, to ſignify unto him in the King's Name, that the King himſelf had at length found out a moſt ſure Way of Peace and Concord, namely, That the Armies of both Parts joined together ſhould go into the *Low-Countries* againſt the Duke of *Alva*, who had been the Author of the late Calamities in *France*. He ſignified further, That he had great Cauſes of Quarrel againſt the King of *Spain*, and this principally, that he had invaded, and held by Force, ſuddenly ſlaying all the Soldiers there, an Iſland of the new found World, called *Florida*, which had been taken by the *French*, and kept under his Dominion;

minion; and likewiſe the Marquiſdom of *Final*, the Inhabitants whereof had but a little Time before yielded themſelves to the King's Subjection and Allegiance. He ſaid, that the moſt ſtedfaſt Band of Concord ſhould be that foreign War, and that there could no other better Means be deviſed to drown the Memory of the former Diſſenſions, in eternal Forgetfulneſs.

To the Performance hereof, he ſaid, It was a Matter of moſt apt Opportunity, that *Lodowick*, Count of *Naſſau*, Brother to the Prince of *Orange*, had been now two Years in the Admiral's Camp, to whom the Admiral gave principal Credit in all Things; and that by him and his Fellows of the *Low-Countries*, and others whom he underſtood to favour his Part, it might be eaſily brought to paſs that certain Cities might be ſurpriſed, and thereby great Advantage be attained to the Atchieving of the War.

The Admiral, hearing theſe Things, was marvellouſly troubled. For, albeit he doubted not of the King's Fidelity, yet, therewithal, many Things fell into his Mind to be conſidered; as the Power of the Cardinal, and the reſt of the *Guiſians*, who were well known to have been at all Times moſt affectionate to the King of *Spain*: For the Duke of *Guiſe* had left a Son, a very young Man, called *Henry*, to whom the Queen had given all the Offices and Places of Honour that his Father had borne before, being unfit thereto by Age, and againſt the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms; and alſo through the traitorous Infidelity of certain of the King's Counſellors, whom ſhe knew, for their Affection to the Popiſh Religion, to be moſt addicted to the *Spaniſh* King, and that divers of them had great yearly *Penſions of him*, and did diſcloſe unto him the Affairs of the Realm. He remembered how hereby it came to paſs, that the ſame King's Ambaſſador (which, amongſt ſtrange Nations, ſeemed utterly incredible) was admitted into the Privy-Council of *France*; and that one *Biragio*, a *Lombard*, and, as it is reported, a Traitor to his own Country, otherwiſe altogether unlearned, and eſpecially ignorant of the Civil Law, was yet, for the Subtlety of his Wit, advanced to ſo great Honour, that he executed the Chancellor's Office, *Michael Hoſpitall* being diſplaced, a Man known to be ſuch a one, as there was not, in all Degrees of Men, any either more wiſe, or more learned, or more zealouſly loving his Country. Herewithal he conſidered the ſlanderous Cavillations of his Adverſaries, to whom, hereby, might ſeem an Occaſion given, as if the Admiral were of a troubleſome Nature, and could not abide any Quietneſs, nor could long reſt at Home without ſome tumultuous Stir. Hereupon the Meſſengers replied as they were able, and therewithal alledged this Cauſe of ſo ſudden Hatred againſt the *Spaniſh* King, that one *Albeny*, late returned out of *Spain*, had informed the King, and the Queen-Mother, for Certainty, that King *Philip*, a few Months before, had poiſoned his Wife, the *French* King's Siſter, and had ſpread Rumours of her throughout all *Spain*, ſuch as, for the Honour of many Perſons, are not meet to be diſcloſed. But Nothing moved the Admiral ſo much, as the chearful Earneſtneſs of *Lodovick* of *Naſſau*, who, as ſoon as he was advertiſed of that Purpoſe of the King, omitted Nothing that he thought might ſerve to encourage the Admiral thereunto.

The Admiral, perſuaded hereby, Nothing fearing the Infidelity of thoſe of the Court, gave his Mind to hearken to Compoſition. And ſo was the third Civil War ended, and the Peace concluded with the ſame Conditions that were before, That every Man ſhould have free Liberty to uſe and profeſs the Religion.

Within few Months after this, divers Princes of *Germany*, that favoured the Reformed Religion, and, amongſt thoſe, the three Electors, the *Palſgrave*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, ſent their Ambaſſadors into *France* to the King, to congratulate him for the new Reconciliation of his Subjects. And, becauſe they accounted it greatly to behove themſelves, that the ſame Concord ſhould remain ſtedfaſt, and of long Continuance, they promiſed, That, if any would for that Cauſe procure Trouble, or make War upon him, either within his own Dominions, or without, they and their Followers ſhould be ready to defend him. To this Ambaſſage, the King firſt, by Words, and afterwards by a Book, ſubſcribed with his own Hands, anſwered, and gave his Faith, That he would for ever moſt ſacredly and faithfully obſerve his Edict of Pacification.

Hereby ſo much the more willingly the Admiral ſuffered himſelf to be drawn to the ſaid Purpoſes for the *Low-Countries*, although oftentimes, calling to Mind the Nature of the Queen-Mother, he uſed to ſay to divers, and eſpecially to *Theligny*, to whom he afterwards married his Daughter, that he greatly ſuſpected

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the rolling Wit of that Woman. For, ſaid he, ſo ſoon as ſhe hath brought us into that Preparation againſt the *Low-Countries*, ſhe will leave us in the Midſt.

Nevertheleſs, the Count of *Naſſau* writeth to his Brother, and they, conferring their Advices together, ſend Meſſengers to the King, that, if it pleaſe him to deal with the *Low-Countries*, they will ſhortly ſo do, that he ſhall, by their many and great Services, well perceive their Affection and Devotion towards him. The King writeth again to them in moſt loving Terms, ſaying, That their Meſſage moſt highly pleaſed him, and he gave to them both his hearty Thanks.

About the ſame Time *Maximilian* the Emperor, pitying the Eſtate of the Prince of *Orange*, as he ſaid, treated, by his Ambaſſadors, with the King of *Spain*, and had, in a Manner, obtained, that the Prince ſhould have all his Goods reſtored unto him, but with this Condition, that he ſhould have no Houſe within the Territory of the *Low-Countries*; but, ſetting his Reſidence and Dwelling elſewhere, he ſhould freely enjoy all his Revenues. Which Matter being reported to the *French* King, he immediately ſent Meſſengers to the Prince of *Orange*, willing him to look for nothing by that Dealing of the Emperor; ſaying, that it was but a Fraud and guileful Device, intended for this Purpoſe, only to break up his Levying of Soldiers that he had begun in *Germany*; and aſſuring him, that, if he would credit and follow him, he would give him Aid ſufficient to recover his Eſtate.

The Prince of *Orange*, perſuaded by theſe Promiſes of King *Charles*, continued his Muſters, and determined a While to bear the Charges, though they were heavy to him, while ſuch Things, as were neceſſary for the War, were preparing. In the mean Time *Lodovick*, in diſguiſed Apparel, went to *Paris* to the King: Foraſmuch as the Seaſon of the Year, by this Time, ſeemed not commodious to levy an Army, for the Winter was at hand, by Aſſent they deferred the Matter till the next Summer.

Theſe Things thus hanging, the Prince of *Orange*'s Captains by Sea did oftentimes ſet upon the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, and ſuch Ships as they took they brought into the Haven of *Rochelle*, which then was in the Power of the Prince of *Conde*'s Party; and there they openly uttered and ſold their Prizes to the Men of the Town, and other Merchants of *France*; whereupon the Ambaſſador of *Spain* made often Complaints to the King's Privy-Council.

And, foraſmuch as they thought it very available to this Enterpriſe, that *Eliſabeth*, Queen of *England*, might be brought into League with them, the King committed the Dealing in that Matter to the Admiral. For, a few Months before, the King had, with moſt ſweet alluring Letters, gotten him to the Court, where he was moſt honourably entertained: And, to take from him all Occaſion of Diſtruſt upon his Adverſaries, or of otherwiſe ſuſpecting the King's or Queen-Mother's Affection towards him, firſt, all the *Guiſians* of a ſet Purpoſe departed the Court. Then the King gave the Admiral free Liberty to take with him what Company, and with what Furniture he would: And becauſe it was thought that he had more Confidence in the Marſhal *Coſſe*, than in the reſt, therefore the King commanded the ſaid Marſhal to be ever at Hand with the Admiral, and to aſſiſt him in the King's Name, if any Need were.

The Matter of the League with *England* the Admiral ſo diligently and induſtriouſly handled, that, within ſhort Space after by Ambaſſadors ſent, and by Faith given and received, and Oaths ſolemnly taken on both Parts, it was confirmed. Concerning the Procurement of other Leagues and Amities, ſuch as might ſeem to further the Enterpriſe of the *Low-Countries*, the Admiral alſo travelled in the King's Name, and by his Commandment, and had, in a Manner, brought all theſe Things to an End. And, of all thoſe Leagues, the firſt and principal Condition was, That the Liberty of Religion ſhould continue, and that the King ſhould moſt diligently and ſincerely obſerve this Edict of Pacification.

Though theſe Things ſeemed to be handled ſecretly, yet, by the Letters both of *Biragio* the Vice-Chancellor, of whom we made Mention before, and of *Morvilliers*, whom, for his hypocritical Leanneſs, Children commonly called the *Chimera* or Bug of the Court, and by Advertiſements of Cardinal *de Pelve*, a Man moſt fit either to invent or execute any Treaſon, they were carried to the Biſhop of *Rome*, who, by Advice of his Cardinals, ſent by one of their Number, called *Alexandrine*, in the Midſt of a moſt ſharp Winter, into *France*, with theſe Inſtructions: To perſuade the King to enter into the Society of the League

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of *Trent*, whereof the firſt and principal Article was, That the Confederates ſhould join their Powers, and make War upon the *Turks* and Heretticks, meaning, by the Name of Heretticks, all thoſe Princes that did permit the Uſe of the Reformed Religion within their Dominions.

The Cardinal *Alexandrine* was honourably received in the Court, but yet diſmiſſed without atchieving his Purpoſe; for ſo was it bruited among the People, and commonly believed throughout *France*, albeit he himſelf ſecretly ſeemed to return very merry and chearful to the Pope; and, as it is reported, did ſometimes ſay, that he received ſuch Anſwer of the King as was needful not to be publiſhed, and that the King and Queen-Mother had largely ſatisfied him.

Foraſmuch as it was thought a Matter greatly availing to the Enterpriſe of the *Low-Countries*, to ſend certain Ships into the *Engliſh* Seas, that, if any Aid ſhould be ſent into the *Low-Countries* to the Duke of *Alva* out of *Spain*, it might ſo be ſtopped: *Strozzi*, and the Baron *de la Guarde*, were appointed for that Purpoſe, to whom the King gave in Commandment to rig forth certain Ships of *Bourdeaux* and *Rochelle*, well armed and well appointed, and to provide with all Speed all Things needful for thoſe Ships. The Ambaſſador of *Spain*, ſomewhat moved with this Preparation, made divers Complaints to the King's Council on the Behalf of the King his Maſter; and yet never received any other Anſwer, but that the King thought it not likely, and that he would ſend Commiſſioners to *Bourdeaux* and to *Rochelle*, with Letters and Commandment that there ſhould be no Preparation made to the Sea, and, if any had been made, it ſhould be enquired of. What Inſtructions were ſecretly and cloſely underhand given to theſe two Captains of that Navy, we do not certainly know; but this no Man can doubt of, but that they had Commiſſion to diſtreſs all ſuch Ships wherein any *Spaniſh* Soldiers ſhould be tranſported into the *Low-Countries*, and that all this Preparation to the Sea was ordained againſt the *Spaniſh* King and the Duke of *Alva*.

And, moreover, that the Admiral, at the ſame Time, received Commandment from the King, to ſend Spies into *Peru*, an Iſland of the *New-found World*, moſt plentiful of Gold above all others, now being in the *Spaniards* Dominion, to learn if there were any good Enterpriſe to be attempted or atchieved for the Getting of it. Which Matter was committed to a certain Gentleman, one of the Admiral's Train, who went thither, accompanied with a certain *Portugueſe*, a Man moſt ſkilful in thoſe Navigations, whom the Admiral had joined with him by the King's Commandment, and is not yet returned.

Now it cannot be expreſſed, how many, and how great Tokens of moſt loving Mind, the King at that Time ſhewed to the Admiral, and to the Count *Rochefoucault*, and to *Theligny*, and to the reſt of the chief Noblemen of the Religion. Firſt, all ſuch Things as in the former Wars had been taken away in the Towns, Ferms, and Caſtles of the Admiral, and *d'Andelot*, the King cauſed to be ſought out reſtored. If there were any other whom the King underſtood to be beloved and eſteemed of the Admiral, or to have attained any ſpecial Honour in the ſaid late Wars, thoſe he liberally benefited and rewarded. To the Admiral himſelf, he commanded one Day to be given a Hundred-thouſand Pounds of his own Treaſure, in Recompence of his former Loſſes. When his Brother, the Cardinal *Caſtillion*, endowed with many great and wealthy Benefices, departed this Life, the King gave him the Fruits of one whole Year. Alſo the King wrote to *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, that he ſhould do him a moſt acceptable Pleaſure, if he did not only deal more gently with thoſe that in the former Wars had aided thoſe of the Religion, but alſo would uſe Clemency and Mildneſs towards all others that profeſſed the ſame Religion within his Dominions.

And for that there was old Enmity between the *Guiſians* and the Admiral, whereby it was to be doubted, that perilous Contentions would ariſe in the Realm of *France*, the King willed it to be ſignified to them both in his Name, that they ſhould, for his Sake, and the Commonwealth's, give over thoſe Diſpleaſures; and he preſcribed them a certain Form of Reconciliation and Agreement, the ſame whereof the Foundations had been laid almoſt ſix Years before in the Town of *Molins*, where the King calling to him the greateſt Eſtates of his Realm, after Conſultation and Deliberation had upon the Matter, pronounced the Admiral not guilty of the Death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, wherewith he was charged by the young Duke

of

of *Guiſe*, and his Kinſmen: And ſo the King, by the Advice of his Council, had ended that Controverſy.

Furthermore, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who, as we have ſaid, was the very Forger of all the former Wars, to take away all Jealouſy of new Practices, was departed to *Rome*, and took with him his familiar Friend, the late created Cardinal *Pelvey*, one reputed a moſt ſubtle and crafty Perſon, under Pretence of going to the Election of a new Pope, in Place of the old Pope, then lately deceaſed.

But there was no greater and more aſſured Token of publick Peace and Quietneſs than this, that the King purpoſed to give his Siſter *Margaret* in Marriage to Prince *Henry*, the Son of the Queen of *Navarre*, which Prince had in the laſt War defended the Cauſe of the Religion, and been Sovereign of their Army. Which Marriage the King declared, that it ſhould be the moſt ſtreight Bond of civil Concord, and the moſt aſſured Teſtimony of his Good-will to thoſe of the Religion.

Yea, and alſo, becauſe it was alledged that the ſaid Prince *Henry* was reſtrained in Conſcience, ſo as he might not marry the Lady *Margaret*, being of a contrary Religion, a Catholick, and given to the Rites of the *Romiſh* Church, the King for Anſwer ſaid, that he would diſcharge her of the Pope's Laws; and, notwithſtanding the Crying out of all his Courtiers to the contrary, he permitted him, that, without all Ceremonies, in the Porch of the great Church of *Paris*, the Marriage ſhould be celebrated in ſuch a Form, as the Miniſters of the Reformed Church miſliked not.

Which Thing being by Report and Letters ſpread through the World, it cannot be expreſſed how much it made the Hearts of thoſe of the Religion aſſured, and out of Care, and how it caſt out all Fear and Jealouſy out of their Minds; what a Confidence it brought them of the King's Good-will toward them: Finally, how much it rejoiced foreign Princes and States, that favoured the ſame Religion. But the Admiral's Mind was much more eſtabliſhed, by a Letter, which about the ſame Time *Theligny* brought him, with the King's own Hand and Seal, wherein was contained, that whatſoever the Admiral ſhould do for the Matter of the intended War of the *Low-Countries*, the King would allow and ratify the ſame, as done by his own Commandment. About that Time, *Lodovick* of *Naſſau*, with the Queen of *Navarre*, a Lady moſt zealouſly affected to the Religion, came to the *French* Court. The League was made between King *Charles* and the Prince of *Orange*, and the Articles thereof put in Writing. The Marriage was appointed to be held in the Town of *Paris*: For which Cauſe, the Queen of *Navarre*, during thoſe few Days, repaired thither, to provide Things for the Solemnity of the Wedding. For the ſame Cauſe, the King ſent to the Admiral one *Cavaignes*, a Man of an excellent ſharp Wit, whom, for the Admiral's Sake, the King, had advanced to great Honour, requiring the Admiral to go before to *Paris*, as as well for the ſaid Preparation, as alſo for the Matter of the War of the *Low-Countries*, promiſing, that he himſelf would, within few Days, follow after him; aſſuring him, that there was now no Cauſe to fear the Threatenings and mad Outrages of the *Pariſians*. For, inaſmuch as the ſame Town is above all others given to Superſtitions, and is with ſeditious Preachings of Monks and Friars daily inflamed to Cruelty, it is hard to expreſs how bitterly they hated the Admiral, and the Profeſſors of that Religion. Whereto was added a Grief of their Mind, conceived certain Days before, by Reaſon of a certain ſtone Croſs, gilt, and built after the Manner of a Spire Steeple, commonly called *Gaſtigne*'s Croſs, which the Admiral, with great earneſt Suit, obtained of the King to be overthrown: For he alledged, that, being erected in the Midſt of the Rage of the Civil War, as it were, in Triumph to the Reproach of one of the Religion, it was a Monument of Civil Diſſenſion, and ſo a Matter offenſive to Peace and Concord.

The King, well knowing this deadly Hate of the *Pariſians* to the Admiral, wrote his Letters to *Marcell*, the Provoſt of the Merchants, which is the higheſt Dignity in *Paris*, with ſharp Threatenings, if there ſhould be raiſed any Stir or Trouble, by Reaſon of the Admiral's Coming. To the ſame Effect, alſo, the Duke of *Anjou*, the King's Brother, and the Queen-Mother, wrote to the ſame *Marcell*, and the reſt of the Magiſtrates of *Paris*, ſo that now there ſeemed utterly no Occaſion left for the Admiral to fear or diſtruſt. And, within few Days after, the King ſent *Briquemault*, a Man of great Virtue and Eſtimation, to the Admiral,

ral, with the ſame Inſtructions, ſaying, That the Matter of the *Low-Countries* could not well be dealed in, without his Preſence.

The Admiral, perſuaded by theſe many Means, and filled with good Hope and Courage, determined to go to *Paris*, where, ſo ſoon as he was arrived, and had been honourably and lovingly entertained of the King and his Brethren, and the Queen-Mother, and Conſultation entered among them, about the Preparation for the *Low-Countries*, he declared to the King at large, how the Duke of *Alva* was levying of great Power, and preparing an Army, and that, if the King ſhould diſſemble his Purpoſe, it would come to paſs, that many thereby would ſhew themſelves ſlower and ſlacker to the Enterpriſe; and that now were offered great Means to do Good, which, if he let ſlip, he ſhould not ſo eaſily recover the like again hereafter; and, therefore, it was beſt to take the Advantage of this Opportunity.

A few Days before, *Lodowick* of *Naſſau* went ſecretly into the Frontiers of the *Low-Countries*, and took with him, as Partners of his Journey, and privy to his Council, three *Frenchmen* of great Credit with the Admiral, namely, *Saucourt*, *la Nove*, and *Genlis*, to whom the King had given in Charge, to ſee if they could by any Means attempt and poſſeſs any Towns bordering upon his Realm. They, gathering divers other Gentlemen into their Company, went ſpeedily into the *Low-Countries*, the Admiral not knowing of it; who, as ſoon he underſtood of their Going thither, wrote unto them, that he much marvelled what they meaned, ſaying, That he well knew there could be no Power gotten ready before forty Days End, and that they ſhould be well adviſed to do nothing raſhly, nor to overthrow with Haſte their Devices, that ſeemed not ripe to be executed.

The Count of *Naſſau*, inflamed with the Sight and Deſire of his Country, and fearing the Mutableneſs of the King, did firſt, at the ſudden, ſet upon *Valenciennes*; but, being repulſed by the *Spaniſh* Soldiers that were in Gariſon in the Caſtle, he haſtily departed to *Mons*, and took the Town, being a Place very ſtrong by Nature, and well furniſhed with all Things neceſſary for the War. Which Thing being by Report and Meſſengers ſpread Abroad in the *Low-Countries*, and carried into *France* and *Germany*, both encouraged all them of the Religion with great Hope, and alſo ſeemed to have now plainly and openly decyphered and diſcloſed the Mind of the *French* King. Moreover, *Genlis* returning to *Paris*, when he had made Report to the King of all the Matter as it had proceeded, eaſily obtained of him, that, by his Aſſent, he might levy certain Bands of Footmen and Horſemen of *France*, and carry them to ſuccour *Mons*. But, by the Way, when he was entered into the Bounds of the *Low-Countries*, having with him to the Number of Four-thouſand Footmen, and about Four-hundred Horſemen, they were beſet by the Duke of *Alva*, and the moſt Part of them diſtreſſed; which Thing was well known to have been wrought by the Means of the *Guiſians*, which, by daily Meſſages and Letters, adverti ſed the Duke of *Alva* of their Purpoſes and Preparation: Which Falſhood of theirs many, moſt affectionate to the *Romiſh* Religion, were highly offended with, becauſe a great Number, addicted to the ſame *Romiſh* Religion, were in that Company.

With this Loſs, and with the Reſcue of the Town of *Valenciennes*, the King ſeemed to be much troubled; for he feared, leſt his Counſels, being diſcloſed to the *Spaniſh* King, would, at length, breed ſome Cauſe of Quarrel and War. Howbeit, when he began to remember, that a great Part of his Secrets were already revealed to the Duke of *Alva*, he oftentimes reſolved to utter his Mind plainly, and to make open War. But he was withdrawn from that Purpoſe by certain Men, which the Admiral had long before conceived, that they would ſo do. Howbeit, he gave the Admiral Liberty to ſend whatſoever he thought meet, to further the Prince of *Orange*'s Enterpriſe, and as great Supply, either of Footmen, or of Horſemen, as he could, to the Army which the Prince of *Orange* had levied in *Germany*. When the Admiral, for that Cauſe, had made Requeſt, that he might levy thirty Troops of Horſemen, and as many Enſigns of Footmen, he eaſily obtained it.

For the Entertainment of theſe Footmen, it behoved to have Money; wherefore, at the Requeſt of the Admiral, the King called for his Treaſurer, and commanded him to deliver to the Admiral ſo much Money, as the Admiral ſhould think meet; and charged him, that he ſhould not in any wiſe, after the uſual Manner of the Accounts of Finances, write the Cauſes

of the Receipt, but only ſet it down, in this Form: This Sum of Money was paid to the Admiral ſuch a Day, by the King's Commandment, for certain Cauſes, which the King hath commanded not to be written: And to this Warrant the King ſubſcribed with his own Hand.

Alſo the King wrote to *Monducet*, his Ambaſſador in the *Low-Countries*, to travel as earneſtly as he could, for their Deliverance, that were taken at the Overthrow of *Genlis*; which Commandment, it is ſaid, that *Monducet* did moſt faithfully and diligently execute.

Not long before this, *Joan*, Queen of *Navarre* abovementioned, died in the Court, at *Paris*, of a ſudden Sickneſs, being about the Age of forty and three Years, where, as the Suſpicion was great, that ſhe died of Poiſon, and her Body was, for that Cauſe, opened by the Phyſicians, there were no Tokens of Poiſon eſpied. But, ſhortly after, by the Detection of one *A. P.* it hath been found, that ſhe was poiſoned with a venomed Smell of a Pair of perfumed Gloves, dreſſed by one *Renat*, the King's Apothecary, an *Italian*, that hath a Shop at *Paris*, upon Saint *Michael's* Bridge, near unto the Palace; which could not be eſpied by the Phyſicians, who did not open the Head, nor look into the Brain. It is well known, that the ſame Man, about certain Years paſt, for the ſame Intent, gave to *Lewis*, Prince of *Conti*, a poiſoned Pomander, which the Prince left with one *Le Groſſe*, his Surgeon; *Le Groſſe*, delighted with the ſame, was by little and little poiſoned therewith, and ſo ſwelled, that he hardly eſcaped with his Life.

By her Death, the Kingdom came to the Prince *Henry* her Son, to whom, as is aboveſaid, the King's Siſter was promiſed and contracted.

Things being, as it ſeemed, throughout all *France*, in moſt peaceable Eſtate, and the Concord of all Degrees well eſtabliſhed, the Day was appointed for the Marriage of the King of *Navarre*; which Day all they, that fancied the Religion, eſteemed ſo much the more joyful to them, becauſe they ſaw the King wonderfully bent thereunto, and all good Men judged the ſame a moſt aſſured Pledge and Eſtabliſhment of Civil Concord; whereas, on the contrary Part, the *Guiſians*, and other Enemies of common Quietneſs, greatly abhorred the ſame Marriage.

When the Day came, the Marriage was, with Royal Pomp, ſolemniſed before the great Church at *Paris*, and a certain Form of Words ſo framed, as diſagreed with the Religion of neither Side, was, by the King's Commandment, pronounced by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the King of *Navarre*'s Uncle; and ſo the Matrimony celebrated with great Joy of the King, and all good Men; the Bride was, with great Train and Pomp, led into the Church, to hear Maſs, and in the mean Time the Bridegroom, who miſliked theſe Ceremonies, together with *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, Son of *Lewis*, and the Admiral, and other Noblemen of the ſame Religion, walked without the Church-Door, waiting for the Bride's Return.

While theſe Things were doing at *Paris*, *Strozzi*, who, as we have ſaid, had the Charge of the King's Power at Sea, hovering upon the Coaſt of *Rochelle*, did now and then ſend of his Captains and Soldiers into the Town, under Colour of Buying Things neceſſary, and ſometimes he came thither alſo himſelf. The like was done at the ſame Time, in another Part of *France*, by the Horſemen of *Gonzague*, Duke of *Nivers*, near to the Town of *la Charite*, which hath a Bridge over the River of *Loyre*, and remained, till that Time, in the Power of thoſe of the Religion, by Reaſon of the great Number of them there inhabiting. This Troop was of thoſe Horſemen, which the King hath accuſtomed to keep in ordinary Wages, in every Country, whereof the moſt Part were *Italians*, Countrymen to their Captain, *Lewis Gonzague*, to whom the Queen-Mother had given the Daughter and Heir of the Duke of *Nivers* in Marriage. They requeſted of the Townſmen, that they might make their Muſters within the Town, ſaying, That they had received Warrant from the King ſo to do, and ſhewed the King's Letters therefore. At *Lyons*, the Governor of the Town commanded a View to be taken of all thoſe, that profeſſed the Religion, and their Names to be written in a Book, and brought unto him; which Book ſhortly after, according to the Succeſs, was called, *The bloody Book*.

After the Marriage, ended at *Paris*, which was the Time, that the Admiral had appointed to return to his own Houſe, he moved the King, concerning his Departure. But ſo great was the Preparation of Plays, ſo great was the Magnificence of Banquets and Shews; and the King

ſo

ſo earneſtly bent to thoſe Matters, that he had no Leiſure, not only for weighty Affairs, but alſo, not ſo much as to take his natural Sleep. For, in the *French* Court, Dancings, Maſkings, and Stage-plays (wherein the King exceedingly delighteth) are commonly uſed in the Night-time: And ſo the Time, that is fitteſt for Counſel and Matters of Governance, is, by Reaſon of nightly riotous Sitting up, of Neceſſity conſumed in Sleep. So great alſo is the Familiarity of Men and Women of the Queen-Mother's Train, and ſo great the Liberty of Sporting, Entertainment, and Talking together, as to foreign Nations may ſeem incredible, and be thought, of all honeſt Perſons, a Matter not very convenient for Preſervation of noble young Ladies Chaſtity. Moreover, if there come any Pander or Bawd, out of *Italy*, or any Schoolmaſter of ſhameful and filthy Luſt, he winneth, in a ſhort Time, marvellous Favour and Credit. And ſuch a Multitude is there begun to be of *Italians*, commonly throughout all *France*, eſpecially in the Court, ſince the Adminiſtration of the Realm was committed to the Queen-Mother, that many do commonly call it *France Italian*; and ſome term it a Colony, and ſome, a common Sink of *Italy*.

Theſe Madneſſes of the Court were the Cauſe, that the Admiral could not have Acceſs to the King's Speech, nor Entrance to deal in weighty Matters. But when they that were ſent from the Reformed Churches, to complain of Injuries commonly done to thoſe of the Religion, underſtood of the Admiral's Purpoſe to depart, they did, with all Speed, deliver to him their Books and Petitions, and beſought him, not to depart from the Court, till he had dealed in the Cauſe of the Churches, and delivered their Petitions to the King, and his Council. For this Cauſe, the Admiral reſolved to defer his Going for a While, till he might treat with the King's Council, concerning thoſe Requeſts; for the King had promiſed him, that he would ſhortly inquire into thoſe Matters, and be preſent with the Council himſelf.

Beſides this Delay, there was another Matter that ſtayed him. There were owing to the Rutters of *Germany*, which had ſerved on the Part of the Religion in the laſt War, great Sums of Money, for their Wages, in which Matter the Admiral travelled with incredible Earneſtneſs and Care.

Concerning all theſe Affairs, the Admiral, as he determined before, having Acceſs and Opportunity for that Purpoſe, moved the King's Privy-Council, the twenty-ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, which was the fifth Day after the King of *Navarre*'s Marriage, and ſpent much Time in that Treaty. About Noon, when he was returning Home from the Council, with a great Company of Noblemen and Gentlemen, behold a Harquebuzier, out of a Window of a Houſe near adjoining, ſhot the Admiral, with two Bullets of Lead, through both the Arms. When the Admiral felt himſelf wounded, Nothing at all amazed, but with the ſame Countenance, that he was accuſtomed, he ſaid, Through yonder Window it was done: Go, ſee who are in the Houſe: What Manner of Treachery is this? Then, he ſent a certain Gentleman of his Company to the King, to declare it unto him. The King at that Time was playing at Tennis, with the Duke of *Guiſe*. Aſſoon as he heard of the Admiral's Hurt, he was marvellouſly moved, as it ſeemed, and threw away his Racket, that he played with, on the Ground, and, taking with him his Brother-in-Law, the King of *Navarre*, he retired into his Caſtle.

The Gentlemen that were with the Admiral broke into the Houſe, from whence he received his Hurt; there they found only one Woman, the Keeper of the Houſe, and ſhortly after, alſo a Boy, his Lacquey that had done the Deed; and, therewithal, they found the Harquebuz lying upon the Table, in that Chamber, from whence the Noiſe was heard; him that ſhot they found not; for he, in great Haſte, was run away out at the Back Gate, and getting on Horſeback, which he had waiting for him, ready ſaddled at the Door, he rode a great Pace to Saint *Anthony*'s Gate, where he had a freſh Horſe tarrying for him, if Need were, and another at *Marcelles* Gate. Then, by the King's Commandment, a great Number rode out in Poſt into all Parts, to purſue him; but, for that he was ſlipped into By-ways, and received into a certain Caſtle, they could not overtake him.

At the Suit of the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* and others, the King by and by gave Commiſſion for Inquiry to be made of the Matter, and committed the Examining thereof to three choſen Perſons of the Parliament of *Paris*, *Thuan*, *Morſant*, and *Viol*, a Counſellor.

Firſt it was found that the ſame Houſe belonged to a Prieſt, a Canon of Saint *Germain*, whoſe Name is *Villemure*, which had been

the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Schoolmaſter, in his Youth, and ſtill continued a Retainer towards him. Then the Woman which we ſaid was found in the Houſe, being taken and brought before them, confeſſed that, a few Days before, there came to her one *Challey* ſometime a Maſter *d'Hoſtel* of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Houſe, and now of the King's Court, and commanded her to make much of the Man that had done this Deed, and to lodge him in the ſame Bed and Chamber were *Villemure* was wont to lie, for that he was his Friend and very familiar Acquaintance, and that *Villemure* would be very glad of it. The Name of him that ſhot was very diligently kept ſecret. Some ſay it was *Manrevet*, who in the third Civil War traiterouſly ſlew his Captain Monſieur *De Moovy*, a moſt valiant and noble Gentleman, and ſtraightway fled into the Enemies Camp. Some ſay it was *Bondot*, one of the Archers of the King's Guard. When the Woman's Confeſſion was brought to the King, he immediately called Monſiur *De Nance*, Captain of his Guard, and commanded him to apprehend *Challey*, and bring him to him. *Challey*, as ſoon as he heard the Stroke of the Piece, fled into the King's Caſtle called the *Louvre*, and hid him in the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Chamber, from whence he conveyed himſelf away as ſoon as he had heard of the King's Commandment. When *De Nance* was informed of his Departure, he anſwered that *Challey* was a Gentleman of good Worſhip, and there was no Doubt, but, when Need were, he would appear before the King and the Magiſtrates.

While theſe Things were doing, and the Admiral's Wound dreſſing, *Theligny* went by his Commandment to the King, and moſt humbly beſought him in the Name of his Father-in-Law, that his Majeſty would vouchſafe to come unto him, for that his Life ſeemed to be in Peril, and that he had certain Things to ſay, greatly importing to the King's Safety, which he well knew that none in this Realm durſt declare to his Majeſty. The King courteouſly anſwered, that he would willingly go to him, and within a little While after he ſet forward. The Queen-Mother went with him, and the Duke of *Anjou*, the Duke of *Montenſier*, a moſt affectionate Subject to the Church of *Rome*; the Count *de Rhetz*, the Queen Mother's great Familiar; *Chavigny* and *Entragny*, which afterwards were chief Ringleaders in the Butchery of *Paris*.

When the King had lovingly ſaluted the Admiral as he was wont to do, and had gently aſked him ſome Queſtions concerning his Hurt and the State of his Health, and the Admiral had anſwered with ſuch a mild and quiet Countenance, that all they that were preſent wondered at his Temperance and Patience, the King being much moved, as it ſeemed, ſaid, The Hurt, my Admiral, is done to thee, but the Diſhonour to me: But, by the Death of God, ſaith he, I ſwear I will ſo ſeverely revenge both the Hurt and the Diſhonour, that it ſhall never be forgotten. He aſked him alſo how he liked of the Judges that he had choſen, to whom he had given Commiſſion for examining the Matter. The Admiral anſwered, that he could not but very well like of thoſe that his Majeſty had allowed of, yet he beſought him, if he thought it good, that *Cavagnes* might be called to counſel with them: Albeit that it was no hard Matter to find out, for it was no Doubt, ſaid he, that this good Turn was done him by the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Revenge whereof he referred to God. This only he moſt heartily and humbly beſought of his Royal Majeſty, that the Fact might be duly inquired into. The King anſwered, that he would take earneſt Care of it, and revenge that Injury with no leſs Severity than if it had been done to himſelf. Then, the King's Brethren and their Mother withdrawing themſelves a While, the Admiral, as it was afterwards known by his own Report, began to adviſe the King to have in Memory thoſe Things that he had often told him, of the dangerous Intentions of certain Perſons: And he told him, that, though he himſelf had received a great Wound, yet there was no leſs hanging over the King's Head: And that long ago there was Treaſon practiſing againſt his Life, which, if he would do wiſely, he ſhould avoid betimes. Further he ſaid, that, tho' as ſoon as God ſhould take him to himſelf out of this Life, he doubted not but that his Fame ſhould be brought into ſundry Slanders by envious Perſons, and ſuch as ſought him Ill-will by Reaſon of the late Wars, nevertheleſs he had oftentimes diſcloſed unto the King the Authors of the Diſſenſions, and opened the Cauſes thereof; and that God was his Witneſs of his moſt faithful Heart to the King and the Common-wealth, and that he had never holden any thing dearer than his Country and the publick Safety.

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The King, after ſuch Anſwer made hereunto as he thought beſt, ſpoke aloud, and heartily intreated the Admiral to ſuffer himſelf to be removed into his Caſtle of the *Louvre*, for that he thought ſome Peril, leſt there ſhould ariſe ſome Sedition among the Commons already in Diſorder, or any Stir in that mad and troubleſome City. Whereto this Speech of the King tended could not then be underſtood. For, though the Commonalty of *Paris* had ever been accounted the moſt fooliſh and mad of all others, yet is it ever moſt eaſily appeaſed, not only with the Coming and Preſence of the King, but alſo with the very Sound of his Name. The Admiral moſt humbly and largely thanked the King, and made his Excuſe upon the Counſel of the Phyſicans, who feared that Shaking would increaſe his Pain, and therefore had taken Order that he ſhould not be ſtirred out of his Place. Then the Count *de Rhetz*, turning to certain Gentlemen of the Admiral's Friends, ſaid, I wiſh the Admiral would follow the King's Counſel, for it is to be feared that ſome ſuch Stir may ariſe in the Town, as the King ſhall not eaſily be able to appeaſe: Which Speech being uttered, although no Man did yet ſuſpect whereto that Advice tended, yet the Admiral and his Friends thought it good to requeſt of the King to aſſign unto him certain of the Soldiers of the Guard for his Safety. The King anſwered that he very well liked of that Device, and that he was fully determined to provide as well for the Admiral's Safety as for his own, and that he would preſerve the Admiral as the Ball of his Eye, and that he had in Admiration the Conſtancy and Fortitude of the Man, and that he never before that Time believed that there could be ſo great Valiantneſs or Courage in any mortal Perſon.

Therewith, the Duke of *Anjou* the King's Brother commanded *Ceſſin* Captain of the King's Guard, to place a certain Band of Soldiers to ward before the Admiral's Gate. There could hardly a Man be found more hateful againſt the Admiral's Party, nor more affected to the *Guiſians*, than this *Ceſſin*, which the Succeſs plainly proved, as hereafter ſhall appear. The Duke of *Anjou* further added that he thought it ſhould be good for the Admiral, if more of his Friends and Familiars, that lodged in the Suburbs, did draw nearer about him; and forthwith he commanded the King's Harbingers to warn thoſe, to whom they had before aſſigned Lodgings in that Street, to remove from thence, and to place the Admiral's Friends in their Rooms: Which Counſel was ſuch, as none could poſſibly be deviſed more fit for thoſe Things that followed. For thoſe, who might have by Flight eſcaped out of the Suburbs, were now held faſt enough, being incloſed not only within the Walls of the Town, but alſo within the Compaſs of one narrow Street. The next Day after the Undermaſters of the Streets, commonly called *Quartermen*, ſurveyed all the Victualling-houſes and Inns from Houſe to Houſe, and all the Names of thoſe of the Religion, together with the Place of every of their Lodgings, they put in Books, and with Speed delivered over the ſame Books to thoſe of whom they had received that Commandment.

After Noon, the Queen-Mother led out the King, the Duke of *Anjou*, *Gonzague*, *Tavaignes*, and the Count *de Rhetz* called *Gondin*, into her Gardens called *Tegliers*. This Place, becauſe it was ſomewhat far from Reſort, ſhe thought moſt fit for this their laſt Conſultation. There ſhe ſhewed them, how thoſe, whom they had long been in Wait for, were now ſure in Hold, and the Admiral lay in his Bed maimed of both his Arms and could not ſtir; the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* were faſt lodged in the Caſtle; the Gates were kept ſhut all Night, and Watches placed, ſo as they were ſo ſnared that they could no Way eſcape, and, the Captains thus taken, it was not to be feared that any of the Religion would from thenceforth ſtir any more. Now was a notable Opportunity, ſaid ſhe, offered to diſpatch the Matter. For all the chief Captains were faſt cloſed up in *Paris*, and the reſt in other Towns were all unarmed and unprepared, and that there were ſcarcely to be found ten Enemies to a thouſand *Catholicks*: That the *Pariſians* were in Armour and were able to make three-ſcore-thouſand choſen fighting Men, and that, within the Space of one Hour, all the Enemies may be ſlain, and the whole Name and Race of thoſe wicked Men be utterly rooted out. On the other Side, ſaith ſhe, if the King do not take the Advantage of the Fitneſs of this Time, it is no Doubt, but that, if the Admiral recover his Health, all *France* will ſhortly be on Fire with the fourth Civil War.

The Queen's Opinion was allowed. Howbeit it was thought beſt, partly for his Age, and partly for his Affinity's Sake, that the King of *Navarre*'s Life ſhould be ſaved. As for the Prince of *Conde*, it was doubted, whether

ther it were beſt to ſpare him for his Age, or to put him to Death for Hatred of his Father's Name. But herein the Opinion of *Gonzague* took Place, that he ſhould, with Fear of Death and Torment, be drawn from the Religion. So that Council broke up, with Appointment that the Matter ſhould be put in Execution the next Night early before Day, and that the Ordering and Doing of all ſhould be committed to the Duke of *Guiſe*.

The Admiral, being informed of a Stir and Noiſe of Armour, and Threatenings heard every where throughout the Town, and Preparation of many Things pertaining to Tumult, ſent Word thereof to the King: Who anſwered, that there was no Cauſe for the Admiral to fear, for all was done by his Commandment, and not every where, but in certain Places; and that there were certain appointed by him to be in Armour, leſt the People ſhould riſe and make any Stir in the Town.

When the Duke of *Guiſe* thought all Things ready enough, he called to him the aboveſaid *Marcell*, and charged him that he ſhould a little after Midnight aſſemble together the Maſters of the Streets, whom they call *Diziners* into the Town-Houſe, for he had certain ſtrange and ſpecial Matters in Charge from the King, which his Pleaſure was to have declared unto them. They all aſſembled at the Time. *Carron*, the new Provoſt of Merchants, guarded with certain *Guiſians*, and amongſt the reſt *Entragne* and *Puygallart*, made the Declaration: He ſaid that the King's Meaning was to deſtroy all the Rebels which had in theſe late Years borne Arms againſt his Majeſty, and to root out the Race of thoſe wicked Men; it was now very fitly happened that the Chieftans and Ringleaders of them were faſt incloſed within the Walls of the Town, as in a Priſon; and that the ſame Night they ſhould firſt begin with them, and afterwards for the reſt, as ſoon as poſſible might be, throughout all Parts of the Realm, the King would take Order: And the Token, to ſet upon them, ſhould be given, not with a Trumpet, but with a *Tocksein* or Ringing of the great Bell of the Palace, which they knew to be accuſtomed only in great Caſes: And the Mark, for them to be known from others, ſhould be a white linnen Cloth hanged about their left Arm, and a white Croſs pinned upon their Caps. In the mean Time the Duke of *Guiſe* made privy thereunto the Captains of the King's Guard, both *Gaſcoigns*, *Frenchmen*, and *Switzers*, and bade them to be ready to go to it with good Courage. Shortly after, the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Baſtard Son of King *Henry*, commonly called the *Chevalier*, with a great Band of armed Men following them, went to the Admiral's Houſe, which *Coſſin* kept beſieged with Harquebuziers, placed in Order on both Sides of the Street.

The Admiral, advertiſed of the Stir and the Noiſe of the Armour, although he had ſcarcely ten Perſons in his Houſe able to bear Harneſs, and in his Chamber only two Surgeons, one Preacher, and one or two Servitors, yet could not be made afraid, truſting, as he often rehearſed to the King's Good-will towards him, approved by ſo many and ſo great Means of Aſſurance; having alſo Confidence that the Commonalty of *Paris*, if they once underſtood the King to miſlike of their mad Fury, how much ſoever they were in Outrage, yet, ſo ſoon as they ſaw *Coſſin* warding the Gate, they would be appeaſed. He repeated alſo the Oath for Keeping of the Peace, ſo often openly ſworn by the King and his Brethren and their Mother, and entered in publick Records; the League lately made with the Queen of *England* for the ſame Cauſe, the Articles of Treaty covenanted with the Prince of *Orange*, the King's Faith given to the Princes of *Germany*, ſome Towns attempted and ſome taken in the *Low-Countries* by the King's Commandment; the Marriage of the King's Siſter ſolemniſed but ſix Days before, which it was not like that he would ſuffer to be defiled with Blood; finally, the Judgment of foreign Nations and of Poſterity, Shame and the Honour and Conſtancy of a Prince, publick Faith, and the ſacred Reſpect of the Law of Nations, by all which it ſeemed monſtrous and incredible that the King could aſſent to be ſtained with ſo outrageous and cruel a Deed.

Coſſin, when he ſaw the Noblemen draw near, knocked at the Gate, which, as is above ſaid, he was commanded by the Duke of *Anjou* to keep. Whereupon many applied the old Proverb, A goodly Guard to make the Wolf Keeper of the Sheep. When he was entered without any Manner of Difficulty, he carried in with him a great Company of armed Men, and after thoſe followed the great Lords. Such as *Coſſin* found at the Entry of, and within the Porch of the Houſe, he ſlew with a Partiſan that he had in his Hand: Which when the

Admiral

Admiral underſtood, he cauſed thoſe that were about him to lift him out of his Bed, and, caſting on a Nightgown upon him, he roſe upright on his Feet; he bade his Friends and Servants to flee and make Shift for themſelves, and to take no more Care for him, for he ſaid that he was moſt ready, with moſt willing Heart, to render into the Hands of God, now calling for it again, the Spirit that he had lent him to uſe for a Time: And ſaid that this violent Cruelty was prepared, not ſo much for his Deſtruction, as for the Diſhonouring of Chriſt, and the Tormenting of ſo many Churches, the Defence of which Churches he had, at the Petition of all godly Men, with his many Dangers and Calamities ſuſtained.

In the mean Time there came up the Stairs, into the higher Part of the Houſe, one *Benueſe* a *German*, brought up in the Houſe of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and to whom it is ſaid, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had given one of his Baſtard Daughters in Marriage: And with him came *Coſſin* the *Gaſcoign*, *Attin* a *Picard*, a Retainer and Familiar of the Duke *d'Aumale*, one that a few Years before ſought to murder *d'Andelot* by Treaſon; and alſo one *Hanfort* an *Avernois*, all weaponed with Swords and Targets, and armed with Shirts of Mail.

When they were broken into the Admiral's Chamber, *Benueſe* came to him, and, bending his drawn Sword upon him, ſaid, Art not thou the Admiral? He, with a quiet and conſtant Countenance, as we have ſince underſtood by themſelves, anſwered, I am ſo called. And then, ſeeing the Sword drawn upon him, he ſaid, Young Man, conſider my Age and the weak Caſe, that I am now in. But the Fellow, after Blaſpheming God, firſt thruſt his Sword into the Admiral's Breaſt, and then alſo ſtruck him upon the Head, and *Attin* ſhot him through the Breaſt with a Piſtol. When the Admiral was with this Wound not yet thoroughly dead, *Benueſe* gave him the third Wound upon the Thigh, and ſo he fell down for dead. When the Duke of *Guiſe*, who ſtayed in the Court with the other Noblemen, heard this, he cried out aloud, Haſt thou done, *Benueſe*? He anſwered, I have done. Then ſaid the Duke of *Guiſe*, Our Chevalier, meaning King *Henry's* Baſtard abovesaid, unleſs he ſee it with his Eyes, will not believe it: Throw him down at the Window. Then *Benueſe*, with the Help of his Fellows took up the Admiral's Body and threw it down through the Window. When, by Reaſon of the Wound in his Head and his Face covered with Blood, they could not well diſcern him, the Duke of *Guiſe* kneeled down on the Ground, and wiped him with a Napkin, and ſaid, Now I know him, it is he. And, therewithal going out at the Gate with the reſt of the Lords, he cried out to the Multitude in Armour, ſaying: My Companions, we have had a good lucky Beginning: Now let us go forward to the reſt, for it is the King's Commandment: Which Words he did often repeat aloud, ſaying, Thus the King commandeth: This is the King's Will, this is his Pleaſure. And then he commanded the Token to be given by ringing *Tockſein* with the great Bell of the Palace, an Alarm to be raiſed; and he cauſed it to be publiſhed, that the Conſpirators were in Armour and about to kill the King. Then a certain *Italian* of *Gonzague's* Band, cut off the Admiral's Head, and ſent it preſerved with Spices to *Rome* to the Pope, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. Others cut off his Hands, and others his ſecret Parts. Then the common Labourers and Raſcals, three Days together, dragged the dead Body thus mangled and bewrayed with Blood and Filth, through the Streets, and afterwards drew it out of the Town to the common Gallows, and hanged it up with a Rope by the Feet.

In the mean Time, thoſe of the Noblemen's Bands broke into all the Chambers of the Admiral's Houſe, and ſuch as they found, either in their Beds, or hidden, they mangled them with many Wounds, and ſo ſlaughtered them. Of that Number were two young Children, Pages, of honourable Birth. There was alſo the Count *Rochefoucault*, who, for the excellent Pleaſantneſs of his Wit, and for his Valiantneſs, was highly beloved of King *Henry*, and ſo ſeemed, for the ſame Cauſe alſo, to be beloved of the King. Him was *De Nance*, abovesaid, commanded to kill; but, he refuſing it, for their old Acquaintance and Familiarity, one *Laberge*, an *Avernois*, offered himſelf to the King to do it; but with this Condition, That the King ſhould give him the Captainſhip of Horſemen, which Count *Rochefoucault* had. There was alſo ſlain *Theligny*, the Admiral's Son-in-law, a young Man of ſingular Towardneſs, both of Wit and Courage, to whom the King, theſe many Years, had, in Words and Countenance, made Shew of ſo great Goodwill, as that no Man was thought to be more highly

highly in his Favour: He crying out, That it was more grievous to him to live, for that he had ever commended to his Father-in-law the Faithfulneſs of the King, refuſed not the Death offered him. And many other moſt flouriſhing young Noblemen and Gentlemen were every where butcherly murthered in that Street. Then the Noblemen's Bands, and *Coſſin*'s Soldiers, went ranſacking from Houſe to Houſe; and the Admiral's Houſe, and all the other Houſes, were all ſacked and ſpoiled, even in like Manner as is uſed to be done by Soldiers greedy of Prey in a Town taken by Aſſault; and many, by this Robbery, were, of Beggars, ſuddenly become rich Men. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Monpenſier*, the Chevalier, King *Henry*'s Baſtard, *Gonzague*, *Tavaignes*, and the other great Lords, did, with Reward of the Spoil and Booty, encourage the Multitude to the Slaughter; and cried out aloud, That this was the King's Will. So all the reſt of the Day, from Morning to Evening, the raſcal Multitude, encouraged by Spoil and Robbery, ran with their bloody Swords raging throughout all the Town; they ſpared not the Aged, nor Women, nor the very Babes. In Joy and Triumph they threw the ſlain Bodies out at the Windows, ſo that there was not, in a Manner, any one Street or Lane, that ſeemed not ſtrewed with murdered Carcaſſes.

While theſe Things were thus a doing in the Town, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, whom the King had lodged in his own Caſtle of the *Louvre*, were, by the King's Commandment, ſent for, and conveyed unto him. But their Company, their Servitors of their Chambers, their Friends retaining to them, their Schoolmaſters, and thoſe that had the Bringing up of them, crying out aloud to the King's Fidelity for Succour, were thruſt out of the Chambers, and, by the King's Guard of *Switzers*, hewed in Pieces, and ſlaughtered in the King's own Sight. But, of that Number of Perſons ſlain, no Man's Caſe was ſo much lamented of many, as Monſieur *De Pilles*, in whom it is hard to expreſs, whether there were more godly Zeal in Religion, or Proweſs in War. Whereby having in the late Years, eſpecially by the Defence of the Town of Saint *John d'Angeli*, which the King then beſieged, gotten great Honour of Chivalry, he was thought very well beloved, and highly eſteemed of the King. Him and *Leranne*, the Son of *Odou*, by the *French* King's Commandment (which was not then underſtood whereto it tended) the King of *Navarre* had ſtayed in a Wardrobe adjoining to his own Chamber, and cauſed them to lodge there all Night. A little before Day, hearing of the Running of Men, and Noiſe of Armour, and Cries, and Killings, they roſe in Haſte, and immediately *De Nance*, whom we have before ſpoken of, came to them, and commanded them, in the King's Name, to come down into the Court, and to leave their Weapons behind them, and laſtly, to depart out of the Caſtle. When *De Pilles* ſaw himſelf thruſt out amongſt the Multitude of the murdering Soldiers, and beheld the Bodies of them that were ſlain, he cried out with a very loud Voice that the King might well hear him, proteſting againſt the King's Fidelity, and deteſting his traitorous Infidelity; and therewith he took off a rich Cloke which he wore, and gave it to one of his Acquaintance, ſaying, Take here this Token of *Pilles*, and hereafter remember *Pilles* moſt unworthily and ſhamefully ſlain. Oh! my good Monſieur *De Pilles*, ſaid the other, I am none of them; I thank you for your Cloke, but I will not receive it with that Condition; and ſo refuſed to take the Cloke, and immediately *De Pilles* was thruſt through by one of the Guard, with a Partiſan, and died. And this End had this moſt valiant and noble Gentleman. And then his Body was thrown into the Quarry with the reſt, which, when they that paſſed by did behold, the Soldiers cried out, There they be that made Aſſault upon us, and would have killed the King. *Leranne*, being thruſt through with a Sword, eſcaped, and ran into the Queen of *Navarre*'s Chamber, and was, by her, kept and preſerved from the Violence of thoſe that purſued him. Shortly after, ſhe obtained his Pardon of her Brother, and, committing him to her own Phyſicians, reſtored him both to Life and Health.

While theſe Things were doing at *Paris*, *Strozzi*, who, as we have aforeſaid, was come with all his Power to *Rochelle*, ſent a great Number of his Soldiers into the Town, under Colour of a Banquet to be made to his Friends in the Caſtle called *la Cheine*; but, by Reaſon of the Jealouſy and Watches of the Townſmen, by whom he ſaw his Treaſon was eſpied, he went away without his Purpoſe. But they of *la Charite*, which, as we have before ſhewed, were trapped by the *Italian* Horſemen, taking leſs Heed

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to the ſafe Keeping of their Town, were, a little before Night, ſurpriſed, and, within few Days after, put to the Sword.

The next Day following, where any, that had hidden themſelves in Corners of *Paris*, could be found out, the Slaughter was renewed; alſo common Labourers and Porters, and others of the mereſt Raſcals of the People, and deſperate Villains, to have the Spoil of their Clothes, ſtripped the dead Bodies ſtark naked, and threw them into the River of *Seine*. The Profit of all the Robberies and Spoils came all, for the moſt Part, to the Hands of theſe Labourers and the Soldiers, and, to the King's Treaſure, came very little or Nothing. The only Gain, that came to him, was that which might be made of the Vacations, as they term them, of Offices, and of Places of Magiſtrates, Captains, and other Rooms of Charge, whereof yet he gave a great Part freely away to divers of the Court. For the Admiral's Office he gave to the Marquis *de Villars*; the Chancellorſhip of *Navarre*, after the Murder of *Francourt*, he, by and by, gave to *Henry Memne de Malaſſiſe* who had been the Truchman and Meſſenger in the Treaty of the laſt Peace; the Office of the Maſter of the Finances, after the Slaughter of *Prunes*, he gave to *Villequier*; the Office of Preſident *des Aides*, when *Plateau* was ſlain, he gave to *De Nully*; the other Offices he ſold, as his Manner is, to ſuch as gave ready Money for them. For it hath been the Cuſtom now lately of certain Kings of *France* (ſuch as amongſt foreign Nations hath not been heard of) to put to Sale all the Profits, Rights, and Benefits of the Crown, and to keep an open Market for Money of all judicial Offices, and of all the Rooms belonging to his Treaſure and Finances, according to a Rate or Price ſet upon every one of them; and there is not, in a Manner, one in all *France*, that doth not openly juſtify, that he bought his Office for ready Money, and that no Man ought to marvel, if he deſire to fill up the empty Hole of his Stock again. And, therefore, Juſtice is, through all *France*, uſually bought for Money; and, though there be never ſo many Murders committed, yet is there no Proceſs awarded to inquire thereof, till preſent Coin be paid to the Rakehells and Scribes.

This butcherly Slaughter of *Paris* thus performed, and four hundred Houſes, as is aboveſaid, ſacked, immediately Meſſengers were ſent in Poſt into all the Parts of the Realm, with often Shifting their Horſes for Haſte, to command all other Cities, in the King's Name, to follow the Example of *Paris*, and to cauſe to be killed as many as they had amongſt them of the Reformed Religion.

Theſe Commandments it is wonderful to tell how readily and chearfully the greateſt Part of the Cities of *France* did obey and execute; but the King, fearing (as it was likely) the Diſhonour of falſe Treachery and Perjury, ſent Letters to the Governors of his Provinces, and alſo ſpecial Meſſengers into *England*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, to declare, in his Name, That there was a great Commotion and ſeditious Stir happened at *Paris*, which he was very ſorry for; that the Duke of *Guiſe* had raiſed the People, and, with armed Men, made Aſſault upon the Band that was aſſigned to the Admiral for his Guard, and had broken into the Houſe, and ſlain the Admiral, and all his Company and Houſhold Servants; and that the King had hardly kept ſafe from thoſe Dangers his own Caſtle of the *Louvre*, where he kept himſelf cloſe with his Mother and his Brethren: The true Copy of which Letters is hereafter inſerted. But the ſame moſt mighty, and, by the Conſent of all Nations, commonly called the moſt Chriſtian King, within two Days after, came into the Parliament, accompanied with a great Train of his Brethren and other Princes. The Council being aſſembled, he, ſitting on his Throne, began to ſpeak unto them: He declared, that he was certified, That the Admiral, with certain of his Accomplices, had conſpired his Death, and had intended the like Purpoſe againſt his Brethren, the Queen his Mother, and the King of *Navarre*; and that, for this Cauſe, he had commanded his Friends to ſlay the ſaid Admiral and all his Confederates, and ſo to prevent the Treaſon of his Enemies.

This his Teſtification and Declaration the King commanded to be written and entered in the Records of Parliament, and that it ſhould be proclaimed by the Heralds, and publiſhed by Printers: And he willed a Book to be ſet forth to this Effect, That the Slaughter of the Admiral, and his Adherents, was done by the King's Commandment (for ſo was his Majeſty's expreſs Pleaſure) becauſe they had conſpired to kill him and his Brethren, and the Queen his Mother, and the King of *Navarre*; and further, that the King did forbid, That, from thence-

thenceforth, there ſhould be any more Aſſemblies holden, or Preachings uſed of the Religion.

After the King's Oration ended, *Chriſtopher Thuane*, Preſident of that Parliament, a Man very notable for his light Brain and his cruel Heart, did, with very large Words, congratulate the King, that he had now, with Guile and Subtlety, overcome theſe his Enemies, whom he could never vanquiſh by Arms and Battle; ſaying, That therein the King had moſt fully verified the old Saying of *Lewis the Eleventh*, his Progenitor, King of *France*, who was wont to ſay, that he knew never a *Latin* Sentence, but this one: *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare:* 'He, that cannot ſkill to diſ-'ſemble, cannot ſkill to be a King.' But *Pibrace*, the Advocate of the Finances, made a ſhort Oration, the Sum whereof was to this Effect: That, although the King had juſt and great Cauſe to be diſpleaſed, yet he thought it more agreeable with his Majeſty's Clemency and Goodneſs to make an End of the Slaughters and common Spoil, and not to ſuffer ſuch Outrages to be any longer committed, without judicial Proceeding in the Cauſe; and beſought his Majeſty, that from thenceforth it would pleaſe him to uſe the Law, which is well known to be the only Eſtabliſhment of Kingdoms and Empires; and that there had been already given to the Commonalty too perilous an Example to follow. An Arreſt of Parliament, with the King's Royal Aſſent, being made to that Effect, there were immediately Heralds and Trumpeters ſent round about all the Town, and an Edict proclaimed, in the King's Name, That, from thenceforth, the Slaughters and common butcherly Murderings ſhould ceaſe, and that all Perſons ſhould abſtain from Pillage and Robbery.

This being known, there were divers Speeches uſed of this Matter throughout the Town, and eſpecially of learned Men; the moſt Part ſaid, That they had read many Hiſtories, but, in the Memory of all Ages, they never heard of any ſuch Thing as this. They compared this Caſe with the horrible Doings of King *Mithridates*, who, with one Meſſenger, and with the Advertiſement of one Letter, cauſed an hundred and fifty Thouſand *Romans* to be ſlain. Some compared it with the Doing of *Peter* of *Arragon*, who ſlew eight Thouſand *Frenchmen* in *Sicily*, which Iſle they had ſurpriſed in his Abſence. But yet this Difference appeared between thoſe Caſes and this, That thoſe Kings had exerciſed their Cruelty upon Foreigners and Strangers, but this King had done his Outrage upon his own Subjects, being yielded not ſo much to his Power, as to his Faith and Credit. Thoſe Kings were bound by no Promiſe, but ſuch as was given to the Strangers themſelves; this King was, with a new-made League, bound to the Kings and Princes his Neighbours, to keep the Peace that he had ſworn. Thoſe Kings uſed no guileful Means, unworthy of the Majeſty of a King, to deceive; this King, for a Bait and Allurement, abuſed the Marriage of his own Siſter, and, in a Manner, beſprinkled her Wedding-robe with Blood; which Diſhonour and Indignity no Poſterity of all Ages can forget. Some, again, diſcourſed, That, though this cruel Advice ſeemed to many Courtiers to have been profitable, yet not only the Honour of a King, but alſo the Eſtimation and good Fame of the whole Nation was againſt that Shew of Profit. They alledged, How *Ariſtides* did openly, in the Audience of all the People, reject the Counſel of *Themiſtocles*, concerning the Burning of the *Lacedemonians* Navy, although it muſt needs have followed, that the Power of the *Lacedemonians*, their Enemies, ſhould thereby have been utterly weakened. *Furius Camillus* received not the Children of the chief Lords of the *Phaliſci*, betrayed to him by their Schoolmaſter, but ſtripped him naked, and delivered him to be whipped Home with Rods by the ſame Children. *Pauſanias* hath left it reported, That the Poſterity of *Philip* of *Macedonia* fell into moſt great Calamities for this Cauſe, that he was wont to ſet light by the reverend Conſcience of an Oath, and his Faith given in Leagues. Some cited the Law of the Twelve Tables: *Si patronus clienti fraudem facit, ſacer eſto:* 'If the Patron or Sovereign de-'fraud his Client or Vaſſal, be he out of Pro-'tection.' They diſputed alſo, That like Faith, as the Vaſſal oweth to his Lord, the Lord oweth alſo to his Vaſſal; and for what Cauſes, and for what Felonies, the Vaſſal loſeth his Tenancy, for the ſame Cauſes and Felonies, the Lord loſeth his Seigniory. Some ſaid, that the Right-hand, in ancient Time, was called *the Pledge of the Faith of a* King, and that, this if a King ſhall deſpiſe, there is no Communion of Right with him, and he is no more to be accounted

a King.

a King, neither of his own Subjects, nor of Strangers. Kingly Virtues, in Times past, have been reported to be these, Justice, Gentleness, and Clemency; but Cruelty and Outrage have ever been dispraised, both in all Persons, and especially in Princes. *Scipio* hath in all Ages been praised, who was wont to say, That he had rather save one Citizen, than kill a thousand Enemies; which Sentence *Antoninus* the Emperor, surnamed *Pius, the Kind*, or *Virtuous*, did often repeat. It was a most shameful By-word of young *Tiberius* to be called *Clay tempered with Blood.* They said also, That Kings have Power of Life and Death over their Subjects, but not without Hearing the Cause, and judicial Proceeding; that there cannot be alledged a greater Authority, than the Dictators had at *Rome*, in whom was the sovereign Power of Peace and War, of Life and Death, and without Appeal; yet was it not lawful for them to execute a Citizen, his Cause unheard. Only Thieves and Murderers take away Men's Lives without Order of Law, and Hearing their Cause. Who can doubt, said they, but that this so great Outrage, and so great Shedding of Christian Blood, is the Fruit of the cursed Life of the Courtiers? For, said they, now, throughout all *France*, Whoredom and loose Lewdness of Life are so free and usual, that the most Part of the Women of *France* seem to be in a Manner common, and the wicked Blasphemies, and continual Execrations and Dishonourings of God's most holy Name and Majesty are such, as God cannot longer bear: And true it is, though incredible among foreign Nations, that the Catholicks of *France* have prescribed themselves this for a special Mark to be known from other Men, That, at every third Word, they blasphemously swear by the Head, Death, Blood, and Belly of God: And wonderful it is, that the King himself is so much delighted in this Custom of Swearing and Blaspheming; and this, as it were a pestilent Infection, is spread Abroad and common among the very Ploughmen and Peasants, so that none among them now speaketh three Words, without most filthy Blaspheming, and horrible Execration of God. Who can longer bear the vile Unchastities, the Bawds, and Ruffians of the Court? Finally, Very Nature itself doth now, as it were, expostulate with God for his so long Sufferance and Forbearing, and the very Earth can no longer bear these Monsters.

Now as touching the Admiral's supposed Conspiracy, Who can think it likely, that he should enterprise any such Thing within the Walls of *Paris?* For, in the Court, there is continually watching and warding a Garison of the King's: And, at the Entry of his Castle, the Guards of *Gascoigns*, *Scots*, and *Switzers*, are continually attending; and the King himself, both always before, and especially at that Time, by Reason of his Sister's Marriage, had a great Train of Princes, great Lords, Noblemen and Gentlemen about him. Moreover, it was well known, that in *Paris*, within three Hours Space, might be assembled, and put in Armour, Threescore-thousand chosen armed Men, especially against the Admiral, whom no Man is ignorant that the *Parisians* most deadly hated: Besides that, the noble young Men that came thither with the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, by Reason of the Marriage, and brought with them their Wives, their Sisters, and their Kinswomen, thought, at that Time, upon nothing but Triumph and Exercises of Pastime, and gay Furniture of Apparel and Ornaments: Finally, At which of these two Times can it be likely that the Admiral attempted this Conspiracy? Was it before he was hurt? Why? At that Time he found the King his most loving, or, at least, his most liberal and bountiful good Lord, neither could he hope ever to have a more favourable Sovereign in *France.* Was it then after he was hurt, as though, forsooth, he, lying sore of two so great Wounds, aged, maimed of both Arms, the one whereof the Physicians consulted whether it were to be cut off, accompanied with Three-hundred young Men, would set upon Threescore-thousand armed Men, or in so small a Time could lay the Plot for so great, and so long, and so heinous a Fact, for he lived scarce forty Hours after his Hurt, in which Time he was enjoined by the Physicians to forbear Talk. Again, if he had been detected of any such Crime, Was he not committed to *Cassin*, and to his Keeping, and so environed, all the Ways beset about him, and so in the King's Power, that, if it had pleased the King, he might at all Times, in a Moment, be carried to Prison? Why was not orderly Inquiry, and judicial Proceeding used, according to the Custom, and Laws, and general Right of Nations, and Witnesses produced, according to the Form of Law? But

be it, that the Admiral, and a few others of his Confederates and Followers, had conſpired. Why yet proceeded the outrageous Cruelty upon the reſt that were innocent, why upon ancient Matrons, why upon noble Ladies, and young Gentlewomen, and Virgins that came thither for the Honour of the Wedding? Why were ſo many Women great with Child, againſt the Laws of all Nations and of Nature, before their Delivery, thrown into the River? Why were ſo many aged Perſons, many that lay ſick in their Beds, many Gown-men, many Counſellors, Advocates, Proctors, Phyſicians, many ſingularly learned Profeſſors and Teachers of good Arts, and, among the reſt, *Petrus Ramus*, that renowned Man throughout the World; many young Students, executed without Hearing, without Pleading their Cauſe, without Sentence of Condemnation? Moreover, if the Admiral had ſlain the three Brethren, Who doubteth, but that all Countries, all Cities, all Parliaments, finally, all Sorts and Degrees of Men would have ſpeedily taken Armour, and eaſily have deſtroyed all of the Religion, having them incloſed within their Towns, and having juſt Cauſe to render to all foreign Nations for their common Slaughters, and Killing of them? As to that which toucheth the King of *Navarre*, What can be imagined more abſurd and unlikely? Had not the Admiral him four Years in his Power? Did not he profeſs the ſame Religion that the Admiral did? Which of thoſe of the Religion, which of them, I ſay (as *Caſſius* was wont to reaſon) ſhould have gained, or received Profit, by the Killing of the King of *Navarre?* Did not the Catholicks hate him? And the Admiral could not hope to have any Man more friendly to him, nor by any other Man's Means to have Revenge of his Injury. Laſtly, In their Houſes that were ſlain, What Armour, what Weapons were found, by which Conjectures Judges uſe to be led to trace out a Fact? Theſe Matters wiſe Men, throughout the Town of *Paris*, commonly muttered.

But now to return to our Purpoſe: At ſuch Time as the King's Prohibition aboveſaid was proclaimed at *Paris*, not only in other Towns, as at *Orleans*, *Angiers*, *Viarod*, *Troyes*, and *Auxerre*, the like Butcheries and Slaughters were uſed, but alſo in the Town of *Paris* itſelf. In the very Jails, that are ordained for the Keeping of Priſoners, if any had eſcaped the Cruelty of the Day before, they were now tumultuouſly ſlain by the raging and outrageous Multitude; in which Number were three Gentlemen of great Reputation; Captain *Monins*, a Man very famous in Martial Proweſs; *Lomen*, the King's Secretary, a Man of great Eſtimation for his long Service in the Court; and *Chappes*, a Lawyer, near fourſcore Years old, a Man of great Renown in the Court of *Paris*. And, becauſe we have made Mention of *Angiers*, we think it good not to omit the Caſe of *Maſſon de Rivers*: This Man was a Paſtor of the Church, and eſteemed a ſingular Man, both in Virtuouſneſs of Life, and in Excellence of Wit and Learning, and was the firſt that had laid the Foundation of the Church at *Paris*. As ſoon as the Slaughter was begun at *Paris*, *Monſorel*, a moſt cruel Enemy of the Religion, was ſent to *Angiers* in Poſt, to prevent all others, that might carry Tidings of the Murdering. As ſoon as he came into the Town, he cauſed himſelf to be brought to *Maſſon's* Houſe; there he met *Maſſon's* Wife in the Entry, and gently ſaluted her, and, after the Manner of *France*, eſpecially of the Court, he kiſſed her, and aſked her, Where her Huſband was? She anſwered, That he was walking in the Garden; and by and by ſhe brought *Monſorel* to her Huſband, who gently embraced *Maſſon*, and ſaid unto him, Canſt thou tell why I am come hither? It is to kill thee, by the King's Commandment, at this very inſtant Time, for ſo hath the King commanded, as thou mayeſt perceive by theſe Letters; and therewith he ſhewed his Dag ready charged. *Maſſon* anſwered, That he was not guilty of any Crime; howbeit, this one Thing only he beſought him, To give him Space to call to the Mercy of God, and to commend his Spirit into God's Hand. Which Prayer as ſoon as he had ended in a few Words, he meekly received the Death offered by the other, and was ſhot through with a Pellet, and died.

Now to return to *Paris*: The Admiral's Body being hanged up by the Heels upon the common Gallows of *Paris*, as is aforeſaid, the *Pariſians* went thither by Heaps to ſee it; and the Queen-mother, to feed her Eyes with that Spectacle, had a Mind alſo to go thither; and ſhe carried with her the King, and both her other Sons; but, the next Night following, the Body was conveyed away, and, as it is thought, buried. About that Time, whereas many of the Court ſecretly muttered, that the

King

King ſhould, by this Fact, incur Diſhonour, not only among foreign Nations, but alſo with all Poſterity in Time to come for ever, *Morvillier*, of whom we have made Mention before, one that is accounted the principal lewd Practiſer and wicked Sycophant of all *France*, and the firſt Author and chief Means of bringing the Jeſuits into *France*, came to the Queen-mother, and told her, That it was beſt, that ſome of thoſe, that were lately taken fleeing and hiding themſelves, ſhould, for Form's Sake, be brought to open Judgment, and, after the accuſtomed Manner, ſhould be inquired into, that they might be condemned by the Sentence of certain Judges picked out for that Purpoſe, and ſo openly executed in the Sight of the People. There were called to Counſel, hereupon, *Birage*, *Limege*, *Thuane*, and *Belleure*: They not only allowed *Morvillier*'s Opinion, but alſo gave Advice, that a Man of Hay, made in Figure of the Admiral (for his Body, as we have ſaid, could not be found) ſhould be dragged by the Boureau through the Streets, his Arms and Enſigns of Honour broken, his Memory condemned, his Caſtles and Farms razed, his Children pronounced infamous, ignoble, and deteſtable, and all the Trees in his Woods to be hewn down, to the Height of ſix Feet. There was, among thoſe that were apprehended, one *Cavaignes*, Maſter of *Requeſts* to the King, and *Briquemault*, of whom we have before ſpoken. This *Briquemault* had ſpent his Time in Service in the old Wars in the Time of King *Francis* and King *Henry*, and was, for the War, accounted a Man of great Experience among the Beſt now living, and was near about threeſcore and ten Years old. As ſoon as they were carried into Priſon, there were preſented unto them all the Tormentor and the Hangman, and they were threatened with Torture and Tearing their Bodies in Pieces, unleſs they would preſently ſubſcribe with their own Hand, That they were of Council with the Admiral to kill the King and his Brethren, and the Queen-mother, and the King of *Navarre*. They all cried out, That they were ready to ſuffer Death moſt willingly, foraſmuch as the King's Pleaſure was it ſhould be ſo; but ſo great Torture they could not bear, and therefore humbly beſought his Royal Goodneſs and Clemency to pardon them that Torment; and yet, truſting unto the Mercy of God, they hoped, that they ſhould ſuffer exceeding great Pains, rather than ſtain themſelves with ſo great Shame, or confeſs an untrue Crime againſt themſelves. They, that were firſt aſſigned their Judges, hearing their Cries and Defences, and fearing the Judgment of the World, ſaid plainly, That they would not draw upon themſelves moſt aſſured Infamy for Condemning them; therefore there were new Judges appointed in their Places: To them were adjoined ſuch a Tormentor and Notary, as were thought fitteſt for the Purpoſe; and ſo *Briquemault* and *Cavaignes* were quickly condemned by a ſhadowed Form of Law, and led to the Gibbet, ſtanding in the principal Street of the Town, and in Sight of many Thouſands of Men gazing at them. To this Spectacle the Queen-mother led the King, and her other Sons, and her Son-in-Law, the King of *Navarre*.

It was thought commodious, for Playing of this laſt Act, that *Briquemault* ſhould, in Hearing of all the People, ask Pardon of the King; and, for that Purpoſe, there were ſome ſuborned to put him in Mind, that, if he would, he might eaſily purchaſe his Life, for the King was by Nature full of Clemency and Mercy; and, if he would ask Pardon of his Majeſty, with Confeſſing his Offence, he ſhould eaſily obtain it. He anſwered, with a valiant and bold Courage, that it was not his Part but the King's, to ask Pardon of God for this Fault; and that he would never crave Forgiveneſs of that Offence whereof he well knew himſelf, and had God to witneſs, that he was clear and innocent: Nevertheleſs, he beſought God to forgive the King this Fault. So were theſe two excellent and famous Men, with Halters faſtened about their Necks, thrown by the Hangman from the Ladder and hanged; and therewithal alſo the Man of Straw, made in Figure of the Admiral, was tied faſt and hanged with them, after a prepoſterous Order of Law, whereby the Admiral was firſt ſlain, and then condemned.

But whereas, in a Manner, in all Towns there were great Slaughters committed, yet was there none more horrible nor more outrageous than the butcherly Murder at *Lyons*. So ſoon as the Letters from the Court were brought to *Mandelot*, Governor of the Town, firſt by a Cryer and Trumpet he cauſed to be proclaimed, that all the Profeſſors of the Religion ſhould appear preſently before him at his Houſe. They, without any Delay, repaired to him: As ſoon as they were come, he commanded

commanded them all to ſuffer themſelves to be led to Priſon by ſuch Officers as ſhould be aſſigned them: They obeyed his Word, and followed the Officers that led them. By Reaſon of the great Multitude, they ſorted them into ſundry Priſons: Then *Mandelot* willed the common Executioner to be commanded in his Name, to take ſome to help him, and to kill thoſe that were in Priſon. The Executioner anſwered, that he uſed not to execute the Law upon any but ſuch as were condemned, and in publick and open Places, and therefore willed him to ſeek another Slaughterman, if he would. *Mandelot*, thus refuſed by the Executioner, commanded the Gariſon Soldiers of the Caſtle to do it: The Soldiers anſwered, that it was againſt their Honour, to uſe Weapons upon Men bound, and lying ſuppliant before them: If they had raiſed any Rebellion, or had offended or provoked them, they ſaid they would moſt readily have fought with them. Being thus refuſed by them alſo, at laſt he committed the Matter to the Watermen, and Butchers. Theſe Fellows, being let into the Priſons, went to it with Chopping-knives and Butchers Axes: Such as they found proſtrate at their Feet, piteouſly holding up their Hands to Heaven, crying upon the Mercy of God and Men, they did, for Sport, cut off their Fingers and the Tops of their Hands; and throughout the whole Town was heard ſuch a Cry, and lamentable Howling, of Women and Children, that innumerable People, even ſuch as were zealouſly given to the Popiſh Religion, did deteſt that Cruelty, and judged, that not Men, but outrageous ſavage Beaſts, in the Shape of Men, were entered into the Priſons. *It is* well known, that a great Number of honeſt Women in the Town, great with Child, were ſo frighted with the Horror of it, that they were delivered before their Time. And, out of the Court of the Gaol, called the Archbiſhop's Priſon, the Blood was ſeen in the broad Day-light, to the great Abhorring and Fear of many that beheld it, run warm and ſmoaking into the next Streets of the Town, and ſo down into the River *Seine*. There was, in that ſame Archbiſhop's Priſon, an aged Man called *Francis Collut*, a Merchant of Caps, and two young Men his Sons, whom he had ever cauſed diligently to be taught and inſtructed in Religion: When he ſaw the Butchers come towards him with their Axes, he began to exhort his Children not to refuſe the Death offered by God; for, ſaid he, it is the perpetual Deſtiny of Religion, and that often ſuch Sacrifices do happen in Chriſtian Churches, and Chriſtians in all Ages have ever been, and, for ever to the World's End ſo, ſhall be as Sheep among Wolves, Doves among Hawks, and Sacrifices among Prieſts. Then the old Father embraced his two young Sons, and lying flat on the Ground with them, crying aloud upon the Mercy of God, was, with many Wounds, both he and his Sons, ſlaughtered by thoſe Butchers; and long Time afterwards their three Bodies had, knit together, yielded a piteous Spectacle to many that beheld them. In the mean Time *Mandelot*, in Jeſt and Scorn, as it ſeemed, cauſed to be proclaimed by the Cryer, that no Man ſhould commit any Slaughter in the Town; and that, if any would detect the Doers of any ſuch Slaughter, he would give him a hundred Crowns in Reward for his Information; and from that Time they ceaſed not to kill, to rob, and to ſpoil. The next Day after, which was the firſt Day of *September*, the greateſt Part of the dead Bodies were thrown into the River *Seine*; and the reſt of them *Mandelot*, to feed and glut his Eyes and Heart with Blood, cauſed to be carried by Boat to the other Side of the Water, and there to be thrown down upon the green Graſs, near unto the Abbey called *Eſne*. There the People of *Lyons*, eſpecially the *Italians*, of whom, by Reaſon of the Mart, there is great Store in the Town, ſatisfied their Eyes a While; and did ſuch Spights as they could to theſe Heaps of Carcaſes, and ſo exerciſed their Cruelty not upon the Living only, but alſo upon the Dead. And there happened one Thing, which, for the abominable Cruelty, is not to be omitted: There came to that Spectacle certain Apothecaries, and among thoſe Bodies they perceived ſome very fat ones; whereupon they went to the Butchers, and told them, that they did uſe to make certain ſpecial Medicines of Man's Greaſe, and that they might make ſome Profit thereof; which, as ſoon as the Butchers underſtood, they ran to the Heaps, and choſe out the fatteſt, and lanced them with their Knives, and pulled out the Fat, and ſold it for Money to the Apothecaries.

While theſe Things were doing at *Lyons*, the King being informed, that divers of the Religion had left their Wives and Children, and were fled out of the other Towns, and lurked

lurked ſome in the Woods, and ſome among their Friends, ſuch as took Pity on them, he practiſed with fair Words, to allure and call them Home again. He ſent to every Part Meſſengers and Letters, affirming, that he was highly diſpleaſed with thoſe Slaughters, and horrible Butcheries, and that he would that ſuch Cruelty ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; and, if the Admiral, with a few of his Confederates, had entered into any ſecret Practice, it was no Reaſon, that ſo many Innocents ſhould bear the Puniſhment due to a few. Many, ſweetly beguiled with theſe Words of the King, and with the Letters of the Governors, retired Home again to their Dwellings and Houſes, eſpecially they of *Roan*, *Dieppe*, and *Tholouſe*. There were ſcarcely two Days paſt, when they were again commanded to Priſon, where they were all ſhut up. Then were Murderers a-new appointed of the moſt baſe and raſcally of the People, to torment them with all Kinds of Torture, and then to ſlay them. And throughout the whole Realm of *France*, for thirty Days together, there was no End of Killing, Slaying, and Robbing; ſo that, at this Day, there are about a hundred thouſand little Babes, Widows and Children, that were well born, that are now Fatherleſs and Motherleſs, live wandering, and in Beggary. About this Time, the King cauſed to be proclaimed, that ſuch as had any Office or Place of Charge, unleſs they would ſpeedily return to the *Catholick*, *Apoſtolick* and *Romiſh* Church, ſhould give over thoſe their Temporal Rooms. There was no Town, nor any ſo ſmall a Village or Hamlet, wherein all the Profeſſors of the Religion were not compelled either to go to Maſs, or preſently to take the Sword into their Boſoms; and, in many Places, it happened that ſuch as, being amazed with the Suddenneſs of the Matter, had abjured their Religion, yet, notwithſtanding, were afterwards ſlain.

And, while theſe Things were ſtill doing, yet the King, in the mean While, ſent Abroad his Letters and Meſſages into all Parts, and cauſed to be proclaimed with Trumpet, that his Pleaſure was, that the Edicts of Pacification ſhould be obſerved; and, although they could not have Freedom to uſe and exerciſe their Religion in open Places, yet they ſhould have Liberty permitted them to retain and profeſs it within their own Houſes, and that no Man ſhould meddle with, or diſturb the Goods and Poſſeſſions of thoſe of the Religion.

And the ſame King, who, but few Days before, had, by Letters directed to all the Governors of his Provinces, ſignified, that his Couſin, the Admiral, was ſlain by the Duke of *Guiſe*, to his great Sorrow, and that himſelf was in great Danger; the ſame King, I ſay, now cauſed it, with Sound of Trumpet, to be proclaimed, that the traiterous and wicked Admiral was ſlain by his Will and Commandment. He, that, a few Days before, had, by new Authority, confirmed the Liberty of Religion permitted by his Edicts of Pacification, the ſame King did now not only take, from the Profeſſors thereof, their Offices and Honours, but alſo preſcribed them, in a preciſe Form of Words, a Form of Abjuring and Deteſting their Religion: Which Things leſt any Man ſhould doubt of, we ſhall hereafter ſet down the very true Copies of the ſaid Letters, Edicts, and Abjuration.

The King's Letters, to the Governors of Burgundy, *whereby he chargeth thoſe of the Houſe of* Guiſe, *for the Murder committed upon the Admiral's Perſon, and for the Sedition which happened at* Paris, *and commandeth, that the Edict of Pacification ſhould be kept and retained.*

Couſin,

YOU have perceived what I wrote unto you Yeſterday, concerning my Couſin the Admiral's Wounding, and how ready I was to do my Endeavour to ſearch out the Truth of the Deed, and to puniſh it, wherein Nothing was left undone or forgotten. But it happened ſince, that they of the Houſe of *Guiſe* and other Lords and Gentlemen, their Adherents, whereof there is no ſmall Number in this City, when they certainly knew, that the Admiral's Friends would proceed to the Revenge of his Hurt, and becauſe they were ſuſpected to have been the Authors thereof, were ſo ſtirred up this laſt Night, that a great and lamentable Sedition aroſe thereon, inſomuch that the Guard be me appointed for his Defence, about his Houſe, was ſet upon, and he himſelf, with certain of his Gentlemen ſlain, and Havock of others made in divers Places of the City; which

which was handled with ſuch a Rage, that I could not uſe the Remedy, that I would, but had much Ado to employ my Guards, and other Defence, for the Safety of myſelf and my Brethren, within the Caſtle of *Louvre*, to give Order hereafter for the Appeaſing of this Sedition, which is, at this Hour, well appeaſed, Thanks be to God; and it came to paſs, by a particular and private Quarrel, of long Time foſtered betwixt thoſe two Houſes; whereof, when I foreſaw, that there would ſucceed ſome miſchievous Purpoſe, I did what I could poſſibly, to appeaſe it, as all Men know. And yet, hereby, the Edict of Pacification is not broken, which I will to be kept as ſtreightly as ever it was, as I have given to underſtand in all Places, throughout my Realm. And, becauſe it is greatly to be feared, that ſuch an Execution might ſtir up my Subjects, one againſt another, and cauſe great Murders through the Cities of my Realm, whereby I ſhould be greatly grieved, I pray you cauſe to be publiſhed and underſtood in all Places of your Government, that every Perſon abide and continue in the Safe-guard of his own Houſe, and to take no Weapons in Hand, nor one to hurt another, upon Pain of Death; commanding them to keep and diligently to obſerve our Edict of Pacification. And, to make the Offenders and Reſiſters, and ſuch as would diſobey and break our Will, to be puniſhed, you ſhall aſſemble out of Hand as great Force, as you can, as well of your Friends, as of them that be appointed by me and of others, advertiſing the Captains of Caſtles and Cities in your Government, to take Heed to the Safe-guard and Preſervation of the ſaid Places, ſo that no Fault enſue on their Behalf, advertiſing me alſo, as ſoon as you can, what Order you have given herein, and how all Things have paſſed within the Circuit of your Government. Hereupon, I pray God to keep you, Couſin, in his holy Safe-guard. At *Paris*, the Twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*.

Signed *Charles*, and underneath, *Brulard*.

Another Letter from the King to the Lord of Prie, *his Lieutenant-General in* Touraine, *upon the ſame Matter that the former Letter was.*

Monſieur de Prie,

YOU have underſtood how my Couſin the Admiral was hurt the laſt Day, and in what Readineſs I was to do as much, as in me lay, for the Trial of the Fact, and to cauſe ſo great and ſpeedy Juſtice to be done, as ſhould be an Example throughout all my Realm, wherein Nothing was omitted. Since it is ſo happened, that my Couſins of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, their Adherents, which are no ſmall Party in this Town, as all Men know, having gotten certain Intelligence, that the Friends of my ſaid Couſin, the Admiral, intended to purſue and execute upon them the Revenge of this Hurt, for that they had them in Suſpicion to be the Cauſe and Occaſion thereof, have made ſuch a Stir this Night paſt, that, among them on both Parts, hath been raiſed a great and lamentable Tumult; the Guard that was ſet about the Lord Admiral's Houſe was diſtreſſed, himſelf ſlain in his Houſe, with divers other Gentlemen; as alſo great Slaughter hath been made of others in ſundry Places and Quarters of this Town; which hath been done with ſuch Fury, that it was impoſſible for me to give ſuch Remedy as was to be wiſhed, I having enough to do to employ my Guard and other Forces, to keep myſelf in Safety, in the Caſtle of *Louvre*, to the End to give Order for the Appeaſing of the whole Uproar, which, at this Hour (Thanks be to God) is well quenched, for that the ſame happened by the particular Quarrel that hath of long Time been between thoſe two Houſes; whereof always having ſome Doubt, that ſome unhappy Effect would enſue, I have (as is well known to all Men) before this Time done all that I could to appeaſe it, nothing in the laſt Fact tending to the Breach of my Edict of Pacification, which contrariwiſe I will in all Things to be maintained, as at any Time heretofore, as I do give it to underſtand throughout my Realm. And, foraſmuch as it is greatly to be feared, that this may ſtir up and cauſe my Subjects to riſe one againſt another, and to commit great Slaughters in the Towns of my Realm, whereof I would be marvelloufly ſorry, I pray you, that, immediately upon the Receipt thereof, you cauſe to be publiſhed and done to underſtand

ſtand in all Places of your Charge, that every Man, as well in Town as in Country, remain in Reſt and Surety in his Houſe, and do not take Arms one againſt another, on Pain of Death: And that, more diligently than at any Time heretofore, you cauſe the laſt Edict of Pacification to be kept and carefully maintained and obſerved. To the Intent aboveſaid, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhall do the contrary, and to diſtreſs all ſuch as ſhall riſe and diſobey our Pleaſure, ye ſhall immediately aſſemble all the Strength that you are able, as well of your Friends being of our Allowance as others, advertiſing the Governors and Captains of Towns and Caſtles within your Charge, that they take good Heed to the Surety and Safekeeping of their Places, in ſuch Sort as there inſueth no Default, informing me with Speed of ſuch Order as you ſhall take therein, and how all Things ſhall proceed within the Compaſs of your Authority. I have here with me my Brother, the King of *Navarre*, and my Couſin the Prince of *Conde*, to take ſuch Chance as myſelf. I pray the Creator, Monſieur *de Prye*, to hold you in his holy Safeguard. From *Paris*, this Twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*. Thus ſigned, *CHARLES*, and underneath, *PINART*. Theſe Letters are all of one Argument as the former, and written all in one Form, and all one Day, to Monſieur *de Prye*, Liutenant of *Touraine*.

The King's Letters to the Officers of Bourges, *upon the ſame Matter that the former were.*

OUr Loving and Faithful, we doubt not but by this Time you know of the Sedition, which, to our great Grief, happened in *Paris*, a few Days ſince, wherein my Couſin, the Admiral, and certain others of his Side were ſlain, and a great Murder committed upon divers, in many Places of this City. And, leſt the News thereof ſhould change the quiet Eſtate, wherein *Bourges* hath hitherto been maintained ſince the Edict of Pacification, if Remedy were not foreſeen, it is the Cauſe that we writ this Letter preſently unto you, whereby we command and expreſly ordain, that every one of you, according to his Charge, do ſee that no Commotion or Inſurrection be againſt the Inhabitants of the ſaid City, nor that no Murder be committed, as it is to be feared, by thoſe which pretend to break the Edict of Pacification, and thereby would execute a Revenge of their long and private Grudge, to our incredible Vexation and Anguiſh of Mind: For this Cauſe it is your Part to give to underſtand and publiſh throughout that City of ours, and other Places pertaining to it, that every one ſhould quietly and peaceably keep their Houſes, without taking Weapons in Hand, and offending one another, upon Pain of Death, and well and diligently to keep our Edict of Pacification. And, if any go about to contradict this our Intent and Mind, to cauſe them to be puniſhed, and rigorouſly chaſtiſed by Penalties impoſed on ſuch Offenders in our Ordinances, having a watchful and diligent Eye to the Safeguard of that our City, in ſuch Sort, that no Inconvenience ariſe in your Service towards us, as you would have us to know, that you are our loyal and obedient Subjects. Given at *Paris*, the Twenty-ſeventh Day of *Auguſt*, 1572. Thus ſigned, *CHARLES*, and below, *De Neufville*.

A Letter of the Treaſurer of the Leagues of the Switzers, *written by the King's Commandment unto the ſaid Leagues, of the ſame Argument that the former Letters were.*

NOBLE Seignours, Monſieur *de la Fontaine*, Ambaſſador for the King, your aſſured and perfect Friend and Confederate, and I, his Treaſurer in this Country, having Commandment of his Majeſty to communicate with you, as with them whom he accounteth his chief and ſure Friends, of a Chance which lately happened in the City of *Paris*, his own Perſon and Court then being there, whereof he received ſo much more

Grief and Diſpleaſure, becauſe it befel on ſuch a Time as he leaſt feared, or looked for ſuch a Thing. The Matter is this: On the twenty-ſeventh Day of *Auguſt* laſt, the Admiral, as he went from *Louvre*, was, with an Harquebuz Shot, hurt in the Hand and Arm, whereof, when his Majeſty was advertiſed, he commanded forthwith, that Search and Puniſhment were had of the Offender, and the Authors of ſuch a Miſchief; whereinto, when he had readily laid his Hand by his Officers, and committed the Inhabitants of the Houſe, where the Harquebuz was ſhot, to Priſon, they which were the Cauſe firſt of the Miſchief (as it may eaſily be preſuppoſed) becauſe they would prevent the Inquiſition thereof, heaping one Tranſgreſſion upon another, on the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth of the ſaid Month, aſſembled a great Troop of People in the Night, and moved the People of *Paris* to a very great Sedition, who, in a Rage, ſet upon the Admiral's Lodging, and, forcing the Guard which his Majeſty had ſet for the Admiral's Surety and Keeping, ſlew him, with other certain Gentlemen in his Company, as the like alſo was committed upon others in the City; the Matter growing, in the very ſame Inſtant, to ſuch an Outrage and Commotion, that, whereas his Majeſty had thought to provide Remedy for appeaſing thereof, he had much ado, with all his Guards, to keep his Houſe at *Louvre*, where he lodged with the two Queens, his Mother and the Spouſe, the Lords, his Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and other Princes. Think therefore, ye noble Seignours, in what a Perplexity this young and courageous King now ſtandeth, who, as a Man may ſay, hath held in his Hands Thorns, inſtead of a Scepter, ever ſince his Coming to the Crown, for the great Troubles which have almoſt ever ſince been in his Realm; and therefore, by the good and wiſe Counſel and Aſſiſtance of the Queen his Mother, and the Lords his Brethren, thought to enjoy and eſtabliſh a more ſure Repoſe in his Realm, and a more happy Government for himſelf and his Subjects, after he had taken away (as he thought) all Occaſions of Diſſenſions amongſt his Subjects, by the Means of his Edicts of Pacification, and of the Marriage of the King of *Navarre* to the Lady his Siſter, and the Prince of *Conde* to Madam *de Nevers*: Beſides all this, to the Intent nothing ſhould be left undone that might ſerve for the Quieting of all Things, and eſpecially for the Admiral's Safeguard, his Majeſty, as every Man knoweth, hath done his Endeavour to the uttermoſt, to appeaſe and reconcile his principal and moſt dangerous Enemies unto him. And ſo God, the true Judge of the King's Majeſty's good and pure Intent, brought to paſs, that, the People's Rage being quieted within a few Hours, every one went Home to to his Houſe, and the King had ſpecial Regard to nothing more than to ſee nothing attempted or innovated contrary to his Edicts of Pacification, and the Repoſe of his Subjects, as well of the one Religion as of the other. And for that Purpoſe hath ſent to divers of his Governors and Officers in his Provinces, to look diligently to the Obſerving of his Edicts, with expreſs Commandment to hold their Hands there, that every one might perceive that the Chance at *Paris* happened for ſome private Quarrel, and not for any Purpoſe to alter his Edicts, which his Majeſty will in no Reſpect ſuffer: Which is the principal Thing, noble Seignours, that his Majeſty hath demanded us, on his Part, to aſſure you, and to let you underſtand the Dangers that depend over him and his Neighbours, not ſo much for this Sedition, for he truſteth in God, that it ſhall grow no further, and his Majeſty will keep his Realm in as good Repoſe as it hath been ſince his laſt Edict of Pacification, but for the great Muſtering and Aſſembling Men of War in many Places, eſpecially in the *Low-Countries*, where it is yet uncertain on which Side God will give the Victory, nor whither the Conqueror will employ his Force after his Conqueſt. Wherefore his Majeſty prayeth you, continuing the good Love and Intelligence which hath always been between the Crown of *France* and his allied and confederate Friends the Seignours of the Leagues, to have good Regard to him and his Realm, in caſe that Need ſhall require, as he will have to you and your proſperous Eſtate, if it be requiſite, employing, in the mean While, your great and ſingular Wiſdom to the Preſervation of the Union of the Nation in League, which is the only Cauſe to make you not only able to ſend Succour to your Friends, but alſo maintain yourſelves in Eſtimation, that you may be a Terror to your Neighbours, how great ſoever they be, his Majeſty promiſing you, in all Occurrences, as much Friendſhip, Favour, and Aſſiſtance, as you can deſire, and to be as intire and perfect a Friend as ever your Nation had.

A De-

A Declaration of the King, concerning the Occaſion of the Admiral's Death, and his Adherents and Accomplices, happened in the City of Paris, *the Twenty-fourth of* Auguſt, 1572.

Printed at Paris, *by* John Dallier *Stationer, dwelling upon* St. Michael's Bridge, *at the Sign of the* White Roſe; *by the King's Licence.*

By the King.

HIS Majeſty deſiring to have all Seignours, Gentlemen, and other his Subjects, underſtand the Cauſe of the Murder of the Admiral, and his Adherents and Accomplices, which lately happened in this City of *Paris*, the twenty-fourth Day of this preſent Month of *Auguſt*, leſt the ſaid Deed ſhould be otherwiſe diſguiſed and reported than it was in Deed: His Majeſty therefore declareth, that which was done was by his expreſs Command, and for no Cauſe of Religion, nor Breaking his Edicts of Pacification, which he always intended, and ſtill mindeth and intendeth to obſerve and keep; yea, it was rather done to withſtand and prevent a moſt deteſtable and curſed Conſpiracy begun by the ſaid Admiral, the chief Captain thereof, and his ſaid Adherents and Accomplices, againſt the King's Perſon, his Eſtate, the Queen his Mother, and the Princes, his Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and other Lords about him. Wherefore his Majeſty, by this Declaration and Ordinance, giveth to underſtand to all Gentlemen, and others of the Religion which they pretend Reformed, that he mindeth and purpoſeth that they ſhall live under his Protection, with their Wives and Children in their Houſes, in as much Safeguard as they did before, following the Benefit of the former Edicts of Pacification, moſt expreſly commanding and ordaining, that all Governors and Lieutenants-general, in every of his Countries and Provinces, and other Juſtices and Officers to whom it appertaineth, do not attempt, nor ſuffer to be attempted, any Thing in what Sort ſoever, upon the Perſons and Goods of them of the Religion, their Wives, Children, and Families, on Pain of Death, againſt the faulty and culpable in this Behalf. And nevertheleſs, to withſtand the Troubles, Slanders, Suſpicions, and Defiances, that may come by Sermons and Aſſemblies, as well in the Houſes of the ſaid Gentlemen, as in other Places, as it is ſuffered by the ſaid Edicts of Pacification; it is expreſly forbidden and inhibited by his Majeſty, to all Gentlemen, and others, of the ſaid Religion, to have no Aſſemblies for any Cauſe at all, until his Majeſty hath provided and appointed otherwiſe, for the Tranquillity of his Realm, upon Pain of Diſobedience, and Confiſcation of Body and Goods. It is alſo expreſly forbidden, under the Pain aforeſaid, that, for the foreſaid Occaſions, none ſhall take or retain any Priſoners, or take Ranſom of them, and that immediately they certify the Governors of every Province, and the Lieutenants-general, of the Name and Quality of every ſuch Priſoner, whom his Majeſty hath appointed ſhall be releaſed and ſet at Liberty, except they be of the Chief of the late Conſpiracy, or ſuch as have made ſome Practice or Device for them, or had Intelligence thereof: And they ſhall advertiſe his Majeſty of ſuch, to know his further Pleaſure. It is alſo ordained, that from henceforth none ſhall take or arreſt any Priſoner for that Cauſe, without his Majeſty's Command, or his Officers, nor that none be ſuffered to roam abroad in the Fields, to take up Dogs, Cattle, Beef, Kine, or other Beaſts, Goods, Fruits, Grains, nor any Thing elſe, nor to hurt the Labourers, by Word or Deed, but to let them alone about their Work and Calling, in Peace and Safety. At *Paris*, the Twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, 1572. Signed *CHARLES*, and underneath, *FIZES*.

The King's Letters to the Officers of Bourges, *of the ſame Argument that the former Declaration was.*

OUR Truſty and Well-beloved: We conſidering, that, under the Colour of the Death of the Admiral, and his Adherents and Accomplices, certain Gentlemen, and others our Subjects, profeſſing the Religion called *Reformed*, might riſe and aſſemble together to the Prejudice and Hinderance of the Tranquillity which we have always deſired ſhould be in our Realm, the Doing of the ſaid Murder being counterfeited, and given out otherwiſe than it was: We have, therefore, made a Declaration and Ordinance, which we ſend you, willing you to publiſh the ſame forthwith by Sound of Trumpet, and ſet the ſame up in ſuch Places of your Juriſdiction, where Cries and Proclamations are uſually made, to the End, that every one might know it. And, although we have always been diligent Obſervers of our Edicts of Pacification, yet, ſeeing the Troubles and Seditions which might ariſe amongſt our Subjects, by the Occaſion of the ſaid Murder, as well of the Admiral, as of his Companions, we command you, and ordain, that you particularly forbid the Principals of the Religion, pretended Reformed, within your Juriſdiction, that they have no Sermons nor Aſſemblies, either in their Houſes, or in any other Places, to take away all Doubt and Suſpicion which might be conceived againſt them. And likewiſe, that you advertiſe ſuch as dwell in the Cities of your Juriſdiction, what you judge meet to be done, to the Intent they might, in this Point, follow our Mind, and keep them quiet in their Houſes, as they may do by the Benefit of our Edict of Pacification, and there they ſhall be under our Protection and Safeguard; but, if they will not ſo retire themſelves, after you have given them Warning, then ſhall you ſet on them with all Strength and Force, as well by the Provoſts of the Marſhals, and their Archers, as others which you can gather together by Bell-ringing, or otherwiſe, ſo that you hew them all to Pieces, as Enemies to our Crown. Beſides, what Commandments ſoever we have ſent by Word of Mouth, either to you or others, in our Realm, when we were in Fear, upon juſt Occaſion, knowing the Conſpiracy that the Admiral had begun of ſome Miſchance that might fall unto us, we have and do revoke, willing you and others that no ſuch Thing be executed, for ſuch is our Pleaſure. Given at *Paris*, the Thirtieth of *Auguſt*, 1572. Thus Signed, *CHARLES*; and underneath, *De Neufville*. Publiſhed in Judgment.

Remembrances and Inſtructions ſent by the King to the Count of Charnye, *his General Lieutenant in* Burgundy, *on the ſame Argument.*

THE King, conſidering the Commotion lately happened in *Paris*, wherein the Lord Admiral *Chaſtillion*, with other Gentlemen of his Side, were ſlain, becauſe they had miſchievouſly conſpired to ſet upon the King's Majeſty's Perſon, the Queen his Mother, the Princes his Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and other Princes and Lords near about them, and upon his Eſtate; and, leſt they of the Religion called *Reformed*, not knowing the true Cauſes of the ſaid Rebellion, ſhould ariſe and put themſelves in Arms, as they have done in the Troubles that are paſſed, and deviſe new Practices and Fetches againſt the Weal of his Majeſty, and Tranquillity of his Realm, if he ſhould not cauſe the Truth of the Matter to be known to all Gentlemen, and others, his Subjects of the ſame Religion, how it paſſed, and what his Pleaſure and Mind is in their Behalfs. And thinking, that, for Remedy hereof, it is very needful for the Governors of the Provinces in his Realm to go round about their Governments; for this Occaſion, he willeth that the Count of *Charnye*, great Eſquire of *France*, and his Majeſty's Lieutenant-General for the Government of *Burgundy*, ſhall go diligently through all Cities and Places of the ſaid Government; and, as he arriveth in every Place, he ſhall deviſe the beſt Ways that he can to make Peace, Union, and Quietneſs, amongſt the King's Subjects, as well of the one Religion, as of the other. And, to bring it the better about, he ſhall gently call before him, in an open or private Place, as he ſhall ſee beſt,

beſt Cauſe for his Majeſty's Service herein, the Gentlemen of the Places, and the Burgeſſes of the Cities of his Government that be of the Religion, and ſhall declare unto them, and cauſe them to underſtand the Truth of the ſaid Commotion; leſt any have miſreported it unto them, otherwiſe than it was in Deed; and ſhall tell them, that, under the Colour of the Lord Admiral's Hurt, whereof his Majeſty would have cauſed Juſtice to be done, according to the good Order that he had appointed, the ſaid Admiral, and Gentlemen of his Religion which were in the City with him, without looking for the Execution of the ſaid Juſtice, had made a miſchievous, unhappy, and deteſtable Conſpiracy againſt the King's Majeſty's Perſon, the Queen his Mother, the Lords his Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and other Princes and Lords with them, and againſt the whole Eſtate, even as certain of the Chief and Adherents of the ſaid Conſpiracy, acknowledging their Fault, have confeſſed. Wherefore his Majeſty was conſtrained, to his great Grief, to reſiſt and prevent ſo miſchievous, pernicious, and abominable a Purpoſe. And that which he ſuffered to be done on *Sunday*, the Twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, upon the Admiral and his Accomplices, was not for any Religion, nor to go againſt the Edict of Pacification; he intended, nevertheleſs, that they of the Religion ſhould ſtill live and abide in all Liberty and Safety, with their Wives, Children, and Families, in their Houſes, as he hath, and will maintain them, if they be content to live quietly under his Obedience as he deſireth. For the which Cauſe he willeth, that the Count of *Charnye* ſhall offer and give to them his Letters of Safeguard in good and authentick Form, which ſhall be of as good Force and Vertue, as if they ſhould come or be taken from his own Majeſty; and, by the Authority of them, they ſhall be preſerved from all Wrongs, Violences, and Oppreſſions; enjoining and forbidding moſt expreſly all his Catholick Subjects whatſoever they are, to attempt Nothing upon the Perſons, Goods, or Families of any of the Religion which keep themſelves quietly in their Houſes, on Pain of Death. And if any be ſo raſh, or evil adviſed, to act againſt this Injunction, or to violate the Safeguard promiſed, his Majeſty willeth, that ready and rigorous Puniſhment be done, to the Intent, that their Example may ſerve to hold in others not to do the like; which is the true and only Means of Aſſurance that his Majeſty can give to them of the Religion, with his Word and Promiſe which he giveth them to be their good and benign Prince, Protector and Preſerver of them, and of all that toucheth them, ſo long as they live and continue under his Obedience, without doing or enterpriſing any Thing againſt his Will and Service. And, becauſe his Majeſty hath often known that the Enterpriſes and Conſultations, taken in Hand by them of the Religion againſt his Service, have been concluded amongſt them at Aſſemblies at Sermons, which Gentlemen had Liberty to cauſe to be made in their Houſes and Lordſhips, therefore my Lord of *Charnye* ſhall particularly give to underſtand to Gentlemen, which were wont to have ſuch Sermons, that his Majeſty, in Conſideration that Nothing hath more moved, and ſet on the Catholicks againſt thoſe of the Religion, than ſuch Preachings and Aſſemblies; and, if they continue, it is certain, that it will be a Cauſe to increaſe and maintain the ſaid Commotions; deſireth, that they ſhould cauſe them to ceaſe, until he hath otherwiſe provided and appointed, and that they apply themſelves hereunto as a Thing greatly ſerving the Effect of his Intention, which is, gently to bring his ſaid Subjects to a true and perfect Amity, Union, and Concord one with another, committing all Diviſions and Partialities to Oblivion. And, becauſe this may ſeem hard at the Beginning, my Lord of *Charnye* ſhall cauſe it to be fair and gently ſpoken to them, leſt they enter into ſome ſtrange Conjecture or Suſpicion. For ſo his ſaid Majeſty would proceed in all true Sincerity towards them which conform themſelves to his Will and Obedience, wherein he exhorteth them to live, with all the beſt Perſuaſions that he can, and ſhall aſſure them, in ſo doing, to be ſurely maintained and preſerved as his other Subjects, the Catholicks, as his Majeſty would that he ſhould do. And, to the Intent his ſaid Subjects, the Catholicks, ſhould know how to uſe and behave themſelves herein, my Lord of *Charnye* ſhall tell them, That his Majeſty's Pleaſure neither is, nor hath been, that any Wrong or Oppreſſion ſhould be done to them of the ſaid Religion, which, like good and loyal Subjects, will gently keep themſelves under his Obedience: Declaring unto the ſaid Catholicks, That, if they forget themſelves, and hurt thoſe of the Religion, who, in ſuch Sort, behave themſelves towards his Majeſty, and thoſe alſo, which, for that End, have received

ceived of his Majeſty, or of my Lord of *Charnye*, Letters of Safe-conduct, he will cauſe them to be puniſhed and chaſtiſed in the Field, as Tranſgreſſors of his Commandments, without any Hope of Grace, Pardon, or Remiſſion; which the ſaid Lord of *Charnye* ſhall expreſs and declare unto them, with as plain Words as is poſſible, and cauſe it alſo to be as ſtrictly executed. And, after that, following his Majeſty's Intent, he hath pacified them by this Means, which is the Way that his Majeſty beſt liketh of, and ſearched the Direction to aſſure a Tranquillity betwixt the Subjects, and to ſet ſome Aſſurance betwixt the one and the other, ſuch, as ſhall conform themſelves herein to his ſaid Majeſty's Will, he will comfort, and make them the beſt and moſt gentle Entertainment that he poſſibly can. But, if any of the Religion become ſelf-willed and ſtubborn to his Majeſty, without having Regard to his ſaid Warnings, and ſhall aſſemble in Arms together, making Practices and Devices againſt the Weal of his Service, then the Lord of *Charnye* ſhall run upon them, and hew them in Pieces, before they have Power to fortify themſelves and join together: And therefore he ſhall aſſemble as much Force as he can, as well of the Ordinary, as of other Men of War, Soldiers, Footmen of the Gariſons, and Inhabitants of the Catholicks within the Cities of his Government, and ſhall beſiege them which hold and make themſelves ſtrong in Cities about of his Government, ſo that the Victory and Authority may remain in his Majeſty. At *Paris*, the Thirtieth of *Auguſt*, 1572. Signed *CHARLES*; and underneath, *Brulard*.

The King's Letters to the Lord of Gwiche, *whereby it may plainly be perceived, how they would ſearch out all them of the Religion which had any Charge in Hand during the Troubles.*

My Lord of *Gwiche*, I underſtand that the three Brethren *Daggonels*, and one *Porcher* the Hoſt at the Sign of the *Adventure*, *Moſſoner*, *Griſpin*, and Captain *Griſe*, which were the principal of the Faction in *Burgundy*, and were the Cauſe of the Taking and Recovering of the City of *Maſcon* in the late Troubles, and of all the Decay which happened in that Country, be kept Priſoners in *Maſcon*. And, becauſe I underſtand that they hope to eſcape out by Ranſom, which I would in no wiſe ſhould be done, I ordain and command that you keep them ſafe, foraſmuch as I hope by their Means to diſcover a great many Things, which greatly touch the Weal of my Service. And if there be any other Priſoners of the new Religion in *Maſcon*, which have been factious, you ſhall likewiſe keep them, ſo that they eſcape not by paying Ranſom, for I would not, for any Thing in the World, that there ſhould be Taking of Ranſom among my Subjects. And thus, my Lord of *Gwhiche*, I pray God keep you in his holy Tuition. Written at *Paris*, the 14th of *September*, 1572. Signed, *Charles*, and underneath, *Brulard*.

The King's Letters to Monſieur De Gordes *his Lieutenant-General in* Daulphine, *wherein he ſendeth him Word, that the beſt Proof of his Doings is the Accuſations and Complaints of them of the Religion againſt him, whereunto he ſhould have Care to anſwer.*

M. *De Gordes*, by your Letters of the firſt of this Month, I perceived the Order which you appointed in your Government, ſince the Advertiſement which you had of the Execution of the Admiral and his Adherents: And ſince I am ſure you forgot nothing, which you thought might ſerve for your Aſſurance of thoſe Places whereof you had Occaſion to doubt. And, to the Intent you ſhould have the more Means to make yourſelf known, I have prepared that the Soldiers of *Corſica*, which I had appointed to go into *Provence*, ſhould return to you, and thereupon have written to my Couſin the Count of *Tende*, who will not fail to ſend them unto you, foraſmuch as there is no Need of them now in that Country. He ſhould alſo ſend you Word of the Time of their departing, to the End that you might have

have Leiſure to provide to receive them, and appoint their Places, where they ſhould be in Garriſon. I have ſeen that which you writ to me concerning the continual Payment in *Daulphine*, what is due for the laſt Year, whereupon, I will adviſe of the State of my Fines the Means that may be, and according thereunto there ſhall be no Fault, but they ſhall be provided for. For the Reparation of the Bridge of *Grenoble*, they of the ſame Place muſt deviſe the Means wherein they ſhould beſt help themſelves therein, and, when they have advertiſed me, I will appoint them neceſſary Proviſion. Touching the Soldiers appointed for the Baron of *Adreſſe*, becauſe the Occaſion why I appointed them to be levied now ceaſeth, I have written to him to ſend them back and diſmiſs them again: Wherefore there is no Need to make Proviſion for their Maintenance, nor likewiſe to tell you any Thing elſe, concerning the Anſwers which you have made to the Remembrances, which they of the Religion have preſented againſt you. For your Doings are well known, and plain unto me, and thereupon I will take no better Proof than their Accuſation. Wherefore, you ſhall put yourſelf to no more Pain on that Side. Moreover, I have herewith ſent you a Copy of the Declaration which I made of the Admiral's Death and his Adherents, and made to be underſtood, that it ſhould be obſerved and followed, and that all Murders, Sackings, and Violences ſhould ceaſe. Nevertheleſs, I have heard Complaints of divers Places, that ſuch extraordinary Ways continue, which is a Thing, that doth much diſpleaſe me. By the Means whereof I adviſe you, in doing this Charge once again put unto you, that you give Order throughout your Government to cauſe all Hoſtility, Force, and Violence to ceaſe, and that the ſaid Declaration be ſtreightly obſerved and kept, with puniſhing thoſe that withſtand, ſo rigorouſly, that the Demonſtration thereof may ſerve for an Example, ſeeing my Intent is, that they ſhould be puniſhed as behoveth, and to mark them which wink or diſſemble thereat. This preſent Letter ſhall ſerve alſo for an Advice of the Receipt of thoſe Letters which you wrote the Fifth of this preſent, whereby you ſend me Word, that you received no Meſſage by Word of Mouth from me, but only Letters of the Twenty-ſecond, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-eighth of the Month paſſed, whereof put yourſelf to no further Pain, for that Charge was only for ſuch as then were near about me, which is all that I have at this Time to ſay unto you. Praying hereupon the Creator to keep you in his holy and worthy Tuition. Written at *Paris*, the fourth Day of *September*. Signed *Charles*, and beneath *Fizes*. And above. To M. *DeGordes*, Knight.

The King's Letters to the Duke of Guiſe, *his Lieutenant-General in* Champaigne *and in* Prye.

COuſin, although in my former Letters I have given you to underſtand well enough how much I deſire all my Subjects, as well of the Nobility, as others which profeſs the new Religion, and quietly uſe themſelves in your Government, ſhould by you be maintained and preſerved in all Surety, under my Protection and Safeguard, without giving them any Hinderance by Trouble in their Perſons, Goods, and Families: Yet, nevertheleſs, I have been advertiſed that, in certain Places of my Realm, there have been many Sackings and Pillagings done by ſuch as dwell in the Houſes of them of the ſaid new Religion, as well in the Fields as in the Cities, under Colour of the Commotion, which happened in my City of *Paris*, the Twenty-fourth Day of *Auguſt* laſt; a Thing beyond all Meaſure unpleaſant and diſagreeable unto me, and, for the which, I would have Proviſion and Remedy. Wherefore, I pray you, Couſin, that above all Things as you deſire, that I ſhould know the good Affection you bear to the good Weal of my Service, you take that Matter next your Heart to preſerve and maintain within your Government according to that which I have ſo plainly told and written to you heretofore, that all ſuch of the new Religion, who behave themſelves quietly, take no Wrong or Violence, whether it be for the Preſervation of their Goods or Perſons, no more than to my *Catholick* Subjects. And, where any Wrong or Outrage ſhall be offered them againſt my Will, as I have before declared, ſo do I now by theſe Preſents declare

declare, I will and intend that you ſhall make ſome evident and notorious Puniſhment of ſuch as are herein culpable, ſo that their Correction may ſerve for an Example of all others, that I may ſee myſelf thoroughly obeyed herein as I would be, and my Commandments received amongſt all my Subjects in another Sort than they have been heretofore: Aſſuring you, Couſin, that the beſt News, that I ſhall receive from you, ſhall be to hear ſay that you chaſtiſe thoſe well, of whom I am diſobeyed. And thus, Couſin, I pray God to keep you in his holy Tuition.

Written from *Paris*, the 28th of *September*, 1572.

Signed

CHARLES:

And underneath,

BRULART.

Remembrances ſent by the King to all Governors, and Lieutenants of his Provinces, to put out and remove all thoſe of the Religion from their Eſtates and Charges, although they would abjure the ſame; ſaving ſuch as have but ſmall Eſtates and Offices, to whom his Majeſty permitteth Continuance, on Condition that they abjure the ſaid Religion, according to the Form of Abjuration ſent for that Purpoſe.

THE King conſidering how much his Officers and Magiſtrates of Juſtice, and ſuch as have the Adminiſtration and Dealing of his Fines and Payments, which be of the new Religion, are ſuſpected and hated, and put his Catholick Subjects in great Miſtruſt, if they ſhould preſently exerciſe their Offices after theſe freſh Commotions, becauſe that the ſaid Offices are in their Hands that now keep them: Therefore, leſt the People ſhould thereby be brought to a new Occaſion of Stir, and they of the new Religion be in Danger or Hazard of their own Perſons, although they would abjure their ſaid new Religion, and profeſs the holy Faith and Catholick Religion of *Rome*: His Majeſty, deſiring to avoid the new Miſchiefs and Troubles which may come, hath adviſed to diſcharge the ſaid Officers from the Exerciſe of the ſaid Offices, until he ſhall otherwiſe appoint. And yet, nevertheleſs, in the mean While, if the ſaid Officers be obedient unto his Will, and live quietly in their Houſes, without Attempting, Practiſing, or Taking any in Thing in Hand againſt his Service, they ſhall receive their Wages; and they that will reſign their ſaid Offices to Catholick Perſons, and come to his Majeſty, ſhall be very honourably provided for. And as touching other ſmall Offices without Wages, which cannot be troubleſome, as Notaries, Serjeants, and ſuch where the Officers have no Authority, which cannot be ſo odious nor miſtruſtful to the People, as the others; his Majeſty is adviſed, that ſuch ſmall Officers which will abjure the ſaid new Religion, and profeſs the Faith Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Romiſh*, and therein live continually hereafter, ſhall continue in the Exerciſe and Enjoying of their Eſtates: But they, that will continue in their new Opinion, ſhall depart from their Offices, until his Majeſty hath otherwiſe provided. And this is for the great Miſchief and Inconvenience that may befall them, if they ſhould exerciſe their ſaid Eſtates, becauſe of the great Miſtruſt and Suſpicion which the Catholicks have conceived of them of the new Religion. Nevertheleſs, his Majeſty well conſidering that the moſt Part of the ſaid Officers have no other Way to live, but the Exerciſe of their ſaid Offices, willeth that they ſhall be in Choice to reſign to Catholick and capable Perſons, and then to come to him for that Effect, and he will grant them the greateſt Favour and Moderation of his Treaſure that is poſſible. The which Reſolution and Pleaſure of his Majeſty he willeth to be declared to the ſaid Officers of the new pretended Opinion, as well by Governors and Lieutenants-General of his Provinces, as by them of his Courts of Parliament, of the Chamber of his Accounts, of the Court of his Aids, them of his great Council, of the Treaſury of *France*, the Generals of his Fines, his Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, Judges, or their Lieutenants, and every one

one of them, as ſhall appertain. And, to this Intent, his Majeſty willeth and intendeth, that every one of them, in their Calling, ſhall ſend, particularly and apart, for every one of the ſaid Officers of the new Religion, which be of their Incorporation, Charge, and Juriſdiction, and ſhall admoniſh them, in this Behalf, to conform themſelves to his Majeſty's Mind: And, if any of them in Authority, becauſe of their ſaid Eſtates, will return to the Boſom of the Catholick and *Romiſh* Church, it ſhall be ſaid to them, that his Majeſty liketh very well of it, and that he taketh a great and ſingular Affection therein, and that it ſhall give him the greater Aſſurance and Credit of their Goodwill; and that his Majeſty will not bar them from his Service hereafter, but will provide for them as their Behaviour ſhall deſerve: And, notwithanding, for the Reaſons aboveſaid, he willeth that they ſhall ceaſe from the Exerciſe of their Eſtates and Offices, until he otherwiſe appointeth. And becauſe that, in many Places of the Realm, they have proceeded by Way of ſeizing the Goods of them of the new Religion which be dead or abſent, and hide themſelves, and ſometimes of thoſe which be in their own Houſes, although his Majeſty gave to underſtand, by his Declaration of the Twenty-eighth of *Auguſt* laſt, That he would and intended that they of the new Religion ſhould enjoy their Goods; nevertheleſs, to the Intent there ſhould be no Doubt of his Purpoſe, and that no Miſtruſt might ariſe thereupon, he declareth, willeth, and intendeth again, that, according to his Declaration of the Twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, they of the new Religion which be living, whether they be preſent or abſent, and be not culpable or charged with the laſt Conſpiracy, or to have attempted againſt his Majeſty, or his Eſtate, ſince his Edict of Pacification, ſhall be reſtored to their Houſes, and put in Poſſeſſion of all and ſingular their Goods, moveable and unmoveable. And that the Widows and Heirs of them, that be dead, may and ſhall ſucceed them, and apprehend all and ſingular their Goods, and that they ſhall be maintained in them, and kept under the Protection and Safeguard of his Majeſty, ſo that no Hurt ſhall be done or ſaid unto them in any Manner, Wiſe, or Sort: Willing, for this Purpoſe, that all neceſſary Surety ſhall be given them, and that all Officers, Magiſtrates, Mayors, and others, which have publick Charge, ſhall maintain them in all Safety, forbidding all Perſons, of what Eſtate, Quality, or Condition ſoever they be, not to hurt them in Perſon or Goods, upon Pain of Death. And, nevertheleſs, his Majeſty willeth, that they of the new Opinion ſhall ſubmit themſelves, and promiſe, upon Pain to be declared Rebels and Traitors to his Majeſty, that they ſhall hereafter live under his Obedience, without attempting any Thing to the Contrary, or taking their Parts that do attempt againſt his Majeſty and Eſtate, or Things againſt his Ordinances, and to acknowledge none but his Majeſty, or ſuch as he ſhall appoint under him, to have Authority to command them. And, if they know any that ſhall enterpriſe againſt his Majeſty and Service, to reveal them immediately to him and his Officers, as good and faithful Subjects. And to take away all Doubt and Suſpicion, as well from the Nobility, as others, becauſe that, in the Declaration of the Twenty-fourth of the laſt Month, theſe Words are contained: *Except they be thoſe of the Chief, which had Commandment for thoſe of the new Opinion, or thoſe which made Practices and Devices for them, or thoſe which might have had Intelligence of the ſaid Conſpiracy.* His Majeſty declareth, that he meaneth not of Things done and paſt during the Troubles which were before the Edict of Pacification in *Auguſt* 1570, and that there ſhall be no Inquiſition thereof, and none ſhall be troubled in Goods or Perſon therefore, but, for that Reſpect, they ſhall enjoy the Benefit of the Edict of Pacification; but that the ſaid Words extend only to thoſe which be found to be guilty or acceſſary to the laſt Conſpiracy done againſt his Majeſty and Eſtate, and that others, who are impriſoned, ſhall be ſet at Liberty. And as touching them which will make Profeſſion of their Faith, and return to the Catholick Religion, his Majeſty deſireth that his Governors and Officers ſhall excite and comfort them as much as they can, to that Effect, and Execution of that Good-will: And that their Friends and Kinsfolks ſhould be alſo exhorted to do the like for their Part. And, if any ſhould hurt them in Goods or Body, his Majeſty willeth ready and ſpeedy Execution to be done on them. And to the Intent that they may follow the Form which hath been kept, in profeſſing the Faith which they do make, that re-

turn to the Apoſtolick and *Romiſh* Church, there is ſent herewith a Memory thereof. From *Paris*, the Twenty-ſecond Day of *September*, 1572. Signed *Charles*, and underneath *Pinart*.

The Form of Abjuration of Hereſy, and Confeſſion of Faith, which those which have ſwerved from the Faith, and pretend to be received into the Church, ought to make.

This is the Abjuration which they cauſed all of the Religion to make in France, *to ſave their Lives. Printed at* Paris, *by* Nicholas Roffet, *dwelling in the* New Street of our Lady, *at the Sign of the* Mower. *With the King's Privilege.*

FIRST, They which have ſwerved from the Faith, and deſire to return into the Compaſs of our holy Mother-Church, ought to preſent themſelves to their Curates or Vicars, to be inſtructed of that which they ought to do: That done, they ſhall be ſent unto the Reverend Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or his Chancellor, or Official, to make the ſaid Abjuration and Confeſſion in Manner and Form following:

I *N.* born at, *&c.* in the Dioceſe of, *&c.* and dwelling, *&c.* acknowledging, by the Grace of God, the true Faith, Catholick and Apoſtolick, from which I have, through my own Fault, gone aſtray, and ſeparated myſelf ſince, *&c.* and deſirous to return to the Flock of *Chriſt*'s true Sheepfold, which is the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Romiſh* Church, confeſs to have abjured and curſed all the Errors and Hereſy of the *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, and *Hugonots*, and all other Hereſy whatſoever, wherewith I have heretofore been defamed or touched; and I agree to the Faith of our holy Mother the Church, and deſire you, in the Name of God, and of his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of the glorious Virgin, his Mother *Mary*, and of all the Saints in Paradiſe, that it would pleaſe you to receive me into the Flock and Sheepfold of God's People, which live under the Obedience of the Pope, ordained our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Vicar in the ſaid Church, ſubmitting myſelf patiently to abide, and willingly to do the Penance which it ſhall pleaſe you to enjoin me for the Abſolution of the Faults committed, whilſt I was in the foreſaid Sects, whereof I aſk and require Pardon of God, and of his ſaid Church, and of you (that be appointed my Paſtor by God the Creator) Abſolution, with ſuch Penance as you ſhall judge to be wholſome for the Satisfaction of my Sins and Offences. And, to the Intent you ſhould know that I have and do make this Abjuration from my Heart, I confeſs, moreover, before God and you, that I believe that which is contained in the Symbol or Creed of the Apoſtles, and *Athanaſius*, and other Confeſſions of Faith made and approved by the whole Councils of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Romiſh* Church; that is, I believe in one only God, the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things viſible and inviſible, and in one Lord, our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, the only Son ingendered by God the Father, before the Conſtitution of the World, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, ingendered, not created, conſubſtantial with the Father, by whom all Things were made, who for us Men, and for our Salvation, deſcended from Heaven, *&c.* as in the Belief of Morning Prayer. I believe likewiſe, acknowledge and confeſs, all that which is contained in the Books as well of the Old, as of the New Teſtament, approved by the ſaid Holy and Apoſtolick Church of *Rome*, according to the Senſe and Interpretation of the holy Doctors received by the ſame, rejecting all other Interpretations as falſe and erroneous. I acknowledge the ſeven Sacraments of the ſaid Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Romiſh* Church, that they were inſtituted by our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that they be neceſſary for the Salvation of Mankind, although that all of them are not of Neceſſity to be conferred to all; that is to ſay, I confeſs that the ſaid ſeven Sacraments are theſe, Baptiſm, Confirmation, Euchariſt, which is the Sacrament of the Altar, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage; and that the ſaid Sacraments confer Grace, and that, of them, Baptiſm,

tism, Confirmation, and Orders, cannot be reiterated without Sacrilege. That the said Sacraments have the Effect which the said Church teacheth, and that the Form and Uſage, wherewith they be miniſtred to Chriſtians, is holy and neceſſary. I acknowledge alſo, that the holy Maſs is a Sacrifice and Oblation of the very Body and Blood of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, under the Form of Bread and Wine mingled with Water, which Subſtances of Bread and Wine under the ſaid Forms are in the Maſs, by the Words which ſerve for Conſecration, ſaid and pronounced by the Prieſt, tranſubſtantiated and transformed into the Subſtance of the ſaid Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, notwithſtanding that the Qualities and Accidents remain in the ſaid Forms after the ſaid Conſecration, and that the Maſs is wholſome and profitable as well for the Quick as the Dead. I acknowledge and confeſs the Concomitance, that is to ſay, that, in receiving the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* under the Form of Bread alone, I likewiſe receive the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*. I confeſs, that Prayer and Interceſſion of Saints for the Quick and the Dead is holy, good, and healthful for Chriſtians, and is not contrary, in any Reſpect, to the Glory of God. That Prayers made in the Church for the Faithful, which are dead, do profit them for the Remiſſion of their Sins, and Leſſening of their Pains incurred for the ſame. That there is a Purgatory, where the Souls abiding are ſuccoured by the Prayers of the Faithful. I confeſs that we muſt honour and call upon the Saints which reign with *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that they make Interceſſion for us to God, and that their Reliques are to be worſhipped. That the Commandments and Traditions of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Romiſh* Church, as well they which pertain to the Form and Ceremonies of divine Service, and to aſſiſt the ſame, which, I think, are to draw Chriſtian People to Piety, and Turning to their God, as Faſting, Abſtaining from Meats, Obſervation of holy Days, and Eccleſiaſtical Policy, according to the Tradition of the Apoſtles and holy Fathers, continued ſince the Primitive Church till this Time, and afterwards brought into the Church by the Ordinances of Councils received in the ſame of long and ancient Time, or of late, be good and holy, to the which I will and ought to obey, as preſcribed and appointed by the Holy Ghoſt, the Author and Director of that which ſerveth for the Keeping of the Chriſtian Religion, and of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Roman* Church. I believe alſo, and accept, all the Articles of Original Sin, and of Juſtification. I affirm aſſuredly, that we ought to have and keep the Images of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of his holy Mother, and all other Saints, and do Honour and Reverence unto them. I confeſs the Power of Indulgence and Pardons to be left in the Church by *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Uſe of them to be very healthful; as alſo, I acknowledge and confeſs the Church of *Rome* to be the Mother and Chief of all Churches, and conducted by the Holy Ghoſt, and that other pretended particular Inſpirations, againſt the ſame, come of the Suggeſtion of the Devil, the Prince of Diſſenſion, which would ſeparate the Union of the myſtical Body of the Saviour of the World. Finally, I promiſe ſtreightly to keep all that was ordained at the laſt general Council of *Trent*, and promiſe to God and you, never more to depart from the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Roman* Church; and if I do, which God forbid, I ſubmit myſelf to the Penalties of the Canons of the ſaid Church, made, ordained, and appointed againſt them which fall back into Apoſtaſy. The which Abjuration and Confeſſion I have ſubſcribed.

The King's Letter to Monſieur de Guiſe, *and other Lieutenants and Governors of his Provinces, by which he wholly aboliſheth and ſubverteth all the Edicts of Pacification, and willeth that only the* Romiſh *Religion ſhould take Place in his Realm.*

THE King knowing that the Declaration which he made upon the Occaſions which lately chanced in the City of *Paris*, the Remembrances and Inſtructions of his Will, which he ſent round about to all Governors of his Provinces, and Lieutenants-general therein, and particular Letters to the Seneſchals, and his Courts of Parliament, and other Offi-

cers and Miniſters of Juſtice, cannot hitherto ſtay the Courſe of Murders and Robberies done in the moſt Part of the Cities of this Realm, to his Majeſty's great Diſpleaſure, hath adviſed, for a more ſingular Remedy, to ſend all the ſaid Governors into every of their Charges and Governments, aſſuring himſelf, that, according to the Quality and Power which they have of his Majeſty, they can well follow and obſerve his Intent, the which more fully to declare, his Majeſty hath cauſed his Letters Patents to be diſpatched, which ſhall be delivered them. Beſides the Contents thereof, M. *de Guiſe*, the Governor, and Lieutenant-general for his Majeſty in *Champaigne* and *Brye*, ſhall call before him the Gentlemen of the new Religion, abiding within his Government, and ſhall tell them that the King's Will and Intent is to preſerve them, their Wives, Children, and Families, and to maintain them in Poſſeſſion of their Goods, ſo that, on their Part, they live quietly, and render to his Majeſty Obedience and Fidelity as they ought; in which Doing the King alſo will defend them, that they ſhall not be moleſted or troubled by Way of Juſtice, or otherwiſe, in their Perſons and Goods, by Reaſon of Things done during the Troubles, and before the Edict of Pacification of *Auguſt*, 1570. And afterwards he ſhall lovingly admoniſh them to continue no longer in the Error of the new Opinion, and to return to the Catholick Religion, reconciling themſelves to the Catholick *Romiſh* Church, under the Doctrine and Obedience whereof Kings, his Predeceſſors, and their Subjects, have always holily lived, and this Realm hath been carefully conducted and maintained; ſhewing to them the Miſchiefs and Calamities which have happened in this Realm, ſince theſe new Opinions have entered into Men's Spirits: How many Murders have been cauſed by ſuch which have fallen from the right Way holden by their Anceſtors. Firſt, they made them ſeparate themſelves from the Church, then from their next of Kindred, and alſo to be eſtranged from the Service of their King, as a Man may ſee ſince his Reign. And, although the Authors and Heads of that Side would have covered their Doings under the Title of Religion and Conſcience, yet their Deeds and Works have ſhewn well enough that the Name of Religion was but a Vizard to cover their Drifts and Diſobedience, and under that Pretence to aſſemble and ſuborn People, and to make and compel them to ſwear in the Cauſe, under the Title of Diſobedience, and by ſuch Way to turn them from the natural Affection which they owe to the King, and conſequently from his Obedience, it being notorious that, what Commandment ſo ever the King could make to them of the new Religion, they have not ſince his Reign obeyed him otherwiſe than pleaſed their Heads. And contrariwiſe, when their ſaid Heads commanded them to ariſe and take to their Weapons, to ſet upon Cities, to burn Churches, to ſack and pillage, to trouble the Realm, and fill it with Blood and Fire, they, which went ſo aſtray to follow them, forgot all Truſt and Duty of good Subjects, to execute and obey their Commandments: Which Things, if the Gentlemen will well conſider, they ſhall eaſily judge how unhappy and miſerable their Condition ſhall be, if they continue longer therein. For they may well think of themſelves, that the King being taught by Experience of ſo great a Danger, from which it hath pleaſed God to preſerve him and his Eſtate, and having proved the Miſchiefs and Calamities which this Realm hath ſuffered by the Enterpriſes of the Heads of this Cauſe, their Adherents and Accomplices, that he will never willingly be ſerved with any Gentlemen of his Subjects, that be of any other Religion than the Catholick, in which alſo the King, following his Predeceſſors, will live and die. He willeth alſo to take away all Miſtruſt amongſt his Subjects, and to quench the Riſing of Diſcords and Seditions, that all they of whom he is ſerved in honourable Places, and eſpecially the Gentlemen which deſire to be accounted his good and lawful Subjects, and would obtain his Favour, and be employed in Charges of his Service, according to their Degrees and Qualities, do make Profeſſion hereafter to live in the ſame Religion that he doth, having tried that Diſcords and Civil Wars will not ceaſe in a State where there be many Religions, and that it is not poſſible for a King to maintain in his Realm Diverſities in Religion, but that he ſhall loſe the Good-will and Benevolence of his Subjects, yea, and they, who are of a contrary Religion to his, deſire nothing in their Heart more than the Change of the King and of his Eſtate. For the Reaſon aboveſaid, the Duke of *Guiſe*, to bring the Matter to this Pass, ſhall take Pains to perſuade the Nobility and others, infected with the

the ſaid new Opinion, to return of themſelves, and of their own free Will, to the Catholick Religion, and to abjure and renounce the new, without any more expreſs Command from the King. For, howſoever it be, his Majeſty is reſolved to make his Subjects live in his Religion, and never to ſuffer, whatſoever may befall, that there ſhall be any other Form or Exerciſe of Religion in his Realm than the Catholick. The ſaid Duke of *Guiſe* ſhall communicate with the principal Officers and Magiſtrates, having the principal Charge and Adminiſtration of Juſtice in Cities of his Government, his Majeſty's Declaration, to the Intent they ſhould know his Mind, and the good End whereunto he tendeth for the Uniting and Quietneſs of his Subjects, to the Intent the ſaid Monſieur *de Guiſe*, and the ſaid Officers and Magiſtrates, ſhould, with one Accord, Intelligence, and Correſpondence, proceed to the Effect aboveſaid, ſo that Fruit and Quietneſs may thereof inſue, ſuch as his Majeſty deſireth, not only for himſelf, but for the whole Realm. The Bailiffs and Stewards, which are not in Religion accordingly qualified, ſhall, within one Month, reſign their Offices to Gentlemen capable, and of the Quality required by the Edict, which may keep and exerciſe the ſame. And, to the Intent this ſhall be done, his Majeſty doth now preſently declare them deprived after the ſaid Month, if they do not then reſign, that they ſhall have no Occaſion or Colour of Excuſe to delay their Reſignations, and yet permitteth them, in the mean While, to reſign without paying any Fine. All Bailiffs and Stewards ſhall be reſident at their Offices, upon Pain of Loſs of the ſame; and, if they cannot ſo be, then they ſhall be bound to reſign. All Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhall likewiſe be reſident in their Dioceſe, and ſuch as for Age and other Diſpoſition of Perſon cannot preach the Word of God, nor edify the People, and do other Functions appertaining to their Charge and Dignity, ſhall be bound to take a Conductor to comfort them, and to employ themſelves in the Duty of their Charge. To which Conductor they ſhall appoint an honeſt and reaſonable Penſion, according to the Fruits and Revenue of their Living. Alſo Parſons and Vicars ſhall be reſident at their Benefices, or elſe ſhall be admoniſhed to reſign them to ſuch as will be reſident, and do their Duty. Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhall take Information of them which hold Abbies, Priories, and other Benefices in their Dioceſe, of what Quality ſoever they are, and how they do their Duty in the Adminiſtration of them, whereupon they ſhall make Proceſs by Word unto the Governors, which ſhall ſend them to the King to provide therein as Reaſon ſhall move him. They ſhall compel the Curates actually to abide at the Places of their Benefices, or elſe ſhall appoint others in their Stead, according to the Diſpoſition of the Canons. At *Paris*, the third Day of *November*, 1572.

Signed, *CHARLES.*

Letters of Monſieur De Gordes, *the King's Lieutenant in* Dauphiny, *to certain of the Religion in his Government; whereby he exhorteth them to come back again to the Religion of* Rome; *and how the King is determined to ſuffer no other.*

SIR,

I AM ſufficiently advertiſed of your Behaviour, but you ſhould remember what Advertiſements I have before ſent you to return to the Catholick Religion of yourſelf, which is the beſt Hold and Stay that you can chuſe for your Preſervation and Health, putting from you all thoſe which perſuade you to the contrary, who would abide to ſee any Commotion or Diſorder, rather than abate any Point of their Opinion; and, by this Means, you ſhall make evident to the King your Will which, you ſay, you have to obey his Majeſty; counſelling you, foraſmuch as I deſire your Well-doing, that this is the beſt for you to do, without looking for any more open Commandment; otherwiſe, aſſure yourſelf, there can but Evil come of it, and that his Majeſty would be obeyed: And thus I pray God to adviſe you, and give you his holy Grace.

From Grenoble, Decemb. 6, 1572. *Your intire good Friend,*

GORDES.

The

The Anſwer of the Gentlemen, Captains, Burgeſſes, and others, being in the Town of Rochelle, *to the Commandments, that have been given them in the Name of the King, to receive Gariſons.*

WE the Gentlemen, Captains, Burgeſſes, and others, now being in this Town of *Rochelle*, do give Anſwer to you, Monſieur *N.* and to ſuch Commandments, as you give us in the Name of his Majeſty, that we cannot acknowledge, that that which is ſignified unto us, and the Proclamation, which you require that we ſhould cauſe to be publiſhed, do proceed from his Majeſty; and thereof we call to Witneſs his Majeſty himſelf, his Letters of the Twenty-ſecond and Twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, his own Signet, and the Publiſhing of the ſame Letters, by the which his ſaid Majeſty layeth all the Fault of all the Trouble lately happened, and of the cruel Slaughter done at *Paris*, upon thoſe of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, proteſting, that he had enough to do to keep himſelf ſafe within his Caſtle of *Louvre* with thoſe of his Guard. And we ſhall never ſuffer ourſelves to be perſuaded, that ſo foul an Enterpriſe, and ſo barbarous a Slaughter, hath at any Time entered into the Mind of his Majeſty; much leſs, that the ſame hath been done by his expreſs Commandment, as the Paper importeth, which you have exhibited unto us; nor that his Majeſty hath been ſo ill adviſed, as himſelf to cut off his own Arms, or to defile the ſacred Wedding of Madame, his own Siſter, with the Shedding of ſo much noble and innocent Blood, and with the Shame of ſo cruel a Fact to ſtain the Nation of *France*, and the Blood Royal, which hath heretofore ever, among all Nations, borne the Name of *Frank* and *Courteous*; nor that he hath had a Mind to deliver Matter to Writers to ſet forth a tragical Hiſtory, ſuch as Antiquity hath never heard ſpeak of the like, and ſuch as Poſterity cannot report without Horror; but that it was firſt laid at *Rome*, and afterwards hatched at *Paris*, by the Authors of all the Troubles of *France*. And, howſoever it be, we are ready to maintain, That out of the Mouth of his Majeſty doth not proceed Hot and Cold, White and Black; and that he doth not now ſay one Thing, and by and by another, as he ſhould do, if the Paper, that you preſent unto us, had paſſed from him; proteſting, that he will inviolably keep his Edict, and immediately breaking the ſame, in declaring, that he commanded thoſe Murders to be committed; having alſo made Proteſtation before, that it is to his great Grief, and done by the Outrage and Violence of thoſe of *Guiſe*, againſt whom he was not able to make ſpeedy Reſiſtance in Time, as his Majeſty deſired. And, in this Quarrel, we, the Gentlemen, Captains, and others, that make you this Anſwer, are ready to try it by Combate, Man to Man, or, otherwiſe, to maintain the Honour of our King againſt all thoſe that ſo profane holy Things, and, as much as in them lieth, do, by ſuch Words and Titles, villainouſly defile the Excellence of his Majeſty, and of the noble Princes of his Blood: Which we may right well conjecture and eſtimate by the Slaughters, that are yet in Doing, as well in the Town of *Paris*, as elſewhere, upon ſo many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, Men, Women, and Children; and upon a great Number of young Scholars, the Maintenance, under God, of Realms and Commonwealths in Time to come; and by many other barbarous, unnatural, and unmanly Acts, generally committed. We think, therefore, and judge, that herein Treaſon is enterpriſed againſt the Perſon of his Majeſty, and of my Lords his Brethren, and that the *Guiſians* mean to invade the Crown of the Realm, as they have of a long Time practiſed; and, howſoever it be, we ſay, that his Majeſty is forced by the Power, that they have taken upon them, and uſurped, by Means of the rebellious Stir of the Commons of *Paris*. As for that which they ſay, That the Admiral, and thoſe of the Religion, had conſpired againſt the King's Majeſty and his Brethren, theſe are Allegations of as great Truth, and of as good Likelihood, as their Manner of Proceeding in Juſtice hath been orderly, beginning at Execution before Examination of the Fact. But there is now no Need to tarry for Time to diſcover it, for the Matter is plain to be ſeen with Eye, and groped with Hand; and all thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion, that have any Drop of the Nature of Man remaining, do confeſs it, and hold down their Heads for Shame, curſing both with Heart and Mouth, the

the cruel Executors of this abominable Enterprise, and the wicked Diſturbers of common Quiet; which can yet no more ſuffer, than they hitherto have done, that this poor Realm ſhould long enjoy the Benefit of that Peace, which the King alone, next under God, had wiſely cauſed to be made, and to be accordingly obſerved; whereof this Realm began to feel the good Taſte, to the great Contentment of all Perſons, except the Enemies of Peace and of this Realm, namely, the *Guiſians*. Finally, When his Majeſty, being out of their Hands and Power, ſhall declare what is his Pleaſure, we will endeavour to obey him in all Things, wherein our Conſciences, which are dedicated to God alone, ſhall not be wounded: In which Caſe, we will rather forſake the Earth, than Heaven, and our frail and tranſitory Houſes, rather than the heavenly Manſions. But hitherto the Law of Nature, and the Duty that we owe to our natural Prince, to the Preſervation of his Crown, and to the Safety of our Lives, our Wives, and Children, doth command us to ſtand upon our Guard, and not to put us at the Mercy of thoſe that have received the ſame bloody Commiſſion from the *Guiſians*, under the pretended Name of the King, to uſe us in the ſame Manner, as they have wickedly, traiterouſly, and unnaturally done to thoſe about his Majeſty, and, as it were, under his Wings, and under the Skirts of his Robe, which the Traitors Strangers have ſtained with the true *French* Blood, without his Majeſty's being able to remedy it, nor to ſtay their curſed Attempts; ſo much leſs is he able, now ſo far off, to defend us as he would: Which his Majeſty's Good-will, being known unto us, doth arm us for our Defence, and for the Safeguard of our Lives, and of the Privileges which he hath given us, until ſuch Time as he ſhall be able by himſelf to defend us againſt his Enemies and ours.

Cromwell's Complaint of Injuſtice: Or his Diſpute with Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, for Precedency in *Hell*. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

Oliver. WHAT Pretence haſt thou to take Place of me? What vaſt gigantick Crimes haſt thou committed, that thou ſhouldſt dare to think, thou deſerveſt to be greater than I? Have not I tranſgreſſed all the Laws of God and Man? Did not I ſubvert a State? Change its Religion and Government, murder its Prince, and ſet whole Rivers of his beſt Subjects Blood a Flowing? Did not I do all this, and haſt thou the Impudence to pretend to merit more, and have a greater Share in the infernal Empire, than I?

Pope. All this thou didſt, I do confeſs it; But, if thou wouldſt have but the Patience to hear me, I do not queſtion but to make appear, that I and my Predeceſſors have done much more meritorious Things, for our great Lord and Maſter the Devil, than ever thou didſt, or couldſt do.

Oliver. Hell and Furies! What didſt thou ever do more, than whore thy own Daughter, and help thy Son *Cæſar Borgia* to poiſon, and make away, all the Oppoſers and Obſtacles to his Greatneſs?

Pope. Well, that is ſomething; it ſhewed how willing, and ready, I was to tread in the Footſteps of my Predeceſſors, and give a good Example to all my Flock; but be patient, and I will tell thee the Right, I and my Brother Popes have to be Viceroys here below. Thou, alas! valueſt thyſelf, for having been the Ruin of one Prince and State: But, How many Emperors have we forced to come, and lay their Necks under our Feet? How many Kings have we cauſed to be aſſaſſinated? How many Princes to be murthered? How many Kingdoms and States to be ruined by Civil Wars and Diſſenſions? Have not we cauſed Princes to rebel againſt, and murther the Kings their Fathers? Subjects to depoſe their lawful Sovereigns,

vereigns, and ſet up Tyrants in their Rooms? And, in Fine, Did we not bring Anarchy and Confuſion into all Nations, when our Intereſt required it, or when thoſe at the Helm did not regulate themſelves as we would have had them? All this thou knoweſt we did, and muſt confeſs it, there being Millions of Inſtruments here, whom we employed to thoſe Ends, to confirm and teſtify it.

Oliver. I grant all you Popes together have been fruitfully and bravely wicked: But hath any one of you, attempted, performed, and compleated, ſuch great, noble, and numerous Crimes as I have done? Did not I, and my Companions, under the Pretext of Religion, ſubvert both it and the Government, and crying out againſt the ill Management of the State, the Treachery, and Want of Conduct in Miniſters, and by pretending to reform the Helm, bring the Nation into ſuch a Combuſtion, that we gained our Point; which was, that we might have the Liberty to act thoſe Wickedneſſes, that the others, who were there before us, were accuſed of, but which indeed never came into their Thoughts, not having the Senſe or Courage to perform, or at leaſt were reſtrained by their Conſciences; the Liberty of which we cried out mightily for, becauſe we knew ours would allow us all we could deſire.

Pope. All this I know, and how ſucceſsful you were in it, but you were only the Executioners of the *Roman* Contrivances; we drew the Model, and ſet you to Work; your King's Death, that you brag ſo much of, was firſt reſolved on at *Rome*, before it came into your Noddles, and, ſo far, you were only the blind Miniſters of our Reſolutions.

Oliver. I am ſure that is falſe; for none of us all, but aimed chiefly at him, though we ſeemed to look, and ſquinted another Way. You might perhaps have the ſame Deſign, but you ought not therefore to arrogate to yourſelf all the Honour, ſeeing we thought on it, and deſigned it, as ſoon as there was any Probability of doing it; and even performed it as ſoon as it lay in our Power. Indeed we found it a difficult Taſk, and, without your Help, perhaps we ſhould not have been able to have compaſſed it. We were forced to raiſe Fears and Jealouſies of an arbitrary Government; and in that, I muſt confeſs, we found your Party extremely uſeful to us, and very ſkilful to infuſe the Poiſon into People's Minds; and, by theſe Means, we arrived at what we ſo much had railed againſt, and ſeemed to abhor; that is to ſay, an unlimited Power. We trampled all Laws down under our Feet, and made ſuch new ones, as were fit for our Purpoſe and Intereſts. The Truth is, to bring this to paſs, we made it coſt the Nations whole Seas of Blood: Trade was deſtroyed, Maidens were raviſhed, Mothers had their Infants rip'd out of their Wombs, the Father ſtabbed his Son, and the Son his Father; and nothing was more common, than to ſee Brother drink his Brother's Blood to the Health of our Cauſe, when he called him an Enemy, and Traitor to his Country.

Pope. I laugh at all theſe Flouriſhes, they are but the common and uſual Effects of our Conſpiracies? Had but our late Plot ſucceeded in *England*, you would have ſeen them bravely acted, and repeated even to a Degree above Admiration; they would have ſurpaſſed your Envy, and even have cauſed, in you yourſelf, a Dread and Terror.

Oliver. But muſt you not confeſs, that your Inſtruments were but pitiful baſe Creatures, and aſhamed of their Taſk, ſince they denied it at their Executions? Whereas you ſee my Brood, in *Scotland*, not only begun bravely by their Rebellion, and Murthering the Arch-Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, but acknowledged the Fact at their Trials and Deaths; and not only maintained the Lawfulneſs of it, but alſo died Martyrs for the Doctrine of King-killing; whereas your Chicken-hearted Heroes were both aſhamed of what they would have done, and diſowned what the brave Doctors of your Church have taught.

Pope. Come, do not reproach us, they had been Fools if they had owned it; [illegible] we had taken Care to perſuade them they ſhould have been damned too; beſides, People's Opinion of an Action is generally regulated by its Succeſs, which we being diſappointed of, all our Intereſts and Reputation in the World would have been loſt and ruined had they not ſtifly denied it. Therefore, I ſay, do not reproach us; for can you or your Brood, as you call them, ever pretend to match our Treacheries, Treaſons, Plots, Conſpiracies, Maſſacres, &c. Do you think you ever can?

Oliver. Perhaps we may; but, of that, I will tell you more hereafter.

Scotland

Scotland Characteriſed: In a Letter written to a young Gentleman, to diſſuade him from an intended Journey thither.

Scotica ſi diris devotum, terra tuliſſet
Cainum; non alias Exul peragraverat Oras.
Ipſa ſuis contenta malis: Non indiga Peſtis
Externæ: Infenſi ſatiaſſe Numinis Iras.
Cleaveland Tranſlated.

By the Author of, *The Trip to* North-Wales. 1701. *Folio.* containing four Pages.

IT was not without the greateſt Surpriſe in the World, that I heard, from my Lady your Mother, your Intentions led you to our neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland*, to perfect and give the Grace-Stroke to that very liberal Education, you have ſo ſignally improved in *England*. I confeſs, it is very irkſome, to ſome Spirits, to be contradicted and thwarted in either their Expreſſions, or Deſigns; and they do, with ſuch an unperſuadible Obſtinacy, cheriſh their own Ideas, that you might as well expect Grapes from a Thiſtle, as to make them change their Party, though upon the moſt demonſtrative Arguments, that can be produced. But I hope better Things of you; and do not in the leaſt doubt, but you are ſo much Reaſon's humble Servant, that, if I convince you this Ramble of yours will neither be for your Credit, Pleaſure, nor Advantage (which I ſhall make the Topicks of my Diſcourſe) you will even ſtay where you are, and not hazard three Things ſo very precious to all rational Creatures; and, if you meet with any harſh, rugged Expreſſions in this Epiſtle, I hope you will do me the Juſtice to believe, that it was nothing, but a grateful Senſe of my own Obligations, and a hearty Deſire of your Welfare, that extorted them from me. And let ſo much ſuffice, by Way of Preface.

You are now advanced to thoſe Years, in which, if ever, Men begin to conſider and propoſe ſome End to themſelves in what they do. But, under Favour, if, by Going into *Scotland*, you imagine to improve your Intellect, you are as wide of your Purpoſe, as if you ſhould take *Weſt-Cheſter* in your Way from *London* to *Dover*; and, before I will believe, that ever any Man, that has lived a Gentleman, or Fellow-Commoner, in either of our two Univerſities, and a little taſted of the Education of an Inn of Court (as you have done) can ampliate his Underſtanding by grazing in the *Caledonian* Foreſt, I will ſubſcribe to the Calling in of the *Jews*, and the Pope's being turned Proteſtant.

I will not deny, but *Scotland* has formerly given very eminent Scholars to the World; nay, I will go further, there are no finer Gentlemen in the World, than that Nation can juſtly boaſt of; but then they are ſuch as have travelled, and are indebted to other Countries for thoſe Accompliſhments that render them ſo eſteemed, their own affording only Pedantry, Poverty, Brutality, and Hypocriſy.

To make this evident, give me Leave a little to purſue my propoſed Method: And here Pleaſure (which influences moſt People, Young eſpecially, that care not much to look forwards) leads the Van. Now, Sir, you would take him for a very unaccountable Man, that ſhould pretend to regale his Noſe with *Aſa Fœtida*, or, in the Heat of Summer, take Sanctuary in a Bagnio for Coldneſs; and yet you

you do the ſame Thing in Effect, when you make the Tour of *Scotland* for Diverſion.

For the Charms of Converſation (which, conſidering Man as a ſociable Creature, are moſt univerſally deſired) it may be preſumed, *Nebuchadnezzar*, when turned out a Graſing, had full as eligible Companions, as you are like to meet with; and you might, with as much Safety, enter into a League of Friendſhip with a Cannibal, who would upon the firſt Opportunity eat you up, as with a *Scotchman*; for what Sir *John Chardin* ſays of the *Mingrelians*, may be truly applied to them, That they are Perfidy itſelf. The moſt ſacred Ties, as Oaths, and the like, are ſnapped aſunder by them with as much Eaſe, as the new Cords were by *Sampſon*. And there is nothing amongſt them, to their very Kings (of which the laſt Age afforded us a very memorable Example) that is not vendible. Civility is not ſo much as known in the Idea amongſt that proverbially clowniſh People. The Conſcience of a *Cuſtom-houſe* Officer, the Integrity of a Knight of the Poſt, the Modeſty of a common Proſtitute, and the Courage of a Town-bully amount to full as much.

Their Women are, if poſſible, yet worſe than the Men, and carry no Temptations, but what have at Hand ſuitable Antidotes; and you muſt be qualified for the Embraces of a *Succubus*, before you can break the ſeventh, or one Article of the tenth Commandment here. The Skin of their Faces looks like Vellum; and a good Orientaliſt might eaſily ſpy out the *Arabick* Alphabet between their Eye-brows; their Legs reſemble Mill-poſts, both for Shape, Bigneſs, and Strength; their Hair is like that of an overgrown Hoſteſs; their Gait like a *Muſcovian* Duck's; and their Fingers ſtrut out with the Itch, like ſo many Country Juſtices going to keep a petty Seſſions: Their Voice is like Thunder, and will as effectually ſowre all the Milk in a Dairy, or Beer in a Cellar, as forty Drums beating a Preparative. It is a very common Thing for a Woman of Quality to ſay to her Footman, '*Andrew*, Take a 'faſt Gripe of my A——, and help me over 'the Stile.'

They pretend to be deſcended from one Madam *Scota*, Daughter to King *Pharaoh*; but the beſt Proof, they give of it, is their Bringing two of the Plagues of *Egypt* along with them, *viz.* Lice and the Itch; which they have intailed upon their Poſterity ever ſince.

Some are of Opinion, that, when the Devil ſhewed our Saviour the Kingdoms of the Earth, he laid his Thumb upon *Scotland*, and that for a twofold Reaſon: *Firſt*, Becauſe it was not like to be any Temptation. *Next*, Being Part of his Mother's Jointure, he could not diſpoſe of it during her Life.

For their Cookery and Bedding, they are the Antipodes of all cleanly Folks. Can you like to breakfaſt upon *Steen Bannock?* (An oaten Cake, often baked upon my Hoſteſs's warm Womb.) Or drink ropy Ale, that is full as palpable, as ever the *Egyptian* Darkneſs was? Would it pleaſe you to ſee a Joint of Meat ready to run away from you? And yet ſuch muſt be your Entertainment there.

In *Edinburgh*, the capital City, whither you are going, they have not a private *Forica*; but, as their Houſes, which are incredibly high, conſiſt of eight or ten diſtinct Families, each of which poſſeſſes an intire Floor, ſo, at every Stair's-head, you may ſee a great Tub, called a *Cogue*, that is the Receptacle-general of the Naſtineſs of a whole Family; for all diſembogue here promiſcuouſly, both Males and Females, Maſters and Miſtreſſes, with their Servants, without the leaſt Reſtraint of Modeſty or Shame. When this is competently full, two luſty Fellows, by the Help of a Cowl-ſtaff, carry it by Night to a Window, and, after Crying, 'Gude Peeple, leuk to yar 'ſelles there,' out they throw it; he, that comes by, has great Cauſe to bleſs his Stars, if he comes off with Piſs. It may be, at high Noon, and in the principal Street, you ſhall meet a tattered Wretch, with a monſtrous Cloke, and a Cloſe-ſtool under it, bawling out, 'Wha wants me?' For a Half-penny you may be accommodated, and covered, whilſt you are ſo.

Trees are great Rarities: This made Sir *Anthony Welldon*, who knew the Country very well, ſay, That, had Chriſt lived there, and been betrayed, as moſt certainly he would have been, if he had lived there, *Judas* might ſooner have found the Grace of Repentance, than a Tree to hang himſelf on. The High-Street in *Edinburgh*, about three Quarters of a Mile long, is very fit, by Reaſon of its Breadth, for a Triumph, from the *Caſtle* to *Holy-Rood Houſe*; but the reſt of the Lanes,

as they call them, are abſolute Common-Sewers, which makes the City look like a Comb.

No Wonder, then, if the *Scots*, who are not unfitly reſembled to a *Crepitus Ventris*, once *Anglified*, care not for Returning to their native Country; and yet, as the *French* Refugees take all Occaſions to extol their Monarch, his Armies, Palaces, *&c.* ſo theſe Gentlemen, though in *England*, cannot forbear to magnify their own *gude Land*. He is happy, that believes their Report, without Going thither to refute it.

If you call to have your Sheets aired, Forty to One, but the Wench, in great Civility, proffers to uncaſe, and come into Bed to you. I was much ſurpriſed at my Landlady's Aſking me one Night, If my Cods lay right? But I quickly cleared her from any ill Meaning, when I underſtood, it is their Name for the Pillows.

You ſhall commonly hear a beggarly *Scot*, whoſe every Meal is a Stratagem, here in *England*, tell you of his Felicities there, and how he uſed to walk about his Father's Perk, with a Lacquey at his Heels; but you muſt not immediately conceive too extraordinary an Opinion of his Grandeur; for, upon Inquiry how many Deer his Father had in his Perk, the Truth will out, though to ſhame both *Scot* and Devil, That his Father kept no Deer in his Perk, and that they call an Incloſure a *Perk*, in his Country. A *Scotch* Laird, having got booſy, and mounted upon a Mole-hill to ſurvey his large Demeans, aſked his Man, If he knew a greater Lord than himſelf? He was told, Yes, *viz.* the Lord *Jehovah*. Says he, 'Iſe neer heard of that Lord, but get ye to 'him, and will him immediately to ſurrender 'all to me, or Iſe pull him out by the Lugs.' The Servant, to honour his Maſter's Pride, ſeems to do ſo, and, upon his Return, tells him he need not uſe ſuch violent Methods, it was but aſk, and he might have his Kingdom. 'Well, replies my Gentleman, ſince he be 'ſo civil, Deil take me, if ever I, or any of 'mine, ſet our Foot where he's got to do.

But, Sir, if you have the leaſt Regard to your own, or your Country's Reputation, you will never go thither to feed upon Husks with Swine, eſpecially ſince you may have Bread enough, and that of the fineſt Sort, in our own Univerſities. In a Word, a *Padua* Phyſician, a *Salamanca* Doctor of Divinity, and a *Scotch* Maſter of Arts, are three Animals ſunk below Contempt, and not to be paralleled in the Univerſe.

In the laſt Place, for any Advantage you are like to get, I dare be bold to ſay, you might hope for as much in one of thoſe *Lithuanian* Academies Dr. *Crull* ſpeaks of, that are erected for the Education of Bears and other wild Beaſts.

Their Colleges are neither, for Learning, Libraries, learned Men, Revenues, or Structure, any more to be compared to ours, than a Dancing-maſter's Kit to a Baſs-Viol, or a *Welch* Vicarage to St. *Paul*'s Cathedral.

None but the Principal and Profeſſors lodge within the Walls at *Edinburgh*, to which you are going (I meddle not with St. *Andrew*'s, *Glaſcow*, or *Aberdeen*, becauſe I never ſaw them, and hardly know how to believe the Relations of thoſe that have) ſo that you muſt unavoidably take up in the Town with ſome *fauce Loon*, who will ſtick to you as cloſe as the Ivy does to the Oak, and for the ſame Reaſon too, to draw away your Sap from you. The Scholars go like Sword-men, and never can be called the *Gens Togata*, till they are laureated, *i. e.* take their Degrees of Maſters of Arts, which is conſtantly done at four Years Standing, and not unfrequently, eſpecially if there be Money in the Caſe, ſooner; then they oblige you with a moſt ample *Diploma*, written in an effeminate Sort of *Latin*, and as fulſome as a Mountebank's Panegyrick on his own Balſom, or Wonder-working *Panacea*: The Scope of it is to ſatisfy your Friends, to whom returning, that you have ſpent much Money, travelled many Miles, endured great Hardſhips, and taken extraordinary Pains, to very little Purpoſe.

This College is divided into five diſtinct Claſſes: Each of theſe has a ſeveral Regent, who, from Nine till Twelve in the Morning, and from Two till Five in the Afternoon, ſhall entertain you with a Lecture as jejune as a Homily, but as terrible for Length, as an old Parliament Faſt; and they, you know, were reckoned dreadful enough. The only Degree, they confer, is that of Maſter of Arts; Dr. *Rule*, the preſent Principal, is Doctor of Medicine, though a Divine. They have two pretty tolerable Philoſophers, one an *Ariſtotelian*, the other a Diſciple of *Cartes*; but not a good Mathematician, or found *Grecian*, in their whole College: For their Divinity, it

is ſo ſo. They are intirely of the Preſbyterian Cut, and made more Haſte to throw out Biſhops, than the *Iſraelites* did of old to expel the *Canaanites*. Theft, as being one of their Liberal Sciences, is rather cheriſhed than puniſhed: But Adulterers and Fornicators are miſerably perſecuted by them. If they detect a Lady of Pleaſure, they oblige her, publickly, in the Time of Divine Worſhip, to mount a Theatre of Ignominy, called, forſooth, the Stool of Repentance, to the End all the geude Brethren may know where to have a Whore. They are profeſſed Foes to all Copy-hold Tenures in Divinity, and will much rather preach Extempore Nonſenſe, than uſe Notes. In the Time of King *James* I, ſoon after his Coming into *England*, one of his own Country thus accoſted him, 'Sir, ſays he, I am ſorry to ſee 'your Majeſty ſo dealt with by your Prelatical Tantivies, as you are: Alas! they can 'neither preach, nor pray, but by a Beuk; if 'your Majeſty will pleaſe to hear me, Iſe doe 'bath without.' And ſo he did, till the King told him, 'He preached and prayed, as if he 'had never leuked in a Beuk in his whole 'Life.'

In the College Library, they keep *Buchanan*'s Scull; however the Lining be wanting, which had, methought, a pretty Diſtich upon it: The firſt Line I have forgot, but the ſecond was thus:

Et Decus es tumulo jam, Buchanane, tuo.

But I muſt correct myſelf. I intended only a Letter, but have inſenſibly ſwelled it to the Dimenſions of a Treatiſe. I will conclude my Obſervations of the Country with one ſhort, and true, Story. The famous Duke of *Lauderdale*, when firſt Miniſter of State, was invited to Dinner by the then Lord Chancellor, and as ſplendidly entertained as the Poverty of the Country would permit: At Taking Leave, ſays he, 'My Lord, Iſe con you 'mickle Thanks for your generous and noble 'Treat, which puts me in Mind of one Pro-'verb we have in Uſe amongſt us, *viz.* That 'Feuls make Feaſts, and wiſe Men eat them.' The other, loth to be out-done in Point of Civility, replied, 'Ye ſay vary right, my 'Lord; and it is as true, That wiſe Men 'make Proverbs, and Feuls repeat them.' Well, leſt I ſhould ſurfeit you with my rugged Proſe, I will, for once and away, try to fall into the Amble of Rhyme Doggrel:

AND what, dear Sir, then is it *quid reale*,
That you deſign an *Iter Boreale?*
Are you ſo much a Stoick, that this Hotland
You fear not to exchange for gelid *Scotland?*
Where, when you riſe 'ith Morning, e're a Dozen
Can well be told, your Fingers-ends are frozen.
Debate's the only Fuel of that Nation;
And you'll be hot alone in Diſputation.
Here you may warm your Inſide with a Bottle,
But there muſt try to do't with *Ariſtotle.*
Good Food's a Thing ſo ſcarce too, that I'll tell 'ye,
Philoſophy alone muſt fill your Belly.
Inſtead of having that with Dainties cram'd,
You muſt take up with *Cartes* and *Le Grand.*
And, if you'd keep your Purſe-ſtrings quiet,
Live merrily on a Chamelious Diet.
Next: For its Dreſſing 'tis aſſuredly
A perfect Antidote 'gainſt Gluttony:
For he, that on their Carbonado's looks,
Muſt needs ſay, God ſends Meat, the Devil Cooks.
Be therefore rul'd for once, abſtain from it,
Unleſs you mean to take a Northern Vomit:
To be a Brute's the only Thing in Faſhion;
And Naſtineſs the Genius of that Nation.
The Things, that are abominated there,
Are clean Shirts, Swines-Fleſh, and the Common-Prayer.
But ſtay — What's your Pretence? Come let me know,
Is't to refine your Intellect you go?
Sir, you affront your *Engliſh* Education,
To borrow Learning from its Neighbour Nation.
Whate'er there have been, I'm afraid you'll light on,
But few ſuch Men as *Buchanan* and *Creighton.*
They're all apoſtatiz'd to arrant Sots,
Bæotum Terra is the Land of *Scots.*
In ſhort, if naught's ſufficient to diſſuade you,
Wou'd all the dreadful Plagues of *Scotland* had you.
Hunger, Slovenlineſs, and Troops of Vermin,
Companions of *Scotch* Gentry and *Engliſh.*
Carmen:
All theſe you are ſure to meet, with many more,
More grievous than thoſe mentioned before.
Your Voyage all your cordial Friends lament,
Where you'll be under Rule, not Government.
But he eſpecially, who proteſts he's fervent,
When he ſubſcribes himſelf your humble Servant.

E. B.

A Warn-

A Warning for *England*, especially for *London*; in the famous History of the frantick Anabaptists, their wild Preachings and Practices in *Germany*. Printed in the Year 1642. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

ABOUT the Year of our Lord 1525, all *Germany* was put into an Uproar and Confusion, by the seditious Preaching of some turbulent Ministers. The Ringleader among them was one *Thomas Muncer*, who pretending a wonderful and more than ordinary Zeal, having with great Passion preached against the Popish Errors, at length began to preach against *Luther*, terming him as too cold, and his Sermons as not savouring enough of the Spirit; with great Earnestness he pressed the Exercises of Mortification, and exhorted to a more frequent and familiar Conversation with God; he pretended to some divine Revelations, that God by Dreams and Visions did reveal unto his Saints his Will. By these Discourses, he won a great Opinion and Reputation with the People, who daily flocked after him and admired him as a Man divinely inspired: At length he began more plainly to publish his Design, and told his Followers, that he had received a Command from God to kill and root up all wicked Princes and Magistrates, and to chuse better in their Places.

Frederick Elector of *Saxony*, hearing of these his seditious Sermons, banished him out of his Country; from thence he went first to *Narenburg*, then to *Mulhuse*; every where poisoning the People with his seditious Doctrine; because the Senators of *Mulhuse*, and the better Sort, disliked him, he wrought so effectually with the base People, that, rising in a Tumult, they turned out their chief Magistrates, and created others. So that now *Muncer* was not only a Preacher, but a Senator; whatsoever he commanded, was done, his Pleasure was a Law, and his Direction in all Things, as he said, a divine Revelation. He taught a Community of all Goods to be most agreeable to Nature, and that all Freemen ought to be equal in Dignity and Condition. By this Means he gathered great Companies of mean People, who, leaving their Labours, thought fit and just to take Part with others of better Wealth and Store.

In *Swevia* and *Franconia*, near Forty-thousand Peasants took Arms upon this Occasion; who robbed a great Part of the Nobility, and plundered many Towns and Castles, *Muncer*, being their chief Captain. He had a Companion, a bold Fellow, one *Phifer* who talked much of his Dreams and nightly Apparitions; especially of one Dream, wherein, he said, he saw in a Barn an infinite Company of Rats and Mice, all which he had chaced away and destroyed: This Dream he expounded to be a Commandment sent him from God, that by Force and Violence he should destroy all the Nobility. And *Muncer*, to the same Purpose, moved the Boors throughout *Franconia* and *Thuringia* to undertake this holy War, as he called it, against their Princes. *Phifer*, with some of his Troops going out into the Neighbour-Country, wastes and destroys Noblemen's Houses, chaceth away the most, taketh some, and bringeth them Captives. This good Success gave great Courage to the Party. *Muncer* wins his Forces with the rest of *Phifers*.

In the mean While, *Albert* Count of *Mansfield*, setting upon them with some Troopers, kills about Two-hundred. The Seditious, discouraged with this Loss, retire a while and keep in. This gave Leisure and Time to the neighbouring Princes, *John* Duke of *Saxony* and his Cousin *George*, *Philip* Landgrave of *Hesse*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, to collect some Forces against them, about One-thousand five hundred Horse and some Companies of Foot. The Rebels sat down on the Side of a Mount where they had some Advantage of the Place, but they were not well armed, and most of them ignorant in War. The Princes therefore out of Pity advised them to lay down their Arms, and

and offered them Pardon, if they would deliver up the Authors of the Sedition. *Muncer*, finding himſelf in ſome Danger, encourageth them with a long and earneſt Exhortation; pretends, 'That this great Action was undertaken by Command from Heaven, that God 'would undoubtedly aſſiſt them againſt the Tyrants; that he had promiſed in many Places of Scripture to aſſiſt the Oppreſſed againſt 'their wicked Governors; that thoſe Tyrants, ſo he called the Princes, followed 'only their Eaſe and Pleaſures; neglected Juſtice; pillaged their Subjects with intolerable 'Exactions; had no Care to reform the Corruptions of the Church; ſpent all their Life 'in Pride and Luxury: That therefore, without Doubt, the Time was now come, when 'God would take Vengeance upon thoſe *Canaanites*, and reſtore to his own good People 'the Liberties of their Goods, their Lives, and 'Conſciences: That, as God had aſſiſted *Gideon*, and *David*, and the *Iſraelites*, and gave 'them Victories by Miracles, ſo they ſhould 'now find his Power and Love no leſs in their 'Deliverance; and, for a Token of his eſpecial 'Favour, mark, ſaid he, yonder Rainbow in 'the Clouds, which, being repreſented in our 'own Colours, God hereby giveth us an evident Teſtimony that he is preſent with us in 'this Battle, and will root out our Enemies.'

Some few of the more deſperate were animated with this Oration, and eſpecially with the Rainbow; but the moſt of them apprehended the inſtant Danger, and the rather, becauſe in their Army all was carried tumultuouſly without any Rule or Order. *Muncer*, againſt the Law of Arms and of Nations, had killed a noble young Gentleman who was ſent to parly with them. The Princes being the more provoked with this Cruelty prepared for the Onſet. *Philip* the young Prince of *Heſſe* ſpoke to the Soldiers to this Purpoſe: 'That he could not 'excuſe himſelf and ſome other Princes from 'ſome Errrors, but this could not excuſe the 'Rebels for their Sedition; that God every 'where expreſly chargeth all People every where 'to honour and obey their Magiſtrates: That 'of Neceſſity People muſt contribute of their 'Goods to the Honour and Support of their 'Princes: That Princes on the other Side did 'protect them by their Power and Laws. That, 'whereas the Rebels called for the Liberty of 'their Conſciences, and of the Goſpel, though 'Princes ſhould deny it, yet that were no juſt 'Cauſe of Rebellion; that the Goſpel was propagated through the World, not by Force 'and Violence, but by Patience and Sufferance 'of the firſt Chriſtians: That yet their Clamours herein were cauſeleſs, and their Pretences unjuſt, ſeeing the moſt Princes of *Germany* had then given Way to the Reformation. That theſe Rebels did but cover with 'the Name of the Goſpel their own impious 'and bloody Deſigns: That their true Aim 'was, to take away all Government, to bring 'in Confuſion into the State, Atheiſm and 'Barbariſm into the Church; that therefore 'their Hypocriſy was ſo much the more damnable to pretend the Name of God and of 'Religion to their intended Confuſion; and 'more to this Purpoſe.'

At the firſt Onſet the Rebels were quickly and eaſily put into Diſorder, and above Five-thouſand ſlain upon the Place, and Three-hundred more taken in a Town hard by; *Muncer* himſelf, hiding his Head in a Village, was apprehended, and brought to the Duke of *Saxony* and the Landgrave: Being aſked by them why he had thus abuſed the miſerable Peaſants, and raiſed theſe Tumults; his Anſwer was, he had done but his Duty, and that ſuch Princes as hindered the Reformation of the Church ought to be ſo oppoſed. The Landgrave, on the contrary, proved unto him by Teſtimony of Scripture, that Governors ought to be had in Honour; that all Sedition is forbidden by God, and that, by the Laws of the Goſpel, no Chriſtian may take Arms againſt their lawful Prince upon any Pretext whatſoever. To this when he replied nothing, he was brought to the Rack to know what his Purpoſes were, and who were the principal Contrivers of this Conſpiracy. His Fellow *Phifer* was taken and beheaded in *Mulhuſe*; *Muncer* himſelf being brought upon the Stage was extremely confounded and dejected, and not able to give any tolerable Account of his Faith, yet in general Terms confeſſed his Fault and his Error, and his Head, being cut off, was carried upon a Spear through the Army.

This *Muncer* was the firſt Author of the much famed Sect of the Anabaptiſts, ſo called from their Doctrine and Practice of Rebaptiſing; for they forbid Children to be baptiſed: And, if they have been, rebaptiſe them: They carried at firſt a great Shew of Sanctity; they talked, that it was not lawful for Chriſtians to contend in Law upon any Occaſions;

nor

nor to bear Magiſtracy, nor to ſwear, nor to have any thing proper; but that all Things ought to be common amongſt all Men.

Theſe were at firſt their Diſcourſes, but by Degrees they fell to publiſh other more pernicious Doctrines. When this Sect began firſt to creep in *Germany*, *Luther* and all other learned Divines mightily oppoſed them, and Magiſtrates every where puniſhed them, yet ſecretly they increaſed and raiſed many dangerous Tumults. But eſpecially in *Munſter* the prime City of *Weſtphalia*: Where they acted a mad and moſt memorable Tragedy.

In that City one *Bernard Rotman*, a Miniſter, by his Pains and Preaching, had there reformed the Church, and caſt out the Popiſh Biſhop and his Clergy. About the Year of our Lord 1533, *John of Leyden*, a Taylor by his Trade, an *Hollander*, and an earneſt Anabaptiſt, came to live in the City of *Munſter*. This Fellow privately inſinuated the Doctrine of Rebaptiſation, much contemning the contrary Opinion; *Rotman* in the Beginning vehemently preached againſt him, and his phantaſtical Opinions, as pernicious both to the State, and to Religion. Yet *Leyden* prevailed much with the baſe People, and infected great Numbers, who had their ſecret Meetings in Corners and Conventicles moſt uſually in the Night, admitting none but ſuch as were addicted to their Opinions: And within a While *Rotman* himſelf began to incline towards them, and to condemn the Baptiſm of Children as impious and heretical; inſomuch that the Number of Anabaptiſts was daily increaſed: And the Landgrave of *Heſſe* intreated by the Senators of the City to ſend ſome Preachers of Learning to confute them, and contain the People in Order and Obedience.

Accordingly he ſent unto them *Fabritius*, a Meſſenger, and others, who were provoked by the Anabaptiſts to a Diſputation which was admitted by them, and by the Senators. But the Sectaries, afterwards better conſidering their own Ignorance and Weakneſs, to which they were conſcious, and truſting to their Multitudes, refuſed to diſpute, and took another Courſe. One of them runs up and down the City as if poſſeſſed by the Spirit, and cries, 'Repent and be rebaptiſed, leſt the Wrath 'of God overwhelm you.' Divers others cried out in the ſame Manner.

Some ſimple Men obeyed for Fear, being terrified with their Clamours, and ſome of the richer Sort to ſave their Fortunes; for the Anabaptiſts began to rob all their Adverſaries, and gathered together into great Troops; they poſſeſſed themſelves of the Arms and ſtrongeſt Parts of the City, and made Proclamations, that all who were not rebaptiſed were to be accounted Pagans and Infidels, and to be killed. *Rotman* and *Bernard Knipperdoling*, his Companion, ſend Letters to all the neighbouring Villages, inviting all of their Faction forthwith to come to *Munſter*, and promiſe liberal Satisfaction for their Eſtates and Goods that they were to leave.

Hereupon Multitudes of Men and Women, eſpecially of the baſe beggarly Sort, make Haſte to *Munſter*. The Citizens of the better Sort, ſeeing the Town filled with Strangers, forthwith ſecretly convey away themſelves and their Families, and leave there the Anabaptiſts, who, now perceiving their own Strength, and the Weakneſs of the other Party, firſt chuſe new Senators, all of their own Faction, then create Conſuls, and make *Knipperdoling* the Chief. They quickly afterwards burn the Suburbs, and ſpoil all Churches; ſtraightway they run, by Troops, through all the Streets, crying, Repent; and ſoon after, Get ye hence all ye Wicked, if you mean to ſave your Lives. They run armed up and down, and chace out of the Town all that did not favour the Sect, without Reſpect of Age or Sex, ſo that many Women with Child miſcarried by their Violence; then they ſeize upon the Goods of all thoſe that are caſt out. The Biſhop of *Munſter*, whom they had forced out, was Lord of the City, and, to recover his Right, had now beſieged it with ſtrong Forces; ſo that the miſerable People, that were turned out by the Anabaptiſts, were rifled, and many killed by the Biſhop's Soldiers. The Fear thereof conſtrained many honeſt Men, which abhorred the Anabaptiſts, to ſtay in the City againſt their Will.

The chief Prophet among them, as they called him, was *John Matthew*; he ſends forth his Proclamations through the City, commanding every Man, upon Pain of Death, to bring forth their Gold and Silver, and all their Goods, unto a publick Place appointed for the Purpoſe: The People, aſtoniſhed with the Severity of this Edict, were fain to obey it; if any Man detained aught of his own Goods, they were diſcovered by certain Women that pretended to be Propheteſſes. Soon after

after, the ſame Prophet commands, that no Man keep any Books in his Cuſtody, but only the Holy Bible; that all other Books muſt be brought forth and burned; for this, he ſaid, he had Direction from Heaven; and accordingly all other Books in great Numbers were flung into the Fire.

It happened about that Time, that one *Hubart Frutaling*, a Smith, a witty Fellow, had jeſted ſomewhat ſharply upon their Prophets, whereupon they call the Multitude, and command them to come armed; they arraign the poor Smith, and condemn him to die for his Saucineſs; which Proceedings ſtruck great Terror in the People. *Matthew*, the chief Prophet, doth Execution upon the Wretch, firſt wounds him with a Spear, then ſhoots him through with a Piſtol.

The ſame Prophet, taking his long Pike, running in great Haſte to the Gates of the City, cries, That God the Father had ſent him a Commandment to raiſe the Siege, and to beat away the Enemy; when he came near the Soldiers, he was by one of them diſpatched, and run through. Though by this Event he was proved to be a falſe Prophet, yet his Friends and Fellows, the other Prophets, did ſo excuſe and palliate the Buſineſs unto the Vulgar, that they much lamented his Death, and thought it a great Calamity to have loſt ſo brave a Man. His Fellow, *John* of *Leyden*, deſires the People to be comforted, for it was long before revealed unto him, that *Matthew* was to die in that Manner, and that, after his Death, himſelf was to marry his Wife.

Within a While they run to the Churches, and ring out at once all the Bells; that done, *Knipperdoling* begins to propheſy, and he foretells, That ſome in high Places muſt be thrown down, others of mean Condition raiſed up to great Authority. Then he commands all Churches to be defaced, affirming that this Commandment came from God; and accordingly the Commandment was executed few Days after. *John* of *Leyden* delivers the Sword to *Knipperdoling*, and appoints him to be the publick Executioner, for ſo God had commanded, that he who was, but now, the higheſt Magiſtrate, ſhould take upon him the meaneſt Office, and be the Hangman; he undertook the Office with great Thanks and Good-will.

The Biſhop alone, at his own Charge, had, for ſome Months, continued the Siege; afterwards divers of the neighbouring Princes ſent in Monies and Men to aſſiſt for him; he had made many Aſſaults, thinking to enter the City by Force, but being repulſed, ſeeing no Hopes, but only to conquer them by Famine, he reſolved upon that Courſe, and ſhut up all the Paſſages.

In the mean While *John* of *Leyden* betakes him to his Sleep, and continues in a Dream three Days together; being awaked, he ſpeaks not a Word, but calls for Paper; in it he writes the Names of twelve Men, who were to be chief Officers over God's *Iſrael*, and to govern all Things, for ſuch, he ſaid, was the Will of the heavenly Father, when he had thus prepared the Way to his Kingdom. He propounds certain Doctrines unto the Miniſters, and requires them to confute them by Teſtimonies of Scripture, if they were able; if not, he would relate them unto the People, and enact them for Laws. The Doctrines were theſe, That no Man was bound to one only Wife, and that every Man may take as many as he pleaſeth. When the Preachers diſliked the Doctrines, he calls his twelve Rulers, and a general Aſſembly of the People. In the Preſence of all he caſts his Cloke upon the Ground, and upon it the Book of the New Teſtament; by theſe Signs he ſwears, That the Doctrine which he had publiſhed was revealed unto him from Heaven, and therefore he gravely threatens the Miniſters, That God would be highly diſpleaſed with them, if they conſented not to it. It was in vain for them to reſiſt, and therefore they yielded, and, for three Days together, diſcourſe unto the People of the Lawfulneſs of Polygamy; the Iſſue was, that *Leyden* firſt takes three Wives, whereof one had been the Wife of *John Matthew*, the great Prophet; many other follow his Example, ſo that at length he was thought moſt Praiſeworthy that had moſt Wives.

Many Citizens of good Senſe, and good Proteſtants, were extremely diſpleaſed with theſe mad Doings; arming as many as they could, they meet together in the Market-place, and lay Hold upon the Prophet *Knipperdoling*, and their Teachers; which the baſe People hearing, they gather in Multitudes, aſſault them with great Fury, take away their Captives, and kill to the Number of Fifty, with extreme Cruelty; for, binding them to Stakes and Trees, they ſhot them to Death, the great Prophet ſtanding by, and commending

ing this Execution, as a Thing well pleaſing to God; others alſo were killed in another Manner.

After ſome Weeks, there ariſeth a new Prophet, a Goldſmith; he calls the Multitude into the Market-Place, and declares, The Will and Commandment of the heavenly Father to be, that *John* of *Leyden* muſt have the Government of all the World; that, with mighty Forces, he was to go out to deſtroy all Kings and Princes without Difference, ſparing only the poor People who love Righteouſneſs; that he was to poſſeſs the Throne of his Father *David*, until he ſhould yield up the Kingdom to his heavenly Father; that all the Wicked muſt be deſtroyed, to the End, that the Godly alone may rule and reign in this World. When the Goldſmith had ſaid thus much, *John* of *Leyden* falls down upon his Knees, and, holding up his Hands to Heaven, Men and Brethren, ſaid he, this very Thing was revealed to me many Days go, though I did not publiſh it; but now it hath pleaſed the Father to make it known unto you by this Prophet.

John, being thus advanced to be a King, inſtantly puts his twelve Men out of Office, and provides himſelf, after the Faſhion of Kings, Nobles to wait upon him, two Crowns, a Sword, and Scepter of State, and other ſuch like Enſigns of Majeſty, all of the pureſt Gold. Then he appoints certain Days, when he would publickly receive all Complaints, and hear all Petitions. So often as he went Abroad, he was attended with his great Officers; immediately after him followed two Pages on Horſeback, one carrying a Crown and the Bible, the other a naked Sword; his chief Wife was waited on with the ſame Pomp. In the Market-Place his Chair of State was placed on high, covered with Cloth of Gold. The Suits and Complaints that were brought unto him, moſt of them were about Marriages and Divorces, which were much in Uſe, ſo as ſome Couples, that had many Years lived together, were then parted.

Now, whilſt the People were thus ſtanding thick together, hearkening unto their new Prince, *Knipperdoling* ſuddenly leaps up, and creeps with his Hands and Feet upon the Heads of the crowded Multitude, and breathing into their Mouths, The Father, ſaith he, ſanctifies thee, receive the holy Spirit: Another Day dancing before the King, Thus, ſaith he, I was wont to do with my Sweetheart, but now the Father commands me to dance before the King; but, when he would not give over, the King, being offended, went his Way; thereupon he ſits down in the Chair of State, and behaved himſelf as if he were King, till the King returning turned him out, and ſent him to Priſon for three Days.

Whilſt the City was beſieged, they publiſhed a Book called the *Reſtitution*; in this Book, among other Things, they affirmed, That Chriſt ſhall have a Kingdom here upon Earth before the Day of Judgment, wherein only the Godly and the Elect ſhall reign, the Wicked being every where deſtroyed; that it is lawful for the People to caſt off their Governors; and that, although the Apoſtles had no ſecular Juriſdiction, yet the Miniſters of their Church had Power from God to uſe the Civil Sword, and, by Force, to ſet up a new Commonwealth. Farther, That no Man who is not a good Chriſtian is to be tolerated in the Church, and that no Man can be ſaved that challengeth any Propriety in his Goods; that *Luther* and the Pope were two falſe Prophets, and, of the two, *Luther* the worſe; and that the Marriages of profane Men ought to be accounted no better than Whoredom and Adultery. Theſe Dreams and Dotages were confuted by many learned Men, *Melanchthon*, *Juſtus Menius*, and *Urbanus Regius*, whoſe Writings are extant.

Some Weeks after this, the new Prophet, of whom we ſpoke, ſummons all by Sound of Trumpet, To repair, with their Arms, to the chief Churchyard; for the Enemy, as he ſaid, was to be repulſed from the City: Thither when they came, they found a Supper ready; they ſat down at the firſt near Four-thouſand, and after them One-thouſand more that had kept the Watch; the King and Queen, with their Servants, waited; when Supper was near done, the King reached Bread to every one, with theſe Words, Take, eat, declare the Death of the Lord: The Queen alſo reacheth the Cup, ſaying, Drink, and declare the Death of the Lord.

This done, the Prophet, ſtanding aloft, demandeth of them, If they would obey the Word? They affirmed, They would. Then, ſaith he, the Father hath commanded, that we ſend forth twenty-eight Teachers into the four Quarters of the World, to publiſh the holy Doctrine that is profeſſed in this City. Then he names all the Apoſtles, and ſhews which Way they are to go; ſix are ſent to *Oſnaburgh*,

ſo many to *Warendorf*, eight to *Suſat*, eight more to *Cosfield*. With theſe Apoſtles, and the other Servants, the King and Queen ſit down to Supper: In Supper-time, the King, ſuddenly ariſing, ſaith, He muſt go about a Buſineſs which the Father had commanded. A certain Soldier by Chance had been taken Priſoner, him the King ſaid to be another *Judas* the Traitor, and, with his own Hand, ſtriketh off his Head; he after returns to Supper, and reports merrily what he had done. Supper being ended, the Twenty-eight aforeſaid are ſent Abroad their ſeveral Ways, each one carrying with him a ſmall Piece of Gold, which they were to leave at ſuch Places, as did not admit them, and their wholeſome Doctrine, as a Witneſs againſt them at the Day of Judgment. Theſe Apoſtles in the Towns, as they paſſed, cried out aloud, That Men ſhould repent, otherwiſe they ſhould ſhortly periſh; that they were ſent by the Father to offer them Peace, which, if they refuſed, that Gold ſhould teſtify againſt them their Ingratitude; that the Time was come which all the Prophets had foretold, wherein God would propagate Holineſs throughout all the World; and when their King had done his Office, and brought this to paſs, then was Chriſt to deliver up his Kingdom to God his Father.

Being apprehended and examined, firſt in a friendly Manner, then by the Rack, concerning their Life and Doctrine, their Anſwer was, That themſelves only were of the true Religion; that, from the Apoſtles Time to this Age, the Word of God had never been truly preached, nor Righteouſneſs practiſed; that there are four Prophets, and of them two juſt, *David* and *John* of *Leyden*; and two unjuſt, the Pope and *Luther*. Being interrogated, Why they had turned ſo many innocent People out of their City, and out of their Eſtates, and by what Place of Scripture they could prove this to be Juſtice? They anſwered, That the Time was come which Chriſt had promiſed, that the Meek ſhould poſſeſs the Earth. They confeſſed farther, That moſt of their Company had above five Wives; that they expected ſome Help from *Holland* and *Frieſland*; when they were come, that their King was to go out with all his Army to ſubue the World, and to deſtroy all other Princes for Want of Juſtice. Notwithſtanding their Torments, when they obſtinately perſiſted, and would not acknowledge any Magiſtrate beſides their own King, they were beheaded.

The City was now in extreme Diſtreſs, and therefore the Citizens ſecretly conſpired to take the new King, and deliver him Priſoner to the Biſhop. He being aware of it, for his own Security, chuſeth twelve truſty Men which he called Captains, appointing to each other Soldiers to aſſiſt him, to keep the People in Awe; to them he promiſeth large Rewards, whole Provinces, Towns, and Forts; then calls the Multitude, and promiſeth them, that, before *Eaſter* then following, without Fail, they ſhould be freed from the Siege and Famine.

About the Month of *December*, divers Princes of the Empire, in a Meeting at *Confluence*, after Deliberation, agreed to aſſiſt the Biſhop with three-hundred Horſe, and three-thouſand Foot, for ſix Months, under the Conduct of *Utrich*, Earl of *Oberſtein*. They agreed alſo to ſollicit King *Ferdinand*, the Emperor then in *Spain*, and all the other Princes of *Germany* to join with them.

They ſent alſo their Letters to *Munſter*, and gravely adviſed the Beſieged to deſiſt from their ungodly and rebellious Courſes; profeſſing, if they yielded not, That the Biſhop ſhould have the Forces of the Empire to do Juſtice upon them. This was about the End of *December*. In the Beginning of *January*, they ſent an Anſwer in many Words, but little to the Purpoſe, yet ſo as they commended all their Doings. To that Charge laid againſt them of Creating a new King, they ſaid Nothing in that Reply. But, in other private Letters to the Landgrave, they endeavoured to excuſe it, ſpeaking much of the general Deſtruction of the Wicked, and of the glorious Reign of the Godly in this Life. Withal, they ſent to him the Book formerly mentioned, of the *Reſtitution*, and counſel him to repent by Times, and not combine with other Princes againſt them, being the holy Saints of God. The Landgrave, having read their Letter and their Book, returns them an Anſwer; and, becauſe they pretended their new King to be made by eſpecial Direction from God, he deſires to know, By what Authority of Scriptures they aſſumed that Power, and by what Miracles they confirmed it? And, whereas they called for a fair Trial of their Cauſe, the Landgrave replied, It was now too late; ſince they had already ſeized on the Civil Power, and been Authors of ſo much Sedition and Calamity,

ty, it did appear to all the World, that they intended Nothing else, but the Ruin of all Order and Government both in Church and State; that he had sent unto them many learned and godly Ministers to instruct them in sound Religion, whom they had scorned and rejected; that their Doctrines and Practices of Rebelling against their Magistrates, of Robbing Men of their Goods, of Polygamy, of Setting up a King of their own, of a Community of all Things amongst Christians, and the like, are unchristian and abominable, contrary to all Laws of God and Men.

Upon this Reply from the Landgrave, they write back again, and send him another Book in the *Dutch* Tongue, intitled, *Of the Mysteries of Scripture*. In their Letters, they defend all their Tenents; and in their Book divide the Ages of the World, into three Parts: The first from *Adam*, to *Noah*, which perished by Water: The Second, this wherein we live, which is to perish by Fire: The Last shall be the new World, wherein Righteousness shall reign. That, before this present World be purged with Fire, Antichrist must be revealed, and his Power abolished. That then the Throne of *David* shall be erected, and Christ obtain a glorious Kingdom upon Earth, in his Saints, as the Prophets have foretold. That this Age is like that of *Esau*, the Wicked prospering, and the Godly being afflicted; but that their Miseries were now near an End, and the Time of their Freedom and Restitution approached, when the Wicked should be repaid Fourfold, for all their Persecutions, as was propheſied by *John*, in his Revelation.

That, immediately after the Restitution, the new and golden Age should follow, wherein the righteous Saints should reign alone, all the Wicked being utterly destroyed. These Dreams were confuted by some learned Divines appointed by the Landgrave. About *February*, the Besieged began to be in great Distress, for Want of Victuals; when many of the poor People perished by Famine, one of the Queens chanced to say privately to another, That she did not think it pleasing to God, that the miserable Wretches should perish in that Manner. The King, who had his own Store-houses well furnished, not only for Necessity, but even for Luxury and Abundance, hearing of her Speeches, brings her into the open Market-place, with her Fellows, and, commanding her to kneel down, strikes off her Head, and, when she was dead, brands her with Lightness, and Playing the Whore. This done, the other Queens applaud his Doings, and give Thanks to the heavenly Father. The King begins to dance, and invites the People, who fed upon Nothing but Bread and Salt, to Dancing and Merriment.

When *Easter* was come, at which Time the King had, with great Confidence, assured the People, they should be freed, but no Shew of Freedom appeared; to find an Excuse, he feigns himself sick, and keeps in for six Days: Then comes out into the Assembly, tells them, He had, in a Vision, been set upon a blind Ass; and that the heavenly Father had laid upon him the Sins of all the Multitude, and therefore, now, they were almost pure and clean purged from all Iniquities. That this was the Freedom he had promised unto them, and, with this, they ought to be contented.

Luther, hearing of the wild Pranks of these mad Men of *Munster*, about this Time, published a Discourse, concerning the Anabaptists, in the vulgar Tongue; he said, it was very plain to all the World, that *Munster* was become the Harbour and Habitation of Devils; for so the Justice of God had punished the Sins of *Germany*, and especially their loose and prophane Life, that professed the Gospel. That yet, in this very Tragedy of *Munster*, the marvellous Mercy of God evidently appeared, in that he had not permitted that old subtle Serpent, the witty and cunning Satan, to contrive and govern that Business; but only had given Way to some silly, dull, and blockish Devil, who seemed not well skilled in Villainy, to be their Guide and Conductor. That the Grossness and Stupidity of all their Doctrines and Doings made Faith of the Dullness of that lewd Spirit, which moved them. That their Polygamies, their Seditions, and Rebellions might trouble the State, but could not hinder or do Prejudice to the Church, or Gospel of Christ, to which they are so palpably contrary.

That no Man of Sense, or in his right Wits, could be perverted by such Means, or induced to favour such lewd People, or their Practices. He further added a particular Confutation of their principal Errors.

In the Month of *April*, King *Ferdinand*, at the Request of the Princes, held a Diet of the Empire at *Worms*, where, after some Debate, it was agreed, that twenty-thousand Crowns,

by the Month, ſhould be levied for the Taking in of the City, and the Chaſtiſement of the Rebels; and withal, that, when it was taken, the innocent poor People, who had been abuſed, ſhould be uſed with Mercy, and Reſtitution made to ſuch honeſt Men, as had been robbed of their Eſtates, in this Tumult. Hereupon, the Biſhop delivers over the Army unto the General *Oberſtein*.

In the City, the Famine ſtill increaſed, and the miſerable periſhed in great Numbers; ſome few eſcaped out, and, falling into the Hands of the Beſiegers, were by them, in mere Pity, ſpared, being Nothing but Skin and Bones. The General ſummons the City to yield, and promiſes Pardon to all the reſt, if they would deliver up to Juſtice the King, with ſome few of his Companions. The Citizens had a good Deſire to do it, but were over-awed by the Care and Watchfulneſs of the King, who reſolved not to give up the Place, ſo long as himſelf, and his Family, had any Victuals. The Captains, therefore, commanded them to keep in their Famiſhed, and to expect no more Favour. This was in the Beginning of *June*; ſhortly after, they anſwer, that they are not ſuffered to have a fair Hearing of their Cauſe: That they are unjuſtly perſecuted: That they are ready to revoke their Errors, if they be convinced of them. Then they expound a Part of *Daniel*'s Prophecy of the fourth Beaſt, the moſt cruel of all: And, in Concluſion, profeſs they will perſevere in their Courſes. All this, by Direction of the King.

The beſieged City being now reduced to the laſt Extremity, it chanced that two Men made an Eſcape out, which were brought to the General, and the Biſhop; they gave Direction how the Town might be taken. Upon another Summons, they ſtill perſiſt in their Reſolution. Within two Days, an Aſſault was made in the Night, and, by the Help of the Guides, one Gate forced, at which five-hundred Soldiers, with their Captains and Colours, entered. By them, another Paſſage was ſoon opened; the whole Army enters, and, finding ſome Reſiſtance, made a great Slaughter. *Rotman*, deſperately ruſhing in among the Soldiers, was ſlain. The King, *Knipperdoling*, and one *Cretchting*, his chief Servants, were taken alive; the reſt, upon their Submiſſion, ſpared. Thoſe three Captives were ſent up and down to the Princes, as Spectacles of Scorn and Wonder: Many Divines confer with them, upon their abſurd Opinions, and convincing the King, with Evidence of Scripture and Reaſon, though they could not win him to Recantation, yet they forced him to yield many Things; which, ſome imagined, he did only to ſave his Life.

For, when they came to him again, he promiſed, if he might obtain his Pardon, to reduce all the Anabaptiſts in *Holland*, *Brabant*, *England*, and *Frieſland*, where they were in great Multitudes, under the Obedience of their Magiſtrates.

Being brought before the Biſhop, the Biſhop demanded of him, By what Authority, he had taken upon him ſo much Power and Liberty over his City and People of *Munſter*? The King demands again of him, Who gave him the Command and Government of that City? When the Biſhop anſwered, That his Power was lawfully conferred on him, by the Conſent of the Church and People: The King replied, That his Right and Calling thither was from Heaven.

In *February* after, 1536, they were brought back to *Munſter*, and committed to ſeveral Priſons. There, they were exhorted by many pious Men, to confeſs their Errors, and to aſk Pardon of God, and their Magiſtrate. The King relented, the other two continued in their Stubbornneſs; being all brought to Execution, the King was faſtened to a Poſt; two Executioners ſtood on either Side, with hot Pincers. At the three firſt Pinches, he kept Silence; after, he cried out unto God for Mercy: Being in this Manner tortured, above the Space of an Hour, he was, at length, run through with a Sword; his Fellows died in the ſame Faſhion. Their Carcaſes were incloſed in three ſeveral Cages of Iron, and hanged up, upon the higheſt Tower of the City, the King in the Middle, and higher than the reſt.

So, let all the factious and ſeditious Enemies of the Church and State periſh; but, upon the Head of King *Charles*, let the Crown flouriſh, *Amen*.

The

The *Scottiſh* Politick Preſbyter, ſlain by an *Engliſh* Independent: Or, The Independents Victory over the Preſbyterian Party. The Rigour of the *Scotch* Government, their Conniving and Bribing; the Lewdneſs and Debauchery of Elders in ſecret. A Tragi-Comedy.

Diruo & ædifico, muto quadrata rotundis.

Printed in Year 1647. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

The PERSONS.

Directory, *the* Scotch *Preſbyter.*
Sargus, Luxurio, *two lewd Elders.*
Anarchy, *an Independent.* Priſcilla, *his Wife.*
Liturgy, *an Epiſcoparian.*
Moneyleſs, *a Courtier.*
A Purſuivant, Officers, Mutes.

PROLOGUE.

PRESBYTERY and Independency
Have long Time ſtrove for the Precedency;
Here one kills t' other; when you ſee him die,
Wiſh his Deſtroyer fell by Liturgy.

ACT I. SCENE I.

Enter *Directory, Sargus, Luxurio,* two Elders.

Direct. IT muſt be ſo.

Sarg. If that he'll not comply: Have you heard nothing from him?

Lux. No, he ſeems to ſlight our Summons.

Direct. Let him ſmart for't, *Luxurio,* denounce him to the Horn, after Excommunication *ipſo facto:* What Madneſs doth poſſeſs him, that he'll not buy his Peace?

Sarg. I ſent one of my Agents to him, who gave him timely Notice, there was no Way but Puniſhment, except a Fee.

Direct. Have you already fram'd the Warrant?

Sarg. Yes.

Direct. Read it. [Sargus *reads.*

Biſhops Liturgy.

WE, the Elders of the Congregation *Demoniack,* upon Information and Notice of ſome Scandals that you have given, whereof we are to take Notice, do hereby, as Officers of the Church, require and command you to appear before us, on *Tueſday* the ſeventh

venth Day of *February*, *Anno* 1644, to anſwer ſuch Things as ſhall be objected againſt you.

Directory,
Sargus,
Luxurio.

Direct. Send it away with Speed: Fond Man, Doth he not know that we have ſcourged Lords, and trod on Kings? That temporal Force will aid our ſpiritual Plots; *Knox* and *Melvill* have left Power to us, ample as that *Rome*'s Biſhop claims; I'll make myſelf as great as him, if I get Foot in *England*: I hug my Genius that doth prompt me on.

No dull and heavy Fancy clogs my Soul,
'Tis pureſt Fire extracted from the Pole.

If that I can perſuade the *Engliſhmen* to let me nooſe them, as their Brethren, I'll ſpread my Pennons further yet:

And, like a Comet in the Evening Sky,
Strike with Amazement every wond'ring Eye.

Let's be gone. *Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

Enter *Liturgy*, *Dipwell*.

Litur. And why new *Jordan*?

Dipw. If we give Credit to the Card, 'twill tell us, like to that River through which once *Levites* did bear the holy Ark, *New River* flows.

Litur. But can thoſe tender Virgins, that reſort there to be baptiſed, endure the bitter Blaſts of *Boreas*'s and *Hyem*'s frofty Breath, and not be much impaired in their Health?

Dipw. The Water, without Doubt, is ſanctified; and, as the holy Martyrs, girt with Flames, ſang chearfully, as if they nothing felt, ſo compaſſed about with Ice and Cold, thoſe, that we there dip, receive no Harm.

Litur. Strange Deluſions.

Enter a *Purſuivant*, *with Officers*.

Purſ. By the Command o'th' ruling Preſbytery *Demoniack*, Sir, I arreſt your Perſon.

Litur. Where's your Warrant?

Purſ. Here.

Litur. Ha, my inveterate Foes have all conſpir'd to work my Ruin. Look here, Friend; becauſe I did refuſe to come when ſummoned, nor ſent a Fee for my Diſcharge, [*ſhews* Dipwell *the Warrant*] ſo to maintain their Luſt and Luxury, who, by their daily Prodigality, conſume their *aurum Tholoſanum*, in Riotouſneſs, Adultery, and Fornication. O *England!* Wilt thou be Slave to theſe Vermin? The Vulgar do not know what will enſue, ſhould they accept of a Preſbytery; thoſe that do ſit at Helm will not diſcover it, for that it tends to uphold their Pride and Wantonneſs; good Men are Vaſſals to the Vile:

The Crown ſtoops to the Mace,
The Noble to the Baſe.

While that the Fathers of the Church do walk like Men dejected and forlorn,

Mourning like doleful Pelicans, and howl
In deſart Places, like *Minerva*'s Owl.

Who would have thought ſo flouriſhing a State,

As *England* was but ſeven Years ago,
Should now become the Pattern of all Woe:
Calamity and Comfort comes and goes
From State to State, as *Neptune* ebbs and flows:
With human Things, a Thing divine doth play,
Nothing arriv'd at Height, but doth decay:
Earth's Toys are falſe, they bid us ſoon Adieu,
Her during Sorrows are moſt certain true.

Come, I'll along, Sir, with you: Mr. *Dipwell*, will you be Witneſs of my Uſage with me?

Dipw. Sir, do not go, 'tis Madneſs for a Man to put himſelf into their Hands that hate him.

Litur. Should I not go, they'll give me over to the temporal Sword, and in the Market-place proclaim me Rebel, confiſcate my Eſtate, and ſend me into Baniſhment.

Dipw. Will *Engliſhmen* put on this *Scottiſh* Yoke? I have a Hope the Independents may ſend hence this Government to be abhorr'd, from *England* to *Geneva*, where 'twas born.

Litur.

Litur. Pray Heaven it prove ſo. Now to my Adverſaries: My Soul contemns their moſt uſurped Power, though now it overflows in Tears, whoſe Current overflows its Banks.

Where Griefs Virago, upon either Hand,
Worſer then *Scylla*, or *Charybdis*, ſtand.

Exeunt.

ACT II. SCENE I.

Enter *Anarchy*, *Priſcilla*, his Wife.

Priſ. I'LL none of this ſame louſy Learning to make my Son a Whoremaſter, e're he hath ſeen the Age of eighteen Years; for, when they once come but to conſtrue *Ovid de Arte Amandi*, their Bowels yearn to occupy the nine.

Anar. Away, thou Fool; Doth not even Nature tell us, that Learning doth ſupport the World, and taught the ruſtick Clown the Way to till the Ground, to bind the Corn in Sheaves, and wield the Flail?

Priſ. I ſay, I will not make my Son a Beggar, expoſe him to Contempt and Scorn; ſend him to *Oxford*, ſend him to *Cairfax* rather, and ſee him caper in a String; no, no, we, in this Age of ours, the Heavens be praiſed, have little Uſe of Learning; if he can read his Pſalter, and caſt up his Accounts for Bread and Salt, he's a ſufficient Scholar: Beſides, Heaven bleſs the Parliament for their moſt pious Acts in general and particular, that they have reduc'd thoſe tippling Black-coats to a new modell'd Garb, that, where before they drank too much, and eat too little, they now ſhall neither eat nor drink: What ſhall we do with ſuch Lobcocks, that muſt ſit all the Week in Taverns and Ale-houſes, and on the *Saturday* beſtow two Hours in Study, which, when they utter the next Day, there's none can underſtand it.

Anar. The Blind cares not, if *Sol* ne'er ſhine, they ſtill can grope their Way; my Son ſhall be a Scholar, and let the Worldlings wallow in the Dung, while he the *Indies* bears about him; none knows the Learned's Bliſs, but thoſe that learned are; I do look on *Plato*'s Divinity, next unto *Moſes*'s Writings; fam'd *Ariſtotle*'s learned Philoſophy, next unto *Jeſſe*'s Sons rare Proverbs; *Livy*'s large Book, next to the Chronicles of *Iſrael*'s Kings, and *Homer*'s deathleſs Verſe, next unto *David*'s Lays: May Hell conſpire to caſt Plagues on thoſe would not have Learning be advanc'd and honour'd, when ignorant Armies, ignorant Parliaments, ignorant Synods, ignorant Fools and Knaves

Shall lie unthought of, rotting in their Graves;
The Learned's Songs, when they in Duſt do lie,
Shall wreſtle even with Eternity.

Enter *Moneyleſs*.

Mr. *Moneyleſs*, I joy to ſee you, Sir.

Mon. Sir, I made bold to preſs into your Privacies unawares; my Ignorance will, I hope, purchaſe my Pardon.

Anar. Still complimenting; you Courtiers feed on Compliments as your Meat; leave it, and take more ſolid Food, a thouſand of 'em will not ſtaunch ones Hunger: What News, what News abroad?

Mon. Faith, none that makes for me; the King muſt not yet ſee *Whitehall*; *Cromwell* won't have it ſo.

Anar. We can grow great without him; What Profit doth the World receive by Kings, who, at the beſt, are but relenting Tyrants, whoſe Power is diſſonant from God's Appointment? How bravely *Holland* thrives, guided by States, where People rule the People? There's a ſtrong Sympathy in Nature; the mutual Love they talk of, that was wont to be 'twixt Subjects and their Kings, is now for ever loſt.

Mon. Sir, I know you are an Enemy to Monarchy, and would digreſs even from your Principles, ſhould you allow of kingly Government, which makes your Words invalid.

Anar. Well ſaid, I like thee, that Adverſity's bleak Storms have not unriveted thy fix'd Reſolves, but thou ſtill art faithful to thy Maſter.

O, Courtier, curſe them that have caus'd thy Woe,
That like a Skeleton thou now doſt ſhow:

You came, I know, to dine with me, and are moſt welcome: What printed News abroad?

Mon. As I was coming to you, I met another meagre Courtier's Face, and he ſhewed me a Song, of which I begg'd the Copy; I hope

hope 'twill not offend your Ears, if I do ſing them to you.

Anar. Not the leaſt, let's hear.

Moneyleſs ſings.

THE King ſhall now enjoy his own,
And have the Sovereignty,
Once more fill his refulgent Throne
Like to ſome Deity.

But firſt of all his Charge muſt hear
For Things moſt trivial;
Three Kingdoms Blood, *Lilburne* doth ſwear,
Upon his Head muſt fall.

The Parliament, as ſome report,
Intend for to diſband;
And, if they would, we'd thank them for't,
And ſomething give in Hand.

They now have ſeven Years ſat,
And yet it will not be,
The Army (Shall I tell you what?)
Will never make them free.

Is it not Pity, that at laſt,
When they intended Flitting,
They ſhould out of their Houſe be caſt,
And ſuffer for their Sitting.

And all the Gold that they have got,
And without Fear extorted,
For to enjoy is not their Lot,
O they are ſtrangely thwarted!

His Majeſty is quitted now
Of *Brown* that wooden Jailor,
And, in his Stead, they do allow
Joyce, that ſame prick-louſe Taylor.

'Tis very good to eaſe our Teen,
The Army are ſo witty,
And many Thouſands of them ſeen
Incompaſſing the City.

Why ſure it cannot but well hap,
And prove a good Purgation,
That fourſcore Members, at a Clap,
Are forced from their Station?

The Propoſitions now are gone,
And ſurely now the King
Will ratify them every one,
But I fear no ſuch Thing.

He cannot ſure dare to reſiſt,
If he intend to eat,
For 'tis well known he long hath miſt
His wonted Clothes and Meat.

Our deareſt Brother (*Jockey*) now
Is his Deſtruction wooing,
And very fain would ſomething do
To purchaſe his Undoing.

Their long-eared Aſſembly
Do grieve and groan in Ire,
That their compounded Preſbytery
Should back to them retire.

Truth is, how much the more, at firſt,
Our Splendor ſhined bright,
We are ſo much the more accurſt,
Inveloped with Night.

How like you this?

Anar. 'Tis an excellent Song, yfaith; Shall I, Mr. *Moneyleſs*, crave a Copy of it?

Mon. Both I and it are at your Service.

Anar. Come, Mr. *Moneyleſs*, 'tis almoſt Dinner-time, Time was, you welcomed me; 'tis fit I ſhould be grateful; come Wife.

Exeunt Anar. Priſcilla, *manet* Mon.

Did I e'er think that Want ſhould ſo oppreſs me, that I ſhould be conſtrained to wait on this Man for a Dinner?

Yet, of my Wants, how dare I ſo complain?
Shall I not ſuffer with my Sovereign?

Whom yet I'll not deſpair to ſee plac'd in his Throne, his Crown on's Head, his Scepter in his Hand; the Citizens now do triumph o'er the Courtiers:

O why ſhould Fortune make the City proud,
And give them more than is the Court allow'd?
The King's own Brightneſs his own Foil is made,
And is to us the Cauſe of his own Shade.

Exit.

ACT III.

Recorders, a Conſiſtory of the Preſbytery; then enter Directory, Sargus, Luxurio, *after them, with Officers,* Liturgy, Dipwell *a-far off.*

Direct. BRING forth thoſe Weeds of Shame——apparel him. *A Coat of Sackcloth brought out.*

Litur. I hope I ſhall have Licence for to ſpeak.

Direct. Not a Syllable; 'tis known thou art by Name and Nature an Enemy to our Government, and haſt avouch'd it to be tyrannous; ſaying, that *Scotland*, by their Policy in bringing their Church-form amongſt us, do but aſſaſſinate our Monarchy, thirſting to be our Lords, all which here openly recant, or we'll ſurrender thee.

Litur. I recant, ye *Cacodemons*; hear me, and mark,

Firſt, Leathern Swains ſhall plow amid the Sky,
Thames turn his Courſe, and leave his Channel dry;
Sodom's dead Lake revive, and entertain
Leviathan and *Neptune*'s hungry Train;
Fiſhes the Flood forſake, and Fowls of Heaven
Bedeck'd with Scales, and in the Ocean driven;
The brighteſt Flame of Heaven ſhine by Night,
And horned *Cynthia* give diurnal Light,
Before I change my ſettled conſtant Mind,
To damn myſelf, that you may count me kind;
Cemonian Stairs, *Phalarian* Bulls, nor all
Torments that flow from cruel Tyrants Gall;
Tarpeian Mountains, Altars of *Buſire*,
Or Furnaces of *Babylonian* Fire,
Shan't make me ſtoop to ſuch baſe Fools as you,
Or unto your Intentions for to bow.

Sarg. He raves: Sir, theſe looſe Words will but augment your Sorrow in the End; Do you know where you are?

Litur. Very well, lecherous *Sargus*, better than thou know'ſt to be honeſt.

Direct. Stop his Mouth, Were ever heard Speeches ſo deſperate? Dare you, before this holy Convocation, to prate ſo peremptorily?

Litur. Dare you, ye Sots, aſſume unto yourſelves the Name of Holy?
Methinks your Cheeks ſhould, knowing you to blame,
Out-bluſh the Crimſon of your Gowns for Shame;
You are more cruel than the Crocodile,
That mangles *Memphians* on the Banks of *Nile*;
That kills, with weeping Tears, for Hunger's Need,
But you can ſmile, and murder for no Meed.

Lux. Venerable Fathers, this is unſufferable; if with Audaciouſneſs you thus diſpenſe, hereafter never look to be reverenc'd, but to be ſcorn'd and laughed at.

Direct. Satan hath ſure inſpired him; bring forth the Engine; ſupport him up. [*The Stool of Repentance brought forth, contrived in the Faſhion of a Pulpit, covered over with Black.*

Litur. He, that lays Hand on me, encounters Death. [*Plucks forth a Dagger.*

Direct. Hear then your Sentence: Since you deny to be a Penitent, we here confiſcate all is yours, to be employ'd for pious Uſes, yourſelf within three Days for to depart the Land, and never to return, on Pain of Death; this is your Doom, and now break up the Court. [*Exeunt.*

Litur. O my mild Judges, you ſhew your Pity and your Piety; your utmoſt Wrath can't hurt my inward Man, I there am ſtill the ſame, and not exil'd.

Guilt, Sorrow, Shame, Horror attend you ſtill,
And let wild *Ate* lead you where ſhe will.

Dipw. Heaven keep me ſtedfaſt to my Principles, Is this a Limb of the Preſbytery?

Direct. Yes; but his Merits make him fit to be lopped off, for it: Who could be infected worſe than they are?

Dipw. You hear your Sentence, Will you depart the Land?

Litur. No, I'll not forſake my native Soil upon ſuch ſlender Grounds, I'll live a While in private; I know an Independent Army will crop Preſbytery in the Bud, and break this Bed of Snakes, the only Way that now is viſible for to repair my Breaches; O thou Etern, the true Almighty *Jove*, ſuffer not Innovations to go on, to bring this Kingdom to Deſtruction; but why, alas, do I now talk of *Jove*?

For now, alas! no *Jupiter* is found,
But in all Lands *Pluto* a God is crown'd.
[*Exeunt.*

ACT IV.

Enter the two Elders, Sargus *and* Luxurio, *ſinging.*

Sarg. NOW ſable Night hath with her ebon Robe
Darken'd the Surface of this earthly Globe,
And drowſy *Morpheus*, with his leaden Key,
Lock'd up the Doors of every mortal Eye;
Come let us fall unto our wonted Games;
Let us be blith, and nouriſh wanton Flames.
Lux. What *Lyncian* Eye diſcerns our lewd Delight,
Cover'd with Darkneſs of the cloudy Night?
Why ſhould we Cenſure fear, or idle Sound
Of human Words, that are inviron'd round
With marble Walls? The Wit of Mortals can
Not find our Wiles, paſt finding out of Man,
And Heaven regards not the Works of Men;
Come let us boldly feaſt and frolick then.
Sarg. Come forth, ye Creatures of Delight,
And let us in Embraces ſpend the Night.
[*Six Whores put forth on two Beds, three on a Bed, Muſick, they riſe and dance with the two Elders.*

A SONG.

MEET, meet, and kiſs,
And girt each other's Waiſt,
And enjoy the Lover's Bliſs,
Until the Night be paſt.
Elders, that are holy Men
All Day, muſt ſport at Night.
So, ſo, to't agen,
'Twill heighten Appetite.

Sarg. Thoſe three are thine, theſe mine, let's to't
Like Monkies, or the reeking Goat. [*They aſcend each on a ſeveral Bed, and are drawn in.*

SCENE II.

Enter Priſcilla *ſola.*

Priſc. Methinks the Hours fly not with winged Haſte as they were wont, or is't the Expectation of my Love, that makes the Night ſeem tedious; my Heart extremely throbs, methinks the Walls ſeem as waſh'd o'er with Blood; 'tis my Fantaſy, Thought, like a ſubtle Juggler, makes us ſee Things that really are not; there's ſomething in me whiſpers fatal Things, and tells me 'tis not ſafe to ſleep betwixt my Lover's Arms To-night; Why, ſure I dream, I was not wont to have theſe dubious Fancies? I have begun to love him, and will now never deſert his Friendſhip until Death; but thus I tamper Poiſon for myſelf; but, were I ſure to drink the baneful Draught, I could not now go back:

For, when the Fleſh is nuzzled once in Vice,
The Sweets of Sin make Hell a Paradiſe.

Enter Directory.

O! you are welcome, Sir.

Direct. Worthy of all Love's Joys, Haſt thou not blamed my tardy Stay? Thou art moſt certain, ſure, thy Huſband is far off; if he ſhould take me with thee, his Jealouſy and Wrath might prompt him to ſtrange Actions.

Priſc. I have not the leaſt Fear of his Approach.

Direct. Come then, my *Ptixdra*, and let us taſte thoſe Joys thy Huſband is unworthy of.

ACT. V.

Directory *and* Priſcilla *put forth in a Bed, both ſleeping.*

Enter Anarchy, *with a Torch.*

Anar. TItan to the *Antipodes* is gone,
To luminate another Horizon:
'Tis now dead Midnight, *Morpheus*, Death's eldeſt Brother,
Hover about this Place, and charm the Senſe
Of theſe two Creatures made of Impudence;
Are they ſo ſhallow, to conceive that I
Am made of Mimical Pantomimy?

O Woman, Woman, who art compounded of all Ill, I durſt have pawned my Soul, this Wife of mine had harboured a Soul as white as the *Alpine* Snow; but ſhe is ulcerous and deformed. Who knows how often they have met, and wallowed in their active Sweats? What Woman may be truſted?

Luſt

Luſt is a ſubtle Syren, ever training
Souls to Deſtruction, by her ſecret Feigning:
She is the Prince of Darkneſs' eldeſt Daughter,
Wanting no Craft, her cunning Sire hath taught her:
'Tis like *Meduſa*'s Treſs; and, if it be
Twin'd in the Body of Man's living Tree,
Man's Heart of Fleſh converts, if he have one,
By ſecret Vigour, to unliving Stone.

Damn'd Strumpet, Have I ta'en you with your Lecher?

African Panthers, *Hyrcan* Tygers fierce,
Cleonian Lions, and *Danonian* Bears,
Are not ſo ravenous, whom Hunger pin'd,
As Women that are lecherouſly inclin'd.

But I prolong their Lives, and tire the Ferryman with Expectation.—Stay, it is not Wiſdom to cope with two that ſtruggle for their Lives.—Theſe are the Bonds of Death. [*Ties them to the Bed.*] So awake you luſtful Pair. [*They awake.*

Direct. Ha!—we are undone.

Anar. Yes, *Directory*, e're winged Time add one Hour more to this declining Night, thou ſhalt be numbered with the Dead.

Direct. O my unhappy Fate!

Priſc. Dear Huſband, ſpare our Lives, and then inflict what Puniſhment thou wilt.

Anar. O my fine *Directory*, Cameſt thou from *Scotland* hither to cheat us out of our Religion, our Lives, our King; and, covering thy Ills with Virtue's Cloke, act even thoſe Crimes, which but to hear them named would fright the Cannibals? And ſhall we not ſtrive to circumvent thee?

Direct. I pray, hear me, Sir.

Anar. Hath Guilt emboldened ſo thy Mind, that thou dareſt view my Face, and ſpeak?

Priſc. Sir, I confeſs, my Crime cannot be expiated, but with Blood; but, if mild Pity harbour in your Breaſt, I do implore your Mercy.

Anar. Peace, vile Strumpet; thou mayeſt as well attempt to ſcale the Heavens, and ride on the Sun-beams, as ſtrive with Talk to mitigate my Fury, and ſtay the Courſe of my Revenge; but firſt, good *Directory*, I will ſtab you by the Book, and torture you, not opening a Vein.

Dumb Shew. *Solemn Muſick.*

One, repreſenting Directory, *accompanied with a Rabble in the Habit of Elders, running as flying from Soldiers, who purſue them with their Swords drawn.*

Did you behold the Pageant? Great *Babylon* is fallen; an *Engliſh* Army hath extirpated Preſbytery, Root and Branch; the Elders may, in *Scotland*, court *Suſanna*, here are too many *Daniels* to ſift them; and now, Sir, you muſt go, but not to *Scotland*; that's but Purgatory; yet where you'll find many blue Bonnets more, I mean to Hell.—Thus I diſmiſs thy Soul.—

Direct. Hold, Sir, and, e're you ſend my Soul to wander in the inviſible Land, hear what I now ſhall utter: By Heaven and Earth, and him that made them both, I ne'er was guilty, not in Thought, till this dire Hour, of the Defiling of your Marriage-bed.

Anar. Doſt think, dull Fool, that all thy Proteſtations, thy heav'd up Hands and Sighs, were they as numerous as the Sand hid in the *Baltick* Sea, ſhould raiſe my Heart for to relent? No, in thy Death *England* gathers Life, whoſe Happineſs I wiſh: Thus for it work. [*Stabs him with a Ponyard.*

Direct. O! thou haſt op'd a Flood-gate, which will not cloſe, till my Heart-blood is drain'd.

Priſc. If thou wer't born of Woman, ſpare my Life.

Anar. O thou luxurious Strumpet, Hath not thy Guilt, or Fear, bereft thy Tongue of Utterance? Methinks, thou ſhould'ſt, when thinking on thy Fact, convert to Stone, and ſave my Hand a Labour to ſend thee to another World. There, Strumpet. [*Stabs her.*

Priſc. O Heaven!

Anar. So——How like you this? Phlebotomiſing only can cure the Fever in your Blood. Why don't you mingle Limbs? Get up and at it.

Direct. Like to a Ship diſmember'd of her Sails, and cuff'd from Side to Side by ſurly Waves, ſo doth my Soul fare:

As that poor Veſſel, reſts my brittle Stay;
Nearer the Land, ſtill nearer caſt away.

Preſbytery in my Fall receives its mortal Wound, and ne'er muſt look in *England* to

bear Sway. O, O, I ſee in this the Power of Providence:

Whoſe ſtronger Hand reſtrains our wilful Powers;
A Will above doth rule the Will of ours.
[*He dies.*

Anar. He's dead, but ſhe remains with Life: And wilt thou not accompany thy Lecher, that he may man thee into *Charon*'s Boat?

Priſc. My Soul diſdains her Habitation, and now will needs be fleeting: Know, Sir, for now I fear not all your Fury, I lov'd *Directory* as my own Soul, and knew him oftener than yourſelf; for which may Heaven forgive me! For his Sake I could wiſh to live, but now he's gone, What ſhould I do on Earth?

Death our Delights continually doth ſever;
Virtue alone abandoneth us never. [*She dies.*

Anar. She's gone; farewell for ever: May Heaven forgive thy Fault! I would not proſecute Revenge ſo far, as wiſh thy Soul Deſtruction: What now remains for me? I muſt be gone far hence, e're *Sol* viſit our Horizon; let Fortune do her worſt.

Her Frowns he fears not, nor her hott'ſt Alarms,
That bears againſt them Patience for his Arms. *Exit.*

Semper iidem: Or, a Parallel betwixt the Ancient and Modern Fanaticks.

1 TIM. iv. 1.

In the latter Times, ſome ſhall depart from the Faith, giving Heed to ſeducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils.

London, printed for *Richard Lownds*, at the *White Lion*, in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, over-againſt the little North-Door, 1661. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages.

To the READER.

AFTER *the great Diſturbance, which the Fanaticks gave the City of* London, *and other Parts of this Kingdom, in* January, 1660, *and the Reading their pernicious Pamphlet, intitled,* A Door of Hope; *or,* A Call and Declaration for the Gathering together of the firſt ripe Fruits unto the Standard of our Lord King *Jeſus*: *I began to reflect upon what I had many Years ſince read, touching their Predeceſſors, in our Hiſtories and Chronicles; and, upon a Re-peruſal of them, I found much of what the worſt of our modern Fanaticks have, in theſe late Days, acted and attempted, to be ſtrangely copied out to their Hand, by their Brethren in the former Age; and this, for the moſt Part, in ſo exact a Parallel of Particulars, Perſons and Circumſtances, that I thought the Publication of ſome of thoſe Hiſtories in brief, with the Tragical Ends, which thoſe Sectaries received, as a juſt Reward of their Impiety and Treaſon, might, if not deter the Remnant*

Remnant of them, from holding ſuch blaſphemous Opinions towards God, or even attempting ſuch Treaſons againſt the King; yet, at leaſt, confirm good Chriſtians, in a ſettled Religion towards the One, and encourage good Subjects in a perfect Loyalty to the Other.

IN the Year 1414, *Henry the Fifth*, King of *England*, keeping his *Chriſtmas*, ſaith *Stow*, at his Mannor of *Eltham*, ſeven Miles from *London*, received Notice, That certain Perſons had conſpired to have taken, or ſuddenly ſlain him, and his Brethren, on the *Twelfth-day* at Night; to wit, Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Sir *Roger Acton*, and others; whereupon he ſent to the Mayor of *London* to arreſt all ſuch ſuſpicious Perſons, *&c.* and removed himſelf privately to *Weſtminſter*, went into St. *Giles's fields* at Midnight, where divers were taken, *&c.* and, on the Twelfth of *January*, ſixty-nine of them were condemned of Treaſon at *Weſtminſter*; of which, on the Morrow, thirty-ſeven of them were hanged in St. *Giles's-fields*, *&c.* And, ſhortly after, Sir *Roger Acton* was apprehended, and, on the Tenth of *February*, drawn, hanged, and buried under the Gallows.

Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, ſome three Years after, was taken by Chance in the Territory of the Lord *Powis*, in the Borders of *Wales*, not without Danger and Hurt to ſome that took him; nor could he himſelf be laid Hold on before he was wounded, and was ſo brought up to *London* in a Litter during the Parliament, and there examined, indicted, *&c.* To which, he having made a reſolute Anſwer, was, for the aforeſaid Treaſon and other Conſpiracies, condemned to be drawn, and hanged upon a Gallows, as a Traitor, and to be burnt, as an Heretick, hanging upon the ſame; which Judgment was executed upon him on the Fourteenth of *December*, in St. *Giles's fields*; where many honourable Perſons being preſent, the laſt Words he ſpoke were to Sir *Thomas Copingham*, adjuring him, That, if he ſaw him riſe from Death to Life again the third Day, he would procure, that his Sect might be in Peace.

Tanta prædictus fuit dementia, ſays *Walſingham*, *ut putaret ſe poſt triduum a morte reſurrecturum*. This *Oldcaſtle* was grown ſo great a Fanatick, that he perſuaded himſelf, he ſhould riſe again the third Day, as another Saviour of his Sectaries.

Now, if you would know of what particular Sect theſe two rebel Knights, and their Adherents were, our Chronologers will tell you, they were (according to the Appellation of thoſe Times) *Lollards*, or *Wickliffians*, which may alſo be gathered from Mr. *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, where he ſays, His Martyrs were, in ſome Places, called, *Poor People of Lions*; in other Places, *Lollards*; in others, *Turrelupins* and *Chagnards*, but moſt commonly *Waldois*. And, in another Place, he repreſents the Picture of the Burning and Hanging of divers Perſons counted for *Lollards* in *Henry the Fifth's* Time, which were of this Gang, that is, all really Fanaticks, as plainly appears by their being all guided by the ſame fantaſtical Spirit.

Mr. *Fuller* (arguing the Caſe of this Sir *John*, whether innocent or nocent, a Saint or a Heretick) at laſt reſolves thus: The Records of the *Tower* and Acts of Parliament, wherein he was ſolemnly condemned for a Traitor, as well as Heretick, challenge Belief.—Let Mr. *Fox* therefore be his Compurgator, I dare not. Thus Mr. *Fuller*, a frank ingenious Pen.

The *Lollards* were ſo called, from one *Walter Lollard*, a *German*, the firſt Author of this Sect, who lived about the Year 1315, and was infected with divers Errors and Hereſies, which yet did not get much Footing in *Chriſtendom*, till ſuch Time as *John Wickliff*, Curate of *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, about the Year 1380, did eſpouſe their Tenets, and augment their Number; of whom Dr. *Heylin*, in his learned *Certamen Epiſtolare*, ſays thus, Though he held many Points againſt thoſe of *Rome*, yet had his Field more Tares than Wheat; and that, amongſt many other Errors, he maintained theſe:

1. That the Sacrament of the Altar is Nothing elſe but a Piece of Bread.
2. That Prieſts have no more Authority to adminiſter Sacraments than Laymen.
3. That all Things ought to be in common.
4. That it is as lawful to chriſten a Child in a Tub of Water at Home, or in a Ditch by the Way, as in a Font-ſtone in the Church.
5. That it is as lawful at all Times to confeſs unto a Layman as to a Prieſt.
6. That it is not neceſſary or profitable to have any Church or Chapel to pray, or perform Divine Service in.
7. That Buryings in the Churchyard are unprofitable and vain.

8. That Holydays inſtituted by the Church are not to be obſerved and kept in Reverence, inaſmuch as all Days are alike.

9. That it is ſufficient to believe, though a Man do no good Works at all.

10. That no human Laws or Conſtitutions do oblige a Chriſtian.

11. That God never gave Grace or Knowledge to a great Perſon or rich Man, and that they in no wiſe follow the ſame.

To theſe other Authors add that he held:

12. That any Layman may preach by his own Authority, without Licenſe of the Ordinary.

13. That the Infant, though he die unbaptiſed, is ſaved, &c.

14. That all Sins are not aboliſhed by Baptiſm.

Mr. *Fuller*, in his *Church-Hiſtory*, *Lib.* iv, *P.* 129, ſays in the Margin, *Wickliff guilty of many Errors*; and proceeds to enumerate, as well the abovementioned, as many more wherewith he ſtood charged, and was condemned by the Council of *Conſtance*, in thoſe Times the ſupreme ſpiritual Authority in the World.

Who ſees not, amongſt theſe, the principal Tenets of our *Anabaptiſts*, *Fifth-Monarchymen*, *Levellers*, and *Quakers*, now branched out from that Seminary into particular Sects? And that neither theſe *Lollards* nor *Wickliffians* were ever held for true Proteſtants, appears by this, That the Oath which every Sheriff of *England* took at the Entering into that Office, as well in the Time of Queen *Eliſabeth* and King *James*, as of the late King *Charles* of bleſſed Memory, had this expreſs Clauſe in it: That he ſhould ſeek to ſuppreſs all Errors and Hereſies, commonly called *Lollaries*, and ſhould be aſſiſtant to the Commiſſaries and Ordinary in Church Matters.

In the Year 1428, Father *Abraham*, a poor old Man of *Colcheſter*, with *John Waddon* and *William White*, Apoſtate Prieſts and *Wickliffians*, were condemned and burnt for their Hereſies under King *Henry the Sixth*.

In the Year 1535, the Twenty-ſeventh of *Henry the Eighth*, twenty-five Hereticks were examined in St. *Paul*'s Church, *London*; whoſe Opinions were, 1. That in Chriſt are not two Natures. 2. That Chriſt neither took Fleſh nor Blood of the Virgin *Mary*. 3. That Children born of Infidels ſhall be ſaved. 4. That Baptiſm of Children is to no Effect. 5. That the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body is but Bread only. 6. That whoſoever ſinneth wittingly, after Baptiſm, ſinneth deadly and cannot be ſaved. Fourteen of theſe were condemned of obſtinate Hereſy; a Man and a Woman of them were burnt in *Smithfield*, the other Twelve were ſent to other Towns to be burnt.

In the Year 1538, the Thirtieth of *Henry the Eighth*, four Anabaptiſts, three Men and one Woman, bore Faggots at *Paul*'s Croſs, and ſoon after a Man and a Woman were burnt in *Smithfield*, for Denying, That Children ought to be baptiſed of Neceſſity, or, if they were, then that they muſt be baptiſed again, when they come to Age.

In the ſame Year, *John Lambert*, alias *Nicholſon*, a Prieſt of *Norfolk*, fled out of *England* and became a *Zwinglian*, of whom thus Mr. *Fox*: Foraſmuch as Prieſts in thoſe Days could not be permitted to have Wives, *Lambert* left his Prieſthood, and applied himſelf to the Function of Teaching, intending ſhortly after to be free of the Groſſers, and to marry, &c.

After his Return into *England*, he was accuſed of *Zwinglianiſm*, by Dr. *Taylor*: A Man, ſaith *Fox*, in thoſe Days not much diſagreeing from the Goſpel. *Lambert* appealed to King *Henry the Eighth*, as Head of the Church, who favourably conſented to hear him at a Day appointed, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where the King, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Barnes*, with divers other Biſhops, and many of the Nobility and King's Council, were preſent: The chief Article againſt him, then inſiſted upon, was the real Preſence in the Sacrament, though he held ſeveral other Tenets of *Wicliff*, as, That all Chriſtian Men were Prieſts, that Lay-men might preach, &c. And, after much Time ſpent in hearing what he could ſay, the King at laſt aſked him poſitively, Doſt thou ſay it is the Body of *Chriſt*, or wilt thou deny it? After ſome Evaſions, *Lambert* ſaid at laſt, I deny it to be the Body of Chriſt. Mark well, ſaid the King, for now thou ſhalt be condemned by Chriſt's own Words: *Hoc eſt corpus meum*; This is my Body.

After this, the King offered him Pardon, if he would renounce his Opinions; but, *Lambert* refuſing, the King ſaid, Then thou muſt die, for I will not be a Patron of Hereticks; and ſo commanded the Lord *Cromwell* to read

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the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him, which he did out of a Schedule, and *Lambert* was accordingly burnt in *Smithfield*, *Anno* 1538.

This *Cromwell*, ſays Mr. *Fox*, was at that Time the chief Friend of the Goſpellers; and here is much to be marvelled at, to ſee how unfortunately it came to paſs in this Matter, that Satan did here perform the Condemnation of *Lambert*, by no other Miniſters than the Goſpellers themſelves, *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, Dr. *Taylor*, and *Barnes*.

In the Year 1539, 31 *Hen.* VIII, one *Mandevil*, *Collins*, and another, all Anabaptiſts, were examined in St. *Margaret*'s Church, and, being condemned, were, on the Third of *May*, burnt in the Highway, between *Southwark* and *Newington*.

In the Year 1549, and Third of *Edward the Sixth*, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, with other Biſhops and Doctors his Aſſiſtants, condemned certain Anabaptiſts, whereof ſome recanted, and bore Faggots at *Paul*'s Croſs, and *Colcheſter*, &c.

In the Year 1555, 3 *Philip* and *Mary*, *William Flower*, of *Snowhill* in *Cambridgeſhire*, a profeſſed Monk and Prieſt in the Abbey of *Ely*, left his Order, took a Wife, and turned *Wickliffian*, and, on *Chriſtmas*-Day, in the ſame Year, being poſſeſſed with an high fanatick Spirit, went to *Weſtminſter*, where finding a Prieſt, called *John Cheltham*, adminiſtering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the People in St. *Margaret*'s Church, and being moved by God's Spirit, as he ſaid, he pulled out his Whiniard, or Wood-knife, which he wore by his Side, and grievouſly wounded the ſaid Prieſt in divers Places, both of his Head, Arm, and Hand; and, in all Likelihood, would have ſlain him, if the People had not interpoſed and apprehended him.

This impious Sectary did afterwards, as Mr. *Fox* relates, ſay in *Newgate*, I cannot expreſs with my Mouth the great Mercies that God hath ſhewed on me in this Thing, which I repent not; and that he was compelled to it by the Spirit, &c. and ſure of his Salvation. For this moſt barbarous Act, and moſt intolerable Diſturbance of the Way then eſtabliſhed, he was condemned and burnt: Yet Mr. *Fox* unwarily (to ſay no worſe) concludeth, Thus endured this conſtant Witneſs and faithful Servant of God, *William Flower*, the Extremity of the Fire, &c.

In the ſame Year 1555, *Thomas Iveſon*, a Carpenter, was condemned and burnt, for holding, among other Anabaptiſtical Opinions, That the Sacrament of Baptiſm is a Sign and Token of Chriſt, as Circumciſion was, and no otherwiſe; and believed, that his Sins were not waſhed away thereby, but his Body only waſhed, for his Sins are waſhed away only by Chriſt's Blood. And, concerning the holy Communion, he believed it to be a very Idol, and deteſtable before God; and that all Ceremonies uſed in the Church, were ſuperſtitious and naught, &c.

Cornelius Bungay, a Capper of *Coventry*, was alſo burnt in that City, for the ſame Opinions, that *Iveſon* held, ſaving, that for the moſt Part each Fanatick held ſomewhat peculiar to his own Fancy.

John Maundrel, of *Kevel* in *Wiltſhire* Cowherd, was, in the Year 1556, and Fourth of Queen *Mary*, condemned by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and burnt for divers Heretical Opinions obſtinately held by him, who alſo did frequently diſturb his Pariſh Prieſt, whilſt he was officiating in the Church, as our Modern Fanaticks now do, and juſt as they have a Trick, to give Nick-names to what they diſlike, as Steeple-houſe to the Church, Rag of Popery to the Surplice, grumbling Pipes to the Organs, &c. and think they have ſufficiently confuted them; ſo was this malapert Cowherd wont to call Purgatory, the Pope's Pinfold, and never looked for any further Confutation.

John Tankerfield the Cook, the Twenty-ſixth of *Auguſt*, 1555, being in the *Croſs-Keys* Inn, at St. *Albans*, preparing himſelf to be burnt for Obſtinacy in Heretical Opinions, demanded of the Wine-drawer a Pint of Malmſey and a Loaf, to celebrate the Communion to himſelf, before he died, &c. and having drunk up the Wine, and eaten the Bread, went to the Place of Execution, courageouſly: Saying, I defy the Whore of *Babylon*, I defy the Whore of *Babylon*, fie on that abominable Idol. And with this (ſays Mr. *Fox*) he ended his Martyrdom, and fell a-ſleep in the Lord.

In the Year 1557, *William Bongiar*, Glaſier, *Thomas Bennold*, Tallow-Chandler, and *Robert Purchas*, Fuller, were burnt at *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, as well for Affirming, that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was ſo far from being the holier, that it was rather the worſe,

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for Conſecration; as for other Fanatical Opinions.

George Eagles, ſirnamed, *Trudge over the World*, who, of a Taylor, became a Tub-preacher, was indicted of Treaſon for Aſſembling Companies together, contrary to the Laws of the Land, *&c.* And for Praying, that God would turn Queen *Mary*'s Heart, or take her away. For which Treaſon, he was drawn, hanged, and quartered at *Chelmsford* in *Eſſex*, in the Year 1557, and Fifth of Queen *Mary*; this Rebel Fanatick Mr. *Fox* is pleaſed, in one Place, to call a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt; and in another, a moſt painful Traveller in Chriſt's Goſpel.

Hugh Latimer, ſays Mr. *Fox*, was the Son of *Hugh Latimer*, of *Thringſton*, in the County of *Leiceſter*, a Huſbandman of right good Eſtimation; at fourteen Years old, he was ſent to *Cambridge*, where, for a Time, he was a zealous Papiſt, *&c.* But, being affected with Novelties, he began to ſeek Occaſions in his Preachings, and other Actions, to utter the ſame, ſcoffing at the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and carping at Clergymen's Lives, wherein he had a ſingular Talent. Wherefore, going up, ſays Mr. *Fox*, into the Pulpit of St. *Edward*'s Church in *Cambridge*, upon the *Sunday* before *Chriſtmas-Day*, *Ann.* 1529, he made a Sermon of Playing at Cards, wherein he taught his Audience, how to play at *Triumph*, how to deal the Cards, and what every Sort did ſignify, and that the Heart was the *Triumph*, adding, moreover, ſuch Praiſes of that Card, when it was *Triumph*, that, tho' it were never ſo ſmall, yet would it take up the beſt Court Card beſides, in the Bunch, yea, though, it were the King of Clubs himſelf, *&c.* which Handling of this Matter was ſo apt for the Time, and ſo pleaſantly applied by him, that it not only declared a ſingular Towardneſs of Wit, but alſo wrought in the Hearers much Fruit, to the Overthrow of Popiſh Superſtition, and Setting up of perfect Religion. He took Occaſion, under this Diſguiſe in this Sermon, to inveigh bitterly againſt the Religion then eſtabliſhed, and compared the Biſhops and Prelates to the Knaves of Clubs.

He did ſo delight and bewitch the Vulgar People, with Jeſts and Wantonneſs of Speech, that the Boys would follow him, and call him, Father *Latimer*, and Apoſtle of *England*.

He would often, in the Pulpit, play upon the Words, *Paſcere* and *Maſſare*, which rhyme as well as *Oliver*'s *Mumpſimus* and *Sumpſimus*, complaining greatly, that *Maſſare* had driven out *Paſcere*, and that *Paſcere* could have no Place for *Maſſare*, for that *Maſſare* was gainful, and *Paſcere* was painful: And then he could cry out, and ſay, O good *Paſcere*, who ſhall defend thee againſt *Maſſare*.— With other ſuch like Stuff, fitter for a Stage, than a Pulpit; yet this drew the People infinitely after him, as all Buffoonry is wont to do.

This *Hugh* had been, ſeveral Times, accuſed for Preaching Hereſy and Sedition, eſpecially, after the Coming forth of the Statute of ſix Articles, *Ann.* 1540, and did as often recant and abjure his Opinions, but was, at laſt, deprived of his Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, by King *Henry the Eighth*, and ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*. But, after that King's Death, he was releaſed; and, in King *Edward*'s Days, at the Inſtigation of the then Protector, he publickly accuſed Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Lord High Admiral, of Treaſon, in a Sermon at *Oxford*, by Means whereof, Sir *Thomas* was condemned in Parliament, and executed the Twentieth of *March*, 1549.

When Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, it was thought fit, in Reſpect of the great Miſchief, *Hugh* had done, by his licentious Tongue in King *Edward*'s Days, and ſeditious Behaviour againſt the Queen's Entrance, to call him, with Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and *Nicholas Ridley*, to a more ſtrict Account; and, after many Conferences and Examinations had, before Dr. *White*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Brooks*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and other Commiſſioners, and many Arguments and Exhortations made to them, to recant their Errors, principally thoſe of *Wickliff*, yet they remained obſtinate, and were burnt together, at *Oxford*, the Sixteenth of *October*, 1555, each of them making Uſe of Gunpowder, to diſpatch himſelf quickly as Mr. *Fox* obſerves.

Alexander Gouch, a Weaver of ſhredded Coverlets, being in the Year 1558, and Laſt of Queen *Mary*, taken in a Hay-loft at *Groſborow* in *Suffolk*, with *Alice Driver*, the Wife of a neighbouring Huſbandman, where ſhe was holding forth to him, for *Gouch* was her Diſciple, were carried Priſoners to *Ipſwich*; and afterwards, being brought to the Aſſizes at *Bury*, *Alice Driver*, upon her Examination, compared

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Queen *Mary* then reigning, to *Jezabel*, for which, her Ears were cut off. And, upon her Examination by Doctor *Spencer*, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and others, ſhe told them, They were not able to reſiſt the Spirit of God, which was in her; and when they ſpoke of the bleſſed Sacrament, and inſiſted upon the Authority of the Church, ſhe demanded, Where they found the Word *Church* written in the Scriptures, and ſaid poſitively, ſhe never read, nor heard, of any ſuch Sacrament there. For which, with other Fanatical Opinions, obſtinately defended by her, and *Gouch* her Mate, they were both burnt at *Ipſwich*, in *November*, 1558.

John Tewksbury, a Leather-ſeller of *London*, being infected with Reading *Tyndal*'s ſeditious Books, eſpecially, that intituled, the *Wicked Mammon*, which contained little elſe, but an odious Invective againſt the Biſhops and Prelates of the Church, grew to be ſo obſtinate in his Opinions, that he was examined in open Conſiſtory, before *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *London*, upon divers Articles: As,

1. That the Devil holds our Hearts ſo hard, that it is impoſſible to conſent to God's Law.
2. That every one is Lord of whatſoever another Man hath.
3. That the *Jews*, of good Intent and Zeal, put Chriſt to Death.
4. That Chriſt, with all his Works, did not deſerve Heaven.
5. We are damned by Nature, as a Toad is a Toad by Nature, *&c.*

Though he then maintained theſe with other Errors, yet, the next Seſſion, he ſubmitted himſelf; and in *May*, 1529, abjured his Opinions; but, ſoon after, he returned to his Vomit and was burnt in *Smithfield*, in *December* next following.

Thomas Hawks, Serving-man of *Eſſex*, a notorious Anabaptiſt, was convened before *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, his Ordinary, as for other Errors, ſo chiefly, for not Permitting his young Child to be baptiſed; he obſtinately defended his Child to be in no Danger, if it ſhould die without Baptiſm: I ſay, ſaith he, as St. *Peter* ſaith, 1 *Pet.* iii. *Not the Waſhing of Water purgeth the Filthineſs of the Fleſh, but a good Conſcience conſenting unto God.* For which Obſtinacy, he was burnt at *Coxhall* in *Eſſex*, in the Year 1555, and Second of Queen *Mary*.

Richard Woodman, of *Warbleton* in *Suſſex*, Ironmonger, being examined by Dr. *Chriſtopherſon*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and other Doctors, upon divers Articles; *Woodman* affirmed poſitively, that he, forſooth, was ſure, he had the Spirit of God, and can prove by Places enough, ſaith he, that *Paul* had the Spirit of God, as I myſelf and all God's Elect have. No Arguments, nor Reaſon, could reclaim him from his Errors, ſo that he was burnt at *Lewes*, in *June*, 1557.

In the Year 1575, and Seventeenth of Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Reign, the Third of *April*, twenty-ſeven Hereticks were condemned by the Biſhop of *London* and his Aſſiſtants, for Holding with the old *Catharites*, and new *Anabaptiſts*.

1. That Chriſt took not Fleſh of the Subſtance of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*.
2. That Infants of the Faithful ought not to be baptiſed.
3. That it was not lawful for a Chriſtian to take an Oath.
4. And that no Chriſtian may be a Magiſtrate, or bear the Sword, and the like.

Whereof four only did recant, and bore Faggots at *Paul*'s Croſs, in Sign of Burning, if they had perſevered obſtinately in the ſame Opinions.

The Twelfth of *June* the ſame Year, five Perſons were condemned in St. *Paul*'s Church by the Biſhops and Clergy, for being of the Sect of the *Family of Love*, who eſcaped Death by recanting that Hereſy at *Paul*'s Croſs, and deteſting the Author thereof, *Henry Nicholas*, and all his Errors.

The Seventeenth of *September*, 1583, and in the Twenty-ſixth Year of the ſaid Queen, *John Lewis*, who named himſelf *Abdoit*, an obſtinate *Arian* Heretick, for Denying the Godhead of Chriſt, and Holding other deteſtable Hereſies, was burnt at *Norwich*. And, in the Year 1589, and Thirty-firſt of the ſaid Queen, one *Francis Kett*, a Maſter of Arts, born at *Wymmondham* in *Norfolk*, was condemned by *Edmund*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, for Holding divers deteſtable Opinions againſt Chriſt our Saviour, and was burnt near the City of *Norwich*.

The Sixteenth of *July*, 1591, and Thirty-third of *Eliſabeth*, *Edmund Coppinger* and *Hen-*

ry Arthington, ſays *Stow*, repaired to one *Walker*'s Houſe near *Broken-wharf*, *London*; where, conferring with one of their Sect, called *William Hacket*, of *Oundle*, in *Northamptonſhire*, they offered to anoint him King; but *Hacket*, taking *Coppinger* by the Hand, ſaid, You ſhall not need to anoint me, for I have been already anointed in Heaven by the Holy Ghoſt himſelf. Then *Coppinger* aſked him, What his Pleaſure was to be done? Go your Way both, ſaid he, and tell them in the City, That *Chriſt Jeſus* is come with his Fan in his Hand, to judge the Earth; and, if any Man aſk where he is, tell him, he lies at *Walker*'s Houſe; and, if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me, if they can, for, as truly as *Chriſt Jeſus* is in Heaven, ſo truly is he come to judge the World. *Coppinger* ſaid it ſhould be done forthwith, thereupon went forward, and *Arthington* followed: But, before he could get down Stairs, they had begun below in the Houſe to proclaim News from Heaven of exceeding great Mercy, That *Chriſt Jeſus* was come, *&c.* They both cried, Repent, *England*, repent, as they paſſed along the Streets; and being arrived in *Cheapſide*, with a great Concourſe of People following them, they got up into an empty Cart, where they read out of a Paper, How *Hacket* repreſented Chriſt by partaking a Part of his glorified Body by his principal Spirit, and by the Office of Severing the Good from the Bad with the Fan in his Hand, and of Eſtabliſhing the Goſpel in *Europe*; telling the People alſo where he remained, That they were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, the other of Judgment, ſent, and extraordinarily called by God to aſſiſt him in this great Work, and were Witneſſes of theſe Things, *&c.*

But *Hacket*, being apprehended, was brought to the Seſſion's houſe in the *Old-Bailey*, where, for his ſaid mad Pranks, for irreverent Speeches againſt her Majeſty, and for maliciouſly Thruſting an Iron Inſtrument into the Queen's Picture, he had Judgment, and, on the Twenty-eighth of *July*, he was drawn from *Newgate* to *Cheapſide*, all the Way crying out, ſometimes *Jehovah*, *Meſſias*, *Jehovah*, *Meſſias*; at other Times, ſaying, Look, look how the Heavens open wide, and the Son of God comes down to deliver me. When he came under the Gibbet, near the Croſs in *Cheapſide*, he was exhorted to aſk God and the Queen Forgiveneſs; but, inſtead thereof, he fell to curſing her, and began a moſt blaſphemous and execrable Prayer againſt the Divine Majeſty of God: They had much ado to get him up the Ladder, where he was hanged, and after bowelled and quartered.

The next Day, being the Twenty-ninth of *July*, *Coppinger*, having wilfully abſtained from Suſtenance, as was ſaid, died in *Bridewell*, and *Arthington* was long reſerved in the *Compter* of *Woodſtreet*, in Hope of his Repentance.

This *Arthington*, during his Impriſonment, wrote a Book, intituled, *The Seduction of* Henry Arthington *by* Hacket, *in the Year* 1592, and dedicated it to the Lords of her Majeſty's Council; in which he diſcourſes of two Spirits that he had, the firſt from the Time of his being a Proteſtant, to the Death of *Hacket*; the ſecond from that Time forward. His firſt Spirit he aſſured himſelf to be of the Holy Ghoſt, for that it was founded in the Hatred of Papiſts and Papiſtry, whom he held for Traitors; it moved him to follow Sermons, and particular Faſts and Exerciſes; and, beſides, he felt himſelf poſſeſſed, to uſe his own Words, with a burning Heat within him, and his Love and Affection greatly placed towards the preaching Miniſtry, *&c.*

Thus he deſcribeth his firſt Spirit, which induced him by little and little to join with *Hacket* and *Coppinger*, and at laſt, to believe the one to be Chriſt, the other a Prophet, as you have heard.

Of his other Spirit he diſcourſeth thus, I certainly knew myſelf to be reſerved for Salvation in Chriſt; yea, I did expoſtulate with God's merciful Majeſty, after my Fall with *Hacket*, whether I was a Reprobate or no, and preſently the Holy Ghoſt did aſſure my Heart, that I was no Reprobate, but that my Caſe, in Effect, was much like St. *Paul*'s, *&c.* I was aſſured of my Spirit by theſe Tokens following: 1. By Experience of God's Providence in ſtill Preſerving me. 2. For that God hath ſent his Spirit into my Heart to cry, *Abba Father*. 3. For that God doth ſtill increaſe my Faith. 4. In that I knew my Faith to be founded in the Fruits of God's Spirit, *&c.*

This laſt Spirit he knew to be of God, the other of Satan; which before he thought to be as much of God as this; and, in Truth, he had as much Aſſurance of the one as the other, but only by the mad Perſuaſion of his own frantick Brain. You may read more of theſe three grand Sectaries in an old Book, intituled, *Conſpiracy of pretended Reformation.*

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Many other Examples might be collected out of our Hiſtorians of this fanatick Spirit in former Times, which never, till our late horrid Rebellion, and Anarchical Confuſion in Government, was permitted to grow to ſo great a Head. And from the Conſideration of theſe, which have, for the moſt Part, been gathered out of Mr. *Fox*'s *Acts and Monuments*, we may juſtly charge that Author with a great double Injury: The Firſt and Principal, In Canoniſing a great Number of apparent Fanaticks and Sectaries into the Liſt of Proteſtant Saints and Martyrs; it being evident to every impartial Reader, even by Mr. *Fox*'s own Relations, that a very notable Part of his Sufferers were ſuch; and if the Records of thoſe Times were extant, and the Examinations of thoſe ancienter Fanaticks freely peruſed, without Queſtion a far greater Number of ſuch mad Saints might be diſcovered amongſt them: Which I am ſo much the more inclined to believe on the Authority of a learned Writer, who lived very near thoſe Days, and thus expreſſes their Character: They were drunk, ſays he, with the Pride of Hereſy, and put out of their right Senſes by the Frenzy thereof. Which is juſt the Periphraſis of a Fanatick.

The other Injury, which I find this Author guilty of, is, his immoderate Reviling, and ſometimes falſly Accuſing both Queen *Mary*, and the Papiſts of thoſe Days, of greater Severities and Perſecutions than they were really guilty of, though in ſome Caſes they certainly were too cruel and rigorous; yet it was no more than what *Henry the Eighth* and *Edward the Sixth*, her Predeceſſors, did before her, and what Queen *Eliſabeth*, her Succeſſor, did after her.

For Proof of this, I find one *Greenwood*, or *Grimwood*, of *Hitcham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, accuſed by Mr. *Fox* to be a perjured Papiſt, and a great Perſecutor of his Martyrs, and therefore had great Plagues inflicted on him, and, being in Health, his Bowels fell out of his Body by the terrible Judgment of God. Now, for an evident Conviction of this Falſhood, one Parſon *Prick*, not long after the firſt Edition of *Fox*'s *Acts and Monuments*, and in the twenty-ſeventh Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*, took Occaſion to revile the Papiſts in a Sermon, as the Cuſtom was, and, in Particular, told this Story of *Greenwood* in the Pulpit, and cited his Author as infallible; but ſo it happened, that Mr. *Greenwood*, who was a good Proteſtant, was preſent at that very Sermon, and never was ſo plagued, but ſoon after brought his Action on the Caſe againſt Mr. *Prick*, for Calling him perjured Perſon, to which the Defendant pleaded not Guilty; and, this Matter being diſcloſed upon the Evidence, *Wray*, Chief Juſtice, delivered the Law to the Jury, in Favour of Mr. *Prick*, That, it being delivered but as a Story (ſuch it ſeems are too many of Mr. *Fox*'s) and not with any Malice or Intention to ſlander any, he was not guilty of the Words maliciouſly, and ſo was not found guilty: And Judge *Popham* affirmed it to be good in Law.

The exact Particulars of this Caſe you may find amongſt the Records of *Weſtminſter-hall* of that Year; and, in a Caſe of like Nature betwixt *Brook* and *Montague*, 3 *Jac.* it was cited by Sir *Edward Coke*, then Attorney-General, and is briefly printed in the ſecond Part of Judge *Croke*'s *Reports*, publiſhed by the learned Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Bart. Speaker of the late Parliament.

The PARALLEL.

Ancient.

THomas Lord *Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal (Son of a Blackſmith of *Putney*, who was in his latter Days a Brewer) was firſt a Servant to Cardinal *Wolſey*, and afterwards a principal Miniſter of State to King *Henry the Eighth*; and, among other great Offices which he had, he was Vicar-general over all the Spiritualty, though a Layman, and ſat divers Times in the Convocation among the Biſhops; by Means whereof, and of his great Power, and Propen-

Modern.

OLiver *Cromwell* had, indeed, ſome Advantage over his Name-ſake Lord in the Quality of his Birth, but none in that of his Profeſſion, he being a Brother too of the jolly Brewhouſe, though he far ſurpaſſed the other in the Myſtery of Iniquity. In the late Rebellion, raiſed againſt King *Charles the Firſt*, of bleſſed Memory, he began to ſet up a new Trade, and was at firſt Captain of a Troop of Sectaries; afterwards, by unheard of Policy, became General, and, the better to ſerve his

Ancient.

ſion to Schiſm and Hereſy, he ranſacked, diſſolved, and ſubverted many Abbies and Religious Houſes, and, if he had lived, had a Heart inclined to act greater Miſchiefs, both in Church and State; but, on the Nineteenth of *July*, 1540, he was arraigned and condemned of Hereſy and Treaſon, and, on the Twenty-ninth of the ſame Month, was beheaded at *Tower-hill*.

Hugh Latimer, Son of a Huſbandman in *Leiceſterſhire*, pretended to the Office of the Miniſtry, affected a drolliſh Way of Holding forth in the Pulpit, was a great Enemy to Biſhops and Clergy, and as great a Patron of Fanaticks; and, finally, was burnt at *Oxford*, the Sixteenth of *October*, 1555.

William Hacket, of *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, proclaimed himſelf in *London* to be *Chriſt Jeſus*, come with his Fan in his Hand to judge the Earth; and was attended by *Edmund Coppinger* and *Henry Arthington*, his two falſe Prophets, the one of Mercy, the other of Judgment; for which, on the Twenty-eighth of *July*, 1590, he was hanged on a Gibbet in *Cheapſide*. *Coppinger* died a Priſoner in *Bridewell*, and *Arthington* long after in *Woodſtreet Compter*.

John Lambert, of *Norfolk*, a *Zuinglian* (in our modern Dialect, a Fanatick) was accuſed of Hereſy, and had the Honour to be tried by King *Henry the Eighth*, and many Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in *Weſtminſter-hall*; was found guilty and obſtinate, and burnt in *Smithfield*, in the Year 1538.

John Tewksbury, of *London*, Leather-ſeller, obſtinately held certain Anabaptiſtical and Heretical Opinions; for which he was condemned and burnt in *Smithfield*, in *December*, 1529.

John Maundrell, of *Kevel* in *Wiltſhire*, Cowherd, was condemned by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, for obſtinately Holding divers heretical and fantaſtical Opinions, and burnt in the Year 1556.

William Tyndal, about the Year 1527, wrote a ſeditious and invective Book againſt the Biſhops and Prelates of the Church, and intituled it, *The Wicked Mammon*.

Modern.

own ambitious Ends, on the Thirtieth of *January*, 1648, did moſt barbarouſly murder that good King at his own Palace-gate; then made himſelf Protector of an *Utopian* Commonwealth, and, on the Third of *September*, 1658, died full of Murders, Wickedneſſes, and Treaſons: His Body lay inhumed at *Weſtminſter*, till the Thirtieth of *January*, 1660, when it was, by Order of Parliament, hanged at *Tyburn*, with *Bradſhaw* and *Ireton* his Accomplices; and, finally, buried under that Gallows.

Hugh Peters, of like mean Extraction, uſurped the Office of the Miniſtry; was uſed by *Oliver*, as a fit Inſtrument in the Pulpit, to encourage Rebels in their evil Ways; had a great Hand in ſpilling the Royal Blood; was no better a Friend to the Hierarchy, than other Sectaries are; was hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Charing-Croſs* (the ſame Sixteenth of *October*) 1660.

James Naylor, of *Anderſlow* in *Yorkſhire*, declared himſelf, at *Briſtol*, to be the Son of God, and King of Righteouſneſs; where he rode about, pronouncing his Blaſphemies, attended by *Martha Simonds*, *Hannah Stranger*, and *Dorcas Erbury*, repreſenting the three *Maries* in the Goſpel, *John* xix. 25. For which (inſtead of a thouſand Deaths, which he deſerved) he had only his Tongue bored through with a hot Iron, at the *Old Exchange*, *London*, the Twenty-ſeventh of *December*, 1656.

John Lambert, of *Yorkſhire*, a great Sectary, a Partaker in *Oliver*'s Iniquities, had the Honour to be judged by King *Charles the Second*, and his Parliament, in the Year 1660; was found guilty, but mercifully reprieved during their Pleaſure.

Praiſe-god Barebones, of *London*, Leather-ſeller, was a great Anabaptiſt Commonwealth's-man, a Lay-preacher, and of a factious Spirit, yet the Mercy of the King and Parliament has pardoned his Errors, in Hopes he may grow better.

Giles Prichard, of *Iſlington* in *Middleſex*, Cowherd, was, upon his Trial at the *Seſſions-Houſe* in the *Old-Bailey*, found guilty of the Rebellion, in *January*, 1660, and hanged in *Cheapſide*.

William Prynne, in the Year 1636, wrote the like, intituling it, *The Unbiſhoping of* Timothy *and* Titus; the only Perſon in this unhappy Parallel, who has given large Teſtimo-

John

Ancient.

John Lewis, an obſtinate *Arian* Heretick, for Denying the Godhead of Chriſt, and Holding other blaſphemous and deteſtable Hereſies, was burnt at *Norwich*, the Seventeenth of *September*, 1583.

In the Year 1414, Sir *John Oldcaſtle* and Sir *Roger-Acton*, with other Fanaticks, plotted a deſperate Rebellion, in St. *Giles*'s *Fields*, againſt King *Henry the Fifth*; for which thirty-ſeven of them were, in the ſame Year, and in the ſame Place, hanged.

Sir *Roger Acton* ſoon after was hanged, drawn, and buried under the Gallows, for his deteſtable Rebellion.

Modern.

nies of his Reconcilement to Loyalty and Reaſon.

John Fry, a Member of the Long-Parliament, held the like Opinions, and aſſerted them in Print; for which he was only diſmembered, eſcaping further Puniſhment, through the Liberty of thoſe evil Times.

In *January*, 1660, *Thomas Venner*, *Roger Hodgkins*, and other Fanaticks contrived a horrid Inſurrection in *Woodſtreet*, *London*, againſt King *Charles the Second* (whom God long preſerve!) for which fourteen of them were hanged in the ſame Month, and near the ſame Place.

On the Thirtieth of *January*, 1660, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and *Bradſhaw* were drawn, hanged, and buried under *Tyburn*, for Murder and Rebellion.

The ancient and modern Fanaticks agreed exactly in theſe Particulars: *Firſt*, They pretended the Motion and Impulſe of the Spirit for what they did. *Secondly*, They declared againſt Kings and Magiſtrates. *Thirdly*, Againſt Payment of Tithes. *Fourthly*, Againſt the Whore of *Babylon* and Popiſh Clergy (only our Moderns have gone farther, againſt even all Kinds of Clergy.) *Fifthly*, Againſt Swearing in any Caſe; and they alledged Scripture for whatſoever they aſſerted. 'We will not, 'ſays *The Door of Hope*, have any Thing to 'do with the Antichriſtian Magiſtracy, Mini'ſtry, Tithes, *&c.* which are none of our 'Lord's Appointment,—but falſe and *Baby*'*loniſh*.' From ſuch Saints, and ſuch Martyrs, good Lord deliver our gracious King and all his Kingdoms.

The five Years of King *James*, or, the Condition of the State of *England*, and the Relation it had to other Provinces. Written by Sir *Foulk Grevill*, late Lord *Brook*. *London*, Printed for *W. R.* in the Year 1643. *Quarto*, containing eighty-four Pages.

HOWSOEVER every Kingdom and Commonwealth may be both well and uprightly governed, and that good Men may be the Means to ſupport it; yet there can be no ſuch Commonwealth, but, amongſt the good, there will be ſome evil Perſons: Theſe, whether by Nature induced, or through Envy and Ambition, to the Intent to ſatisfy their Appetites, perſuaded, do oftentimes enter into Actions repugnant unto the Felicity of good Government and Commonwealths, and, by evil Cauſers and perverſe Deeds, do ſecretly and underhand, ſeek to haſten and ſet forward the Ruin and Decay of the ſame: Theſe Things, becauſe they happen contrary, and beyond Expectation, are ſo much the more remarkable, by how much they are ſudden and unexpected. And from hence it cometh, that no State of Government can be ſaid to be permanent,

nent, but that oftentimes thoſe, ſaid to be good, are by little and little converted unto thoſe that be evil, and oftentimes changed from worſe to worſe, till they come to utter Deſolation.

Neither is this alone proper to our Commonwealth, but to all; nor to foreign Kingdoms, but to our own: For, although his Majeſty, at his Coming to the Crown, found us vexed with many defenſive Wars, as that in *Ireland*, that in the *Low-Countries*, and almoſt publick againſt *Spain*, auxiliary in *France*, and continually in military Employments; although he found it lacerated and torn, with divers Factions of Proteſtants, Papiſts, and others, from amongſt whom ſprung ſome evil Men, that endeavoured to ſet into Combuſtion the whole State; yet, nevertheleſs, he eſtabliſhed a Peace, both honourable, and profitable, with all neighbour Princes, and, by Relation, through all *Europe*; ſo that neither our Friends, nor our Enemies, might be either feared or ſuſpected.

After this general Peace was concluded, and the working Heads of divers Papiſts were confined to a certain Courſe of Life, that is, Peace; they now petition for Toleration, for Releaſes of Vexation, to have Liberty of Conſcience; and, forſooth, becauſe they cannot have theſe Things amongſt them, they contrive a moſt horrible and deviliſh Plot by Gun-powder, to blow up the Parliament, even the whole State and Command of this Kingdom, and ſo, at one Puff, to conclude all this Peace, and by that Means to procure an unruly and unſeemly Avarice of this ſettled Government; and this not ſo much to eſtabliſh their own Religion, for which they pretended it, but to eſtabliſh their own Power and Preheminence, and to raiſe ſome private Families to Greatneſs and Dignity, that ſo, Faction being nouriſhed, and that Juriſdiction eſtabliſhed, they might with great Facility ſuppreſs whom they pleaſe, and ſupport their own State. Thus may we ſee, that ſettled Governments do cheriſh in themſelves their own Deſtruction, and their own Subjects are oftentimes the Cauſe of their own Ruin, unleſs God of his Mercy prevent it.

Of the Domeſtick Affairs, and of the laſcivious Courſe of ſuch on whom the King had beſtowed the Honour of Knighthood.

THIS Evil being diſcovered by the Lord *Mounteagle*, and overpaſſed, divers Diſcontents happened, ſome between the Civilians and Common Lawyers concerning Prohibitions; and, for that there was one Dr. *Cowell* who ſtood ſtifly againſt the Lord *Cooke*, divers Diſcontents were nouriſhed between the Gentry and Commonalty, concerning Inclofure, and it grew out into a petty Rebellion; which by the ſame was conjectured, not to happen ſo much for the Thing itſelf, as for to find how the People ſtood affected to the preſent State, whereby divers Quarrels and ſecret Combuſtions were daily breaking out; in private Families, one ſided againſt another; and of theſe, Proteſtants againſt Papiſts, they thereby endeavouring to get a Head, and from ſmall Beginnings, to raiſe greater Rebellions and Diſcontents, ſhewed themſelves heady, and ſpeak publickly, what durſt not heretofore have been ſpoken in Corners: In outward Appearance, Papiſts were favoured, Maſſes almoſt publickly adminiſtered, Proteſtants diſcountenanced, diſhoneſt Men honoured, thoſe, that were little leſs than Sorcerers, and Witches, preferred; private Quarrels nouriſhed, but eſpecially between *Scottiſh* and the *Engliſh* Duels in every Secret maintained; divers Sects of vicious Perſons, of particular Titles, paſs unpuniſhed or unregarded, as the Sect of Roaring-boys, Boneventors, Bravado's, Guarterers, and ſuch like, being Perſons prodigal, and of great Expence, who, having run themſelves in Debt, were conſtrained to run into Faction, to defend them from Danger of the Law; theſe received Maintenance from divers of the Nobility, and not a little, as was ſuſpected, from the Earl of *Northampton*; which Perſons, though of themſelves they were not able to attempt any Enterpriſe, yet, Faith, Honeſty, and other good Arts, being now little ſet by, and Citizens, through Lasciviouſneſs, conſuming their Eſtates, it was likely their Number would rather increaſe than diminiſh; and, under theſe Pretences, they entered into many deſperate Enterpriſes, and ſcarce any durſt walk the Streets with Safety after Nine at Night: So, to conclude,

in outward Shew, there appeared no certain Affection, no certain Obedience, no certain Government amongſt us.

Such Perſons on whom the King had beſtowed particular Honours, either through Pride of that, or their own Prodigality, lived at high Rates, and, with their Greatneſs, brought in Exceſs of Riot, both in Clothes and Diet. So our ancient Cuſtoms were abandoned, and that Strictneſs and Severity, that had wont to be amongſt us, the *Engliſh* ſcorned and contemned, every one applauding ſtrange or new Things, though never ſo coſtly, and, for the Attaining of them, neither ſparing Purſe nor Credit; that Prices of all Sorts of Commodities are raiſed, and thoſe ancient Gentlemen, who had left their Inheritance whole, and well furniſhed with Goods and Chattels, having, thereof, kept good Houſes unto their Sons, lived to ſee Part conſumed in Riot and Exceſs, and the reſt, in Poſſibility, to be utterly loſt: The holy Eſtate of Matrimony moſt perfidiouſly broken, and, amongſt many, made but a *May*-Game; by which Means, divers private Families have been ſubverted, Brothel-houſes in Abundance tolerated, and even great Perſons proſtituting their Bodies, to the Intent to ſatisfy their Appetites, and conſume their Subſtance, repairing to the City, and, to the Intent to conſume their Virtues alſo, lived diſſolute Lives. And many of their Ladies and Daughters, to the Intent to maintain themſelves according to their Dignities, proſtitute their Bodies in a ſhameful Manner; Ale-houſes, Dicing-houſes, Taverns, and Places of Vice and Iniquity, beyond Meaſure, abounding in many Places, there being as much Extortion for Sin, as there is Racking for Rents, and as many Ways to ſpend Money, as are Windings and Turnings in Towns and Streets; ſo that, to outward Appearance, the Evil ſeems to overtop the Good, and evil Intentions and Counſels rather proſpered, than thoſe that were profitable to the Commonwealth.

Of my Lord of Northampton*'s Coming to Honour; the Cauſe of the Diviſion between the* Hollanders *and the* Engliſh; *between the* Scottiſh *and* Engliſh; *between the* Engliſh *and* Iriſh.

NOW *Henry Howard*, youngeſt Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, continuing a Papiſt from his Infancy unto this Time, beginning to grow eminent, and being made famous heretofore for his Learning, having been trained and brought up for a long Time in *Cambridge*, by the Perſuaſion of the King, changeth his Opinion of Religion in outward Appearance; and, to the Intent to reap unto himſelf more Honour, became a Proteſtant, for which Cauſe, he was created Earl of *Northampton*, and had the King's Favours bountifully beſtowed upon him; firſt, the Office of Privy-ſeal, then the Wardenſhip of *Cinque-Ports*, and, laſtly, the Refuſal of being Treaſurer: This Man was of a ſubtle and fine Wit, of a good Proportion, excellent in outward Courtſhip, famous for ſecret Inſinuation, and for cunning Flatteries, and, by Reaſon of theſe Flatteries, became a fit Man for the Conditions of thoſe Times, and was ſuſpected to be ſcarce true unto his Sovereign; but rather endeavouring, by ſome ſecret Ways and Means, to ſet Abroad new Plots, for to procure Innovation. And, for this Purpoſe, it was thought he had a Hand in the Contention that happened amongſt the *Hollanders* and *Engliſh*, concerning the Fiſhing, the *Hollanders* claiming Right to have the Fiſhing in the *Levant*, and the *Engliſh* claiming Right; upon this Contention, they fell from Claim, to Words of Anger, from Words of Anger, to Blows; ſo that there died many of them, and a Star was left for further Quarrel, but that it was ſalved by wiſe Governors, and the Expectation of ſome diſappointed.

Nevertheleſs, the Papiſts, being a ſtrong Faction, and ſo great a Man being their Favourer, grew into their Head's Malice, and endeavour to make the Inſolency of the *Scots* to appear, who, to this Intent, that they might be the more hated of the *Engliſh*, not contented with their preſent Eſtate, would enter into Outrages; ſome counterfeit the Seal-Manual, others taunt the Nobility in Diſdain, and a third Sort ſecretly contrive the *Engliſh*'s Death; whereby it happened, beſides common Clamour, that there were added ſecret Diſcontents of

private

private Perſons, which cauſed Jealouſy to happen in thoſe two Nations. But his Majeſty, being both wiſe and worthy, foreſaw the Evil, and prevented it by Proclamation, by which Means, theſe Clamours are ſtopped, and the Injury and Offences of both Parties redreſſed. The *Iriſh* ſeeing theſe Sores, and hearing of theſe Miſdemeanors, for they have their Intelligents here alſo, begin to grow obſtinate, and make Religion a Pretence, to colour their Intentions; for which Cauſe they ſtand out, and proteſt Loſs of Life and Goods, rather than to be forced from their Opinion, being wavering and unconſtant, rather thirſting for Rebellion, to the Intent to purchaſe their own Liberty, than Peace; every new Alteration gives Occaſion of Diſcontent, and cauſes new Complaints to be brought to the King's Ear, under Pretence whereof, they grew contemptuous to their Governors, and Haters of the *Engliſh* Laws.

The Captains and Soldiers grew negligent for Want of Pay, the great Men envying one another through private Covetouſneſs, and many Inſolencies, being ſuffered, cauſe there alſo, to be nouriſhed, many Miſdemeanors, to the Ruin of that Government.

Theſe Things, being thus handled, adminiſter Occaſion to the Papiſts to hope for ſome Alteration and Change. And that, as a Body that is violent conſumeth itſelf, without ſome ſpecial Cauſe to maintain it, ſo theſe Occurrences will be the Cauſe of their own Deſtruction. At this Time, there was a Leaguer in *Denmark*, and, ſhortly after, another in the *Low-Countries*; but, to what End their Beginnings were intended, is yet unknown.

The Riſing of the Earl of Somerſet; *his Favour and Greatneſs with the King, and his Parentage, and Diſcontent.*

AMONG other Accidents that happened about theſe Times, the Riſing of one Mr. *Carr* was moſt remarkable; a Man born of mean Parentage, Inhabitant in a Village near *Edinburgh*, in *Scotland*, and there, through the Favour of Friends, was preferred to his Majeſty to be one of his Pages, for he kept twelve, according to the Cuſtom of the *French*, and ſo continued it as long as he was in *Scotland*; afterwards, coming into *England*, the Council thought it more honourable to have ſo many Footmen to run with his Majeſty, as the Queen had before; theſe Youths had Clothes put to their Backs, according to their Places, and fifty Pounds apiece in their Purſes, and ſo were diſmiſſed the Court.

This Youth, amongſt the reſt, having thus loſt his Fortunes, to repair them again, makes Haſte into *France*, and there continued, until he had ſpent all his Means and Money: So that now, being bare in a ſtrange Country, without Friends, or Hope to obtain his Expectation, he returns back for *England*, bringing nothing with him but the Language, and a few *French* Faſhions; nevertheleſs, by the Help of ſome of his Countrymen, and ancient Acquaintance, he was preferred unto the Lord *Hays*, a *Scotchman*, and Favourite of the King's, to wait upon him as his Page. Not long after, that Lord, amongſt many others, was appointed to perform a Tilting, who, bearing an Affection to this young Man, as well in Reſpect he was his Countryman, as that he found him to be of a bold Diſpoſition, comely viſaged, and of proportionable Perſonage, commixed with a courtly Preſence, prefers him to carry his Device to the King, according to the Cuſtom in thoſe Paſtimes uſed: Now when he ſhould come to light from off his Horſe, to perform his Office, his Horſe ſtarts, throws him down, and breaks his Leg: This Accident, being no leſs ſtrange than ſudden, in ſuch a Place, cauſes the King to demand who he was; Anſwer was made, his Name was *Carr*. He, taking Notice of his Name, and calling to Remembrance, that ſuch a one was his Page, cauſes him to be had into the Court, and there provided for him, until ſuch Time as he was recovered of his Hurt: After, in Proceſs of Time, the young Man is called for, and made one of the Bed-Chamber to his Majeſty; he had not long continued in his Place, before (by his good Endeavours, and diligent Service in his Office) the King ſhewed extraordinary Favour unto him, doubling the Favour of every Action in Eſtimation, ſo that many are obſcured, that he may be graced and dignified.

Thus

Thus the Hand of the Diligent maketh rich, and the dutiful Servant cometh to Honour; he, of all others, either without Fraud to obtain, or Desert to continue it, is made the King's Favourite; no Suit, no Petition, no Grant, no *Letter*, but Mr. *Carr* must have a Hand in it; so that great Rewards are bestowed upon him by Suitors, and large Sums of Money by his Majesty; by which Means his Wealth increased with his Favour, and with both, Honours: For Virtue and Riches dignify their Owners; being, from a Page, raised to the Dignity of Knighthood. After his Favour increasing with his Honours, there was no Demand but he had it, no Suit but he obtained it, whether it were Crown-lands, Lands forfeited or confiscated; nothing so dear, but the King bestowed upon him, whereby his Revenues were enlarged, and his Glory so resplendent, that he drowned the Dignity of the best of the Nobility, and the Eminency of such as were much more excellent. By which Means, Envy (the common Companion of Greatness) procures him much Discontent, but yet, passing through all Disadventures, continues his Favour; and Men, being drawn to applaud that which is either strange or new, began to sue him, and most to purchase him, to be their Friend and Assistant in Court; so great and eminent was his Favour.

Of the Breach that happened between the Earl of Essex *and his Countess; her Hatred towards him; his Lenity; her Lightness; his Constancy.*

NOW, the Cares of the Vulgar being filled with the Fortunes of this Gentleman, it ministered Occasion to pass to their Opinions, concerning his Worth and Desert; some extol and laud his Virtues, others the Proportion of his Personage, many his outward Courtship, and most, as they stood affected, either praised or dispraised him, insomuch that, amongst the rest, the Countess of *Essex* (a Woman at this Time not greatly affecting her Husband) and withal, being of a lustful Appetite, prodigal of Expence, covetous of Applause, ambitious of Honour, and light of Behaviour, having taken Notice of this young Gentleman's Prosperity, and great Favour that was shewed towards him above others, in Hope to make some Profit of him, most advances him to every one, commending his Worth, Spirit, Audacity, and Agility of Body, so that her ancient, lawful, and accustomed Love towards her Lord begins to be obscured, and those Embraces, that seemed heretofore pleasing, are turned into Frowns, and harsh unseemly Words usher her Discontents unto her Husband's Ears.

The good Earl carrying an extraordinary Affection towards her, and being a Man of a mild and courteous Condition, with all honest and religious Care, ready, rather, to suffer than correct these Outrages, patiently admonisheth her to a better Course of Life, and to remember, that now all her Fortune dependeth upon his Prosperity, and therefore she offered more Injury to herself, than Hurt unto him; yet, nevertheless, she persisted, and, from bare Words, returned to Actions, thereby giving People Occasion to pass their Censure of this Disagreement; some attributing it to the Inconstancy and Looseness of the Countess, others to the Earl's Travels, and that in his Absence she continued most unconstant, of a loose Life, suffering her Body to be abused; and others, to make a Shipwreck of her Modesty, and to abrogate the Rights of Marriage; but most, because she could not have wherewith to satisfy her insatiate Appetite and Ambition, her Husband living a private Life.

For these Causes, I say, she run at Random, and played her Pranks as the Toy took her in the Head, sometimes publickly, sometimes privately, whereby she disparaged her Reputation, and brought herself into the Contempt of the World; yet, notwithstanding, the Earl retained her with him, allowed her honourable Attendance, gave her Means according to her Place, and shewed an extraordinary Affection, endeavouring rather by friendly and fair Persuasions to win her, than to become rigid over her.

But these Things little avail, where Affections are carried to another Scope, and those Things, that, to the Judgment of the Wise, become fit to be used, are of others contemned and despised, so that almost all Men speak of the Looseness of her Carriage, and wonder that the Earl will suffer her in those Courses; whereupon he modesty tells her of it, giving her a Check for her inordinate Courses, shewing how much it both dishonoured him, and disparaged her, in persisting, in the Eye of the World, after so loose and unseemly a Sort; desiring her to be more civil at Home, and not so often Abroad; and thus they parted.

Of my Lord Treaſurer's Death. Of Mr. Overbury's *Coming out of* France; *his Entertainment; he grows into Favour.*

MY Lord Treaſurer *Cecil* growing into Years, having been a good Stateſman, the only Supporter of the Proteſtant Faction, Diſcloſer of Treaſons, and the only *Mercury* of our Time, having been well acquainted with the Affairs of this Commonwealth, falls into a dangerous Sickneſs, and, in Proceſs of Time, through the Extremity of the Malady, dies; not without Suſpicion of Poiſon, according to the Opinion of ſome; others ſay of a ſecret Diſeaſe, ſome naturally, and many not without the Privity of Sir *Robert Carr*; and the Reaſon of their Opinion was, becauſe the King, upon a Time, having given Sir *Robert* the Sum of twenty-thouſand Pounds, to be paid by my Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Robert Carr* was denied it, upon which Denial, there grew ſome Difference between them; the King was privy to it after this Manner: My Lord, having told out five-thouſand Pounds, laid it in a Paſſage-Gallery; the King demands, Whoſe Money that was? Anſwer was made by my Lord Treaſurer, That it was but the fourth Part of that which his Majeſty had given to Sir *Robert Carr*; whereupon the King retired from his former Grant, and wiſhed Sir *Robert* to ſatisfy himſelf with that, holding it to be a great Gift: He, being thus croſſed in his Expectation, harboured in his Heart the Hope of Revenge, which after happened, as was ſuſpected; but it is not certain, therefore I omit it.

Upon the Death of this Gentleman, Mr. *Overbury* (ſometime a Student of the Law in the *Middle-Temple*) was newly arrived out of *France*, who having obtained ſome Favour in Court beforetimes, becauſe of ſome Diſcontents, got Licence to travel, and now at his Return, was entertained into the Favour of Sir *Robert Carr*; whether it proceeded of any Love towards him, or to the Intent to make Uſe of him, is not certain; yet, nevertheleſs, he puts him in Truſt with his moſt ſecret Employments; in which he behaves himſelf honeſtly and diſcreetly, purchaſing, by his wiſe Carriage in that Place, the good Affection and Favour not only of Sir *Robert*, but of others alſo. In Proceſs of Time, this Favour procures Profit, Profit Treaſure, Treaſure Honour, Honour larger Employments, and, in Time, better Execution: For, where Diligence and Humility are aſſociated in great Affairs, there Favour is accompanied with both; ſo that many Courtiers, perceiving his great Hopes, grew into Familiarity with him; the Knight's Expectations are performed, and his Buſineſs accompliſhed, rather more than leſs, according to his Wiſhes; ſo that, taking Notice of his Diligence to outward Appearance, he gives him an extraordinary Countenance, uniting him into Friendſhip with himſelf, inſomuch that, to the Shew of the World, his Bond was indiſſolvible, neither could there be more Friendſhip uſed, ſince there was Nothing ſo ſecret, nor any Matter ſo private, but the Knight imparted it to Mr. *Overbury*.

Of Miſtreſs Turner's *Life, how the Counteſs and ſhe came acquainted. The Combination of the Earl's Death.*

THE Counteſs of *Eſſex*, having harboured in her Heart Envy towards her Huſband even until this Time, makes her Repair unto Miſtreſs *Turner*, a Gentlewoman that, from her Youth, had been given over to a looſe Kind of Life, being of a low Stature, fair Viſage, for outward Behaviour comely, but in Prodigality and Exceſs moſt riotous; by which Courſe of Life ſhe had conſumed the greateſt Part of her Huſband's Means, and her own; ſo that now, wanting wherewith to fulfil her Expectations and extreme Pride, ſhe falls into evil Courſes, as to the Proſtitution of her Body to common Luſt, to practiſe Sorcery and Inchantments, and to many, little leſs than a flat Bawd; her Huſband, dying, left her in a deſperate State, becauſe of her Wants; by which Means ſhe is apt to enter into any evil Accord, and to entertain any evil Motion, be it never ſo facinorous. A Doctor's Wife, who was, during his Life, her Phyſician, and in that Time ſhe having been entertained into her Company, his

ſaid

ſaid Wife by that Means procured further Acquaintance, being near of the ſaid Diſpoſition and Temperature, as *Pares cum paribus facile congregantur*; from thence it happened, that ſhe was ſuſpected, even by her Means and Procurement before this, to have lived a looſe Life, for who can touch Pitch and not be defiled? I ſay, having ſome Familiarity with this Woman, and now taking ſome Diſcontent at her Huſband more than heretofore, by Reaſon of her Falling out with him, and his ſharp Anſwers, as ſhe conceives, to her, repairs to her Houſe, and there, amongſt other Diſcourſes, diſgorges herſelf againſt her Huſband, whereby the Cauſe of her Grief might eaſily be perceived. Miſtreſs *Turner*, as feeling Part of her Pain, pities her, and in Hope of Profit, being now in Neceſſity and Want, is eaſily drawn to effect any Thing that ſhe requires; whereupon, by the Report of ſome, it was concluded at this Time between them to adminiſter Poiſon to the Earl; but, not taking Effect according to their Expectation, the Counteſs writes unto her to this Purpoſe:

'Sweet *Turner*, as thou haſt been hitherto, 'ſo art thou all my Hopes of Good in this World: 'My Lord is as luſty as ever he was, and hath 'complained to my Brother *Howard*, that he 'hath not lain with me, nor uſed me as his 'Wife. This makes me mad, ſince of all 'Men I loath him, becauſe he is the only Ob'ſtacle and Hinderance, that I ſhall never en'joy him whom I love.

The Earl having overpaſſed this Evil, and continued ſtill in his priſtine Eſtate, procured not any Affection, but more Hatred and Loathſomeneſs; ſo that it burſt forth daily to my Lord's great Diſcontent, and draws her headlong into her own Deſtruction.

Sir Robert Carr *made Viſcount* Rocheſter, *the Acquaintance between my Lord of* Northampton *and him, and the new Affection of the Counteſs.*

THE King taking great Liking to this young Gentleman, to the Intent that he might be no leſs eminent in Honour, than he was powerful in Wealth and Subſtance, adorns him with the Title of *Viſcount Rocheſter*, and beſtows the Secretariſhip of State upon him, ſo that his Honour and his Wealth make him famous to foreign Nations. Theſe Things coming to my Lord of *Northampton's* Ears, having been a long Time Favourite in Court, and now grown into Years, and, by Reaſon thereof, knowing the Favour of the King to depend upon many Uncertainties; and, altho' at this Time he was the greater Actor in State Affairs, yet, if this young Man continued his Height of Glory, all his Dignity would either be abated, or overſhadowed, and that he had not that free Acceſs to the King's Ears, which he had wont to have; endeavoureth as much as in him lieth to make this Courtier either to be wholly his, or dependent upon his Favour, that ſo, having Relation to him, he might make Uſe of his Greatneſs. And for this Purpoſe he begins to applaud the Wiſdom and Government of the Viſcount, his Virtues, outward Courtſhip, and comely Carriage, and, to conclude, holds him a Man of no leſs Worth and Deſert, than any about the King; neither were theſe Things ſpoken to private or particular Perſons alone, but even in the Ears of the King, to the Intent to confirm the King's Favour towards him.

Theſe Things coming to this Gentleman's Ears, he takes it as a great Favour from ſo great a Perſonage, and therefore ſo much the more admires his own Worth, raiſing his Carriage above his wonted Courſe, and in Hope of better Things, applauding every Action performed by the Earl; by which Means there grows a Kind of Community between them, and there wants nothing but Intercourſe of Speech for Confirmation of Acquaintance, and Procuring further Relation either to other. Time offers Opportunity; the Earl and he meet, and each changeth Acquaintance with Acquaintance of greater Familiarity, ſo that many Times Letters paſſed between them in their Abſence, and courtly Diſcourſes, being preſent, by which Means on all Hands a confident Amity is concluded.

In theſe Times the Counteſs of *Eſſex* being a Spectator of thoſe, and perceiving this Viſcount to be ſtill raiſed up unto Honours daily, in Hope of greater, is the more fired with a luſtful Deſire, and the greater are her Endeavours by the Inſtigation of ſome of her Friends to ac-

compliſh what ſhe determined: For Greatneſs doth not qualify, but ſet an Edge upon luſtful Appetites, and, where the moſt Means are to maintain it, there the greater Affections are cheriſhed.

The Courſe ſhe takes to procure Affection; ſhe combines with Doctor Forman; *they conclude to bewitch the Viſcount.*

IN theſe furious Fits, ſhe makes her Repair to Miſtreſs *Turner*, and begins a new Complaint, whereby ſhe makes manifeſt an extraordinary Affection towards this young Gentleman, ſo that ſhe could not reſt without his Company; neither knew ſhe any Means to attain her Ends, there being no Relation nor Acquaintance between them: Whereupon, Miſtreſs *Turner*, being ſtill her Second, and ready to put an evil Attempt into Execution, concludes with the Counteſs to inchant the Viſcount to affect her; and, for this Purpoſe, they fall acquainted with one Doctor *Forman*, that dwelt at *Lambeth*, being an ancient Gentleman, and thought to have Skill in the Magick Art: This Man by Rewards and Gifts was wont to join with Miſtreſs *Turner*, who now, to the Intent to prey upon the Counteſs, endeavour, the beſt they may, to inchant the Viſcount's Affection towards her: Much Time is ſpent, many Words of Witchcraft, great Coſt in making Pictures of Wax, Croſſes of Silver, and little Babies for that Uſe, yet all to ſmall Purpoſe: At length they, continuing in their Sorcery, adviſed her to live at Court, where ſhe had free Acceſs without Controul, though of ſmall Acquaintance with him, whom ſhe moſt reſpected, nevertheleſs, ſhewing an affable Countenance towards him, hoping, in Proceſs of Time, to attain that ſhe required. Time offers Opportunity, and, amongſt others, at length theſe two fall into League; the Counteſs, being joyful of her Prey, admires him, and uſes all Kindneſs that may be to intrap him: He, whether by theſe Inchantments, or by the Lightneſs of his own Diſpoſition carried, is as much beſotted, numbering her amongſt the beſt Women, and doubling every Action in his Eſtimation, inſomuch that he could ſcarce reſt but in her Company; whereupon their Meetings grew frequent, and Diſcourſes pleaſant, by theſe Means inflaming the Fire of a luſtful Appetite.

Theſe Things, having happened ſo well to her Expectation, cauſe a great Love towards this good Couple, *viz.* Doctor *Forman* and Miſtreſs *Turner*, ſolliciting them with Letters, with Money, and large Promiſes, to continue ſtill their Friend; they willing to make Uſe of their Wealth, more than expecting any Good they could accompliſh by their Art, perſiſt amongſt her Employments: Miſtreſs *Turner* makes Trial for herſelf, by which Means, many Slights and accuſtomed Tricks are practiſed, and now reported to return to the Hurt of many; for, a Woman's Hands being once entered into the Act of Sin, ſhe runs headlong to her Deſtruction, turning thoſe evil Acts to evil Ends, and endeavouring to purchaſe by that Means Profit and Commodity.

How it was thought the Earl of Northampton *had a Hand in the Buſineſs, who invites the Viſcount to Supper. The Counteſs and he meet; Places of Meetting are appointed. The Earl made Chancellor of* Cambridge.

IT was vulgarly opinionated, that the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, having ſuſtained theſe Diſcontents with her Huſband, acquainted her Uncle, the Earl of *Northampton*, of her Affection eſpecially towards the Viſcount, who weighing the Profit that might redound to his own Employments, if there were ſuch Affinity had between them, ſeemed to give a Liking towards it, and endeavoured rather to further it, than at all to diſſuade her, or give her that honeſt and good Counſel to be dutiful to her Huſband, as was fitting. However, the firſt Meeting that they had, wherein there was any Conference, was at the Earl's Houſe, who invited the Viſcount to Supper, and, there finding the Counteſs, they at their Pleaſure appointed

pointed Meetings for further Diſcourſes. But, whether there was any one made privy to theſe Things, it is not evident.

But from this Time the Counteſs and Viſcount continued their looſe Kind of Life, and, as was commonly ſuſpected, had further Relation then was fitting, to the great Diſparagement of them both, and Diſhonour of ſo noble a Houſe; what the Iſſue of theſe Things are, continues in Obſcurity, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Northampton* is much blamed, the Counteſs defamed, and the Viſcount himſelf for his Looſeneſs ſuſpected.

Now was this Lord propounded at the Regent-Houſe to be Chancellor of *Cambridge*; the Scholars fall into divers Opinions, and the *Ramiſts* propound the Prince, to oppoſe him; this Election paſſed on the Earl's Side; he refuſes, but ſtill flatters the Scholars, makes the King acquainted with it, and though willing to undertake it, yet ſhewing an Unwillingneſs, endeavoured rather to be urged to it, than receive it voluntarily; this was imputed, becauſe of his Oppoſing the Prince, but the Truth was to perceive, whether the Scholars Affections were ſettled upon Love and Reſpect unto himſelf, or merely to depend upon his Greatneſs. The King writes in his Behalf to the Vicechancellor. They proceed to the new Election, the Earl again is choſen, his Title ſent him, and he in Requital ſends many and plauſible Letters; and, that they might be the more acceptable, being ſent to Scholars, wrote to them in *Latin*; it is intolerable the Flattery that he uſed.

Overbury *grows into Grace with the King; is made a Knight. The Intercourſe between the Counteſs and the Viſcount made known to* Overbury.

AFTER ſome Continuance of Time, Mr *Overbury* grows eminent in Court, as well by Reaſon of the Viſcount's Favour, as the good and careful Diligence that he had in Court Employments; ſo, that now comparing his Worth with his Wealth, he is had in more Reſpect, and the Honour of Knighthood beſtowed upon him, with the Hope of better Things; this, howſoever in itſelf it be not valuable, yet in Speculators it ſtriketh a Doubt, eſpecially in the Viſcount, for Sovereignty and Love can abide no Paragon.

Things that, at the Beginning, proceed with Modeſty, are little or nothing regarded. But, when Men grow old in ſuch Things that are hateful, they make every Place alike with a bluſhleſs Face, committing them to the open View: By this Means *Overbury* came acquainted with this Intercourſe between the Viſcount and the Counteſs; for now they, having had ſome Time of Familiarity and Intercourſe in remote Parts, ſhame not to commit the Sin of Venery in the Court, and that to the Privity of Sir *Thomas*, who both loaths and hates what he ſees, avoiding rather than intruding himſelf to the Knowledge of it; neither meddles he any Way or other with it, but lets them alone in their vicious Courſes, and rather ſeems to be ignorant, than take any Notice of it.

Nevertheleſs, he is employed to carry Letters to and again between the Counteſs and the Viſcount; ſome to *Pater-noſter-Row*; ſome to *Hammerſmith*, and others to other Places of Meeting, which were appointed between them, by which Means, comparing both Actions together, he entered into the Secrets of this Myſtery, and became acquainted with more Things than the Viſcount would have had him, from whence a Kind of Jealouſy was carried towards him.

Of the ſecond Complaint of the Earl of Eſſex. *The Counteſs combines with* Turner *to bewitch him; it taketh Effect.* Forman's *Death: One* Greſham *is entertained into the Buſineſs.*

NOW the Earl of *Eſſex*, perceiving himſelf to be rather leſs regarded than any Whit at all eſteemed, enters into a new Diſcourſe with his Lady, with many Proteſtations both of his Conſtancy and Love towards her; but withal tells her of her Looſeneſs, of the Report of the Vulgar, and what a ſtrange Courſe of Life ſhe led, contrary to all Piety and

and Honeſty, which ſtung the Counteſs to the Heart, and more increaſed and augmented her Malice towards him, ſo that in a great Fury ſhe takes her Coach, and repairs to her ancient Acquaintance Mrs. *Turner*, who, according to her old Cuſtom, is ready to perform any evil Act, and there they combine to bewitch the Earl, and procure Frigidity *quoad hanc:* For this Purpoſe Dr. *Forman*, is conſulted, for the Procuring of Means; Pictures in Wax are made, Croſſes, and many ſtrange and uncouth Things (for what will the Devil leave unattempted to accompliſh their Ends?) Many Attempts failed, and ſtill the Earl ſtood it out. At laſt, they framed a Picture of Wax, and got a Thorn from a Tree that bore Leaves, and ſtuck upon the Privity of the ſaid Picture, by which Means they accompliſhed their Deſires.

This being done according to her Expectation, ſhe repairs to her Houſe at *Chartley*, and thither the Earl comes to her; but, whether he was more luſty than ſhe expected, or what other Accident happened, it is unknown; nevertheleſs, ſhe grew jealous of her Art, and falls into a great Fear, that all their Labour was loſt, whereupon ſhe wrote a Letter to Dr. *Forman* to this Effect:

Sweet Father,

ALthough I have found you ready at all Times to further me, yet muſt I ſtill crave your Help; wherefore I beſeech you to remember, that you keep the Doors cloſe, and that you ſtill retain the Lord with me, and his Affection towards me; I have no Cauſe but to be confident in you; although the World be againſt me, yet Heaven fails me not; many are the Troubles I ſuſtain, the Doggedneſs of my Lord, the Croſſneſs of my Enemies, and the Subverſion of my Fortunes, unleſs you, by your Wiſdom, deliver me out of the Midſt of this Wilderneſs, which I intreat for God's Sake.

Your affectionate loving Daughter,

From *Chartley.* *Frances Eſſex.*

This Letter, coming to the Hands of the old Maſter, procures a new Attempt, and now he goes and inchants a Nutmeg and a Letter; one to be given to the Viſcount in his Drink, the other to be ſent unto him as a Preſent; theſe Things being accompliſhed, he, not long after, died, leaving behind him ſome of thoſe Letters, whereby the Counteſs had Intercourſe with him, in his Pocket, which gave ſome Light into the Buſineſs, amongſt which this ſame was one.

Dr. *Forman* being dead, Mrs. *Turner* wanted one to aſſiſt her; whereupon, at the Counteſs's coming up to *London*, one *Greſham* was nominated to be entertained into this Buſineſs, and, in Proceſs of Time, was wholly intereſted in it. This Man was had in Suſpicion to have had a Hand in the Gunpowder Treaſon, he wrote ſo near in his Almanack; but, without Queſtion, he was a very ſkilful Man in the Mathematicks, and, in his later Time, in Witchcraft, as now ſuſpected, and therefore the fitter to be employed in thoſe Practices, which, as they were deviliſh, ſo the Devil had a Hand in them.

The Counteſs ſends the Viſcount this Letter, inchanted by Dr. Forman: *Places of Meeting appointed, their intolerable Looſeneſs, and Poets Verſes upon them. The Beginning of their Fall.*

UPon her Return ſhe ſends Congratulations to the Viſcount, and, with thoſe, the Letter ſent her by Dr. *Forman*; he reads it, and, the more he reads it, the more is intangled: For no Man knows the Miſeries that are contained in evil Arts, and who can withſtand the Words of evil Tongues? Whereupon he returns Anſwer, and new Places of Meeting are aſſigned, amongſt the reſt, one at *Hammerſmith*: In the mean Time the Viſcount makes Diſpatch of his Buſineſs, leaving Things half done, half undone, to the Intent he might meet her, who had now ſtaid for his Coming above two Hours, and, being met, they ſolemnly ſaluted each other, fall into divers Diſcourſes, and inſinuating Phraſes, from Words to Deeds, and from Speaking to Acting the Sin of Venery. The Counteſs having obtained what ſhe deſired, and the Viſcount caught in the Net of Adulation, the more he ſtrives to be looſed, being caught the faſter, Luſt, having, by this Means, got Liberty, being

being covered with Greatneſs, like a Fire long conceal'd in a Pile of rotten Wood, burſt forth with all Looſeneſs and Licentiouſneſs; Places of more frequent and private Meetings being concluded between them, and Perſons fitting for their Purpoſes being acquainted with their Proceedings; Watchwords are given. All Things, having Relation to a certain End, make them more boldly and ſafely to accompliſh that which both Time and Memory cannot demonſtrate in former Hiſtory.

Now theſe good Parts, which ſeemed heretofore to be hopeful in the Viſcount, conſume to Cinders, and the Corruption remains to brand him in the Forehead for his ill Living; his Modeſty becomes eclipſed, his Behaviour light, his Carriage unſeemly in his Place; nothing ſo coſtly, no Tyre ſo uncouth, but at all Coſts and Charges he obtains it for the Increaſe of Favour; new Faſhions are produced, that ſo he might ſhew more beautiful and fair, and that his Favour and Perſonage might be made more manifeſt to the World; and for this Purpoſe yellow Bands, duſted Hair, curled, criſped, frizzled, ſleeked Skins, open Breaſts beyond accuſtomed Modeſty, with many other inordinate Attires, were worn on both Sides to the Shew of the World, ſo that, for the Increaſe of diſhoneſt Appetites, they were abundantly practiſed and praiſed.

Surfeiting thus upon Pleaſure, having been before accuſtomed unto Hardneſs, cauſeth him to fall into all Manner of Forgetfulneſs; letting all Things go to Wreck, careleſs in Attendance, neglecting State-Affairs, ignorant of his own Worth, and ſubjecting himſelf to the luſtful Appetite of an evil Woman, accounting no Time ſo well ſpent, nor Hour deemed ſo happy, as when Dalliance and pleaſant Diſcourſes paſſed between them, either in Words or Writings; ſo that in him may be verified the old Saying of the Poet:

Non facili juvenum multis e millibus unum
Virtuti pretium, qui putat eſſe ſuum;
Fallit eum vitium ſpecie virtutis & umbra
Cum ſit triſte habitum vultuque veſte ſeverum,
Nec dubio tanquam fruge laudatur avorum.

Of thouſand Youths there ſcarce is one
That Virtue valueth as his Prize,
For Vice deceives him, and alone
The Shew of Virtue blinds their Eyes;
Although their Countenance penſive be,
Their Garments and their Habits grave,
Yet all their Fruit doubtleſs we ſee
Is Luſt and Glory that they crave.

Theſe Things lay him open to the ill Affection of them that hate him, and lay the Foundation of his utter Subverſion, ſince the Eyes of all Men are upon ſuch as are eminent; and as Black upon White is ſooneſt diſcerned, ſo evil Conditions, and laſcivious Affections, are ſooneſt perceived in ſuch Perſons.

The Faithfulneſs of Sir Thomas Overbury *unto the Viſcount, the Advice he gave him contemned. Favours are more beſtowed upon him; made of the Privy-Councel.*

THIS Courſe of Life, being ſomewhat ſtrange to thoſe that were ignorant of theſe Deſigns, gives new Occaſion of Wonder and Admiration, how he ſhould continue ſtill his Favour; many Things being left undone, others done to the half, inſomuch that all muſt lie upon *Overbury*'s Neck; and this doth he honeſtly, and to the Viſcount's Credit, attributing every Action to his Doing, although of him neglected: Anſwers for him, in his Abſence, haſtens Diſpatches in his Preſence, furthers the Requeſts of Suitors, and, through the Neglect and Careleſneſs of the Viſcount, grows in greater Credit and Eſteem, ſo that his Carefulneſs, Sufficiency, and Diligence, makes him become eminent, and beloved both of the King and Council.

Yet nevertheleſs he leſſens his own Worth, gives all the Dignity to the Viſcount; enquiring how the People ſtood affected towards him, finds many Complaints, and ſome Injuries to be done unto him, who, being blinded with Pleaſure, overſlips, or lets them paſs with ſmall Reſpect; whereupon he takes Occaſion, at a Time convenient, to utter theſe, or the like Words unto him: Sir, howſoever other Things may paſs either with ſmall Regard, or be ſmothered with Honour and

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Greatneſs, yet ſuch Things, as lay a Man open to Obloquy and Contempt, can hardly be obſcured in a Perſon ſo publick and eminent as your Lordſhip is; which Things are often eſteemed to be in a Man that outwardly ſeemeth light and effeminate, or inwardly wanteth the Ballaſt of Government to poiſe external Actions.

Of a Truth, Sir, be it ſpoken without Offence, the Court calls your Modeſty into Queſtion, and fears that theſe Honours, that ſhould be hereditary to noble Perſonages, will be obſcured with eminent Evils, and blemiſhed with Levity and Inconſtancy. Theſe, with many other Diſcourſes, having, at this Time, paſt between them, ſounded ſomething harſhly in the Viſcount's Ears, as all good Counſel becomes evil to thoſe that are evil. And, in a Kind of Anger, he flung from him, though undeſerved, yet nevertheleſs all his Countenance and Favour was not wholly obſcured, but that he might ſtill enjoy that which he expected, which was Hope of Preferment.

More Favours are beſtowed upon the Viſcount, being called to be one of the Privy-Council, which Honour, howſoever it was great, and more than was expected; yet, becauſe he was young, one that to the Opinion of the World was of no Education, Literature, and Experience (beſides thoſe inordinate Courſes) brings him into further Contempt of the World, ſo that every Man would take the Freedom of his Language, and ſpeak harſhly of theſe Proceedings: Some condemning his Courſe of Life, others his Inſufficiency, becauſe of his Youth, and moſt his Want of Experience, by which Means his Greatneſs overtops his Subſtance; and, as a Ship without Ballaſt is tottered to and again to the Terror of thoſe that are in it, in a Storm and high Water; even ſo theſe Honours, thus ſuddenly beſtowed upon him before his due Time, lay him the more open to the evil Opinion of the Envious, and, with ſome, do ſooner haſten his Ruin: For which Cauſe, it behoves ſuch as are thus drawn up merely by Fortune, either to be poſſeſſed with ſuch Virtues aforehand, that thereby they might maintain themſelves in their Greatneſs, or elſe to expect a ſudden Overthrow at a Time unexpected.

B. 2. *Speeches of the Lady* Eliſabeth's *Marriage with the* Palſgrave: *Conditions concluded upon.* A. 1. *The Prince takes Diſlike at the Viſcount. The Prince's Death, Rumours upon the ſame.*

NOW Prince *Henry* was living, and having ſome Intelligence of the looſe Kind of Life which the Viſcount led, and being ſomething jealous of him, becauſe of that he heard, doth utterly diſlike him, forbears his Company, and, whether for that, or ſome other Cauſe, it is unknown, falls flat at Odds with him, not once giving him any Countenance, or vouchſafing him his Countenance.

Not long after, as it might be about the Beginning of *November*, he fell ſick, and continued ſo ſome Weeks, or little more; the Malady increaſing (lying in his Head) he dies. A Man may ſay of this Prince, as was ſaid of *Mecænas*, both for Wiſdom and Strength of Body, there was not the like to be found among the *Engliſh*: The Hope of *England!* Strange was the Accident, and many the Rumours that enſued upon his Death. Some ſaid, that a *French* Phyſician killed him, others that he was poiſoned; again, others thought that he was bewitched; yet no Certainty could be found, but that he died a natural Death. This Accident filled all the Kingdom with Lamentations, and cauſed the Wedding, that followed at *Candlemas* after, to be kept in Sable. The Funeral was performed in great State, and with more Grief; much might be ſaid, but I leave it. My Purpoſe being only in brief to ſet out theſe Matters to Memory, that After-ages might ſee the Evil of our Times, where the greateſt Part of many Courtiers Actions are to find out Tricks, how to circumvent their Fellow-ſervants, and ſome, if it were poſſible, to diſpoſſeſs the King of his Dignity, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed; ſo many are the Diſcontents that are cheriſhed among them.

Theſe domeſtick Affairs having thus happened, and the Death of the Prince filling the Court with Sorrow, and the Court being full of other Employments, by Reaſon of the Marriage that was to be had with the Palſgrave of the *Rhine*, and her Grace, who was now marriageble, paſſed over the reſt in Silence. The Match is concluded, and great Expectation

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and Proviſion for his Coming over to perform the Ceremonies of Matrimony are made, at whoſe Coming, many Rumours are ſpread Abroad: Firſt, that the *Spaniard* took this to the Heart, and therefore laid wait to do him ſome Miſchief by the Way.

That there was a Ship of Pocket-Piſtols come out of *Spain*, and that it was intended by the Papiſts to have made a Maſſacre; and that *Northampton* did utterly oppoſe this Match, for he was as great an Enemy to the *Dutch* and Proteſtants, as ever *Cecil* was their Friend; and that many Prieſts were arrived, and ſuchlike: Yet, nevertheleſs, it was accompliſhed with great Pomp and State, all or the greateſt Part of the Nobility being there preſent; a Maſque in the great Banqueting-houſe; the Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple*, and others of *Gray's-Inn*: A Third, beſides three Days Tilting, and Running at the Ring, the King himſelf in Perſon, with the young Prince that now is King, beſides many other Paſtimes, both ſtately and becoming the Dignity of a King.

At this Time there was a Proclamation againſt Fardingales, but to little Purpoſe, for they rather increaſed greater, than diminiſhed; for, where a Thing is once grown into a Habit, it is hardly to be reſtrained.

There was another Proclamation, upon the former Report of the Coming of a Ship of Pocket-Piſtols out of *Spain*, that no Man ſhould carry a Piſtol in his Pocket, nor any that ſhould be leſs than a Foot long in the Barrel. About this Time alſo the Papiſts were diſarmed, and many ſtrange Rumours raiſed; which Things, becauſe they were uncertain, I omit to relate them, being rather pertinent unto State, than unto Profit.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Ruſſia, Sweden, *and other Provinces, for the Renewing of Friendſhip. Of the League in the* Low-Countries. *The Rumour of it.*

MANY Outrages having been, now of late, committed by the Archduke upon the States, divers Rumours are raiſed concerning the Leaguer, both ſtrange, and almoſt univerſal; for there were Parties, the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and a Cardinal, to aid the Archduke againſt the States. The Foundation of this Combuſtion was laid upon the Sacking of a Proteſtant Town in *Brabant*; whereupon, Grave *Maurice* drew out Ten-thouſand into the Field, and ſome few Blows happened; and it was ſuſpected it would have grown further, and that there would have been a general Oppoſition between Proteſtants and Papiſts; but, by Means of the Pope and the King, it was agreed, and went no further, but left a Scar to give a new Occaſion.

The War of *Denmark* was alſo brought unto a happy End, and the King retained his Right there; not long after the Iſſue whereof, Ambaſſadors were ſent into *Muſcovy*, to renew the League of Friendſhip with the Emperor, who now being brought low, by continual Wars, was glad to entertain ſuch a Motion. Traffick is confirmed there with that Nation, and, from thence, the ſame Ambaſſadors went to *Sweden*, to conclude a League of Friendſhip, the Reaſon whereof was thought to be, for the ancient Amity, that had been had, heretofore, between the King of that Nation; from thence, they went to the Duke of *Cleves*, and ſo to the Emperor, with Salutations.

The Suit of the Cloth-workers, my Lord of Rocheſter *ſtands for them. The Complaint of the Counteſs, ſhe ſues for a Divorce.*

NOW, this Year, the Cloth-workers, being covetous of larger Employments, petition the King and Council, that there might go no more white Cloth out of this Kingdom, but that they might be all dreſſed and dyed here, before they went over, and the Reaſons of their Petition were three:

Firſt, That the *Hollanders*, making Uſe of Dreſſing and Drying our Cloth, almoſt doubled the Value they bought it for, whereby, they were inriched, and we were impoveriſhed.

The *ſecond* Reaſon, That, whereas there was a Multitude of Poor in this Kingdom, that

wanted Employment, if they might have the Dying and the Dreſſing of thoſe Cloths, it would find them Work, whereby they might be relieved; and there was no Reaſon, why any others ſhould make Benefit of that, which we might make Good of ourſelves.

Laſtly, Whereas the Trade of Dreſſing of Cloth began to decay, if now they might but have this, in Proceſs of Time, it might be reſtored, and they might have as good Skill to dreſs Cloth, as the *Dutchmen*. My Lord of *Rocheſter*, my Lord of *Northampton*, and my Lord Treaſurer, that now is, were great Agents in this Buſineſs, and were thought to have been promiſed great Sums of Money, to accompliſh it.

Now the Counteſs begins new Complaints, and finds her Art to continue firm, and that, indeed, there was ſuch Frigidity *quoad hanc* accompliſhed, that her Huſband, the good Earl of *Eſſex*, could not execute the Office of a Huſband; ſhe ups, and tells her Friends, That ſhe is ſtill a Maid, and that ſhe had good Cauſe to complain, ſince that, ſhe having continued ſo long his Wife, ſhe in that Space had never the Fruition of that Pleaſure, that ought to be between Man and Wife; for which Cauſe, ſhe proteſted that ſhe would never keep him Company any longer, and deſired a Divorcement, becauſe of his Inſufficiency.

This ſeemed ſtrange unto the World, who took Notice of the Earl to be of an able Body, and likely to have many Children, and to undertake any Exploit for the Good of the Commonwealth; indeed valuing this, to be but an idle and vain Rumour, that was ſpread, as often happened, to ſee how ſuch a Thing would be liked in the World, and, therefore, let it paſs with little Notice.

In the mean Time, there is a Motion between *Rocheſter* and her, for a Marriage; and, ſince it was ſo, that the World had taken Notice of their Buſineſs, now to make ſome Satisfaction, they would conſummate a Wedding between them: This Motion was well liked of, on both Parties, but an Obſtacle remained: Her Huſband was alive, and the Law would not permit her to have two Huſbands; whereupon, ſhe grows the more eager of a Divorce, that ſo ſhe might have a new Huſband, *for* Women of her Diſpoſition delight in Change, and therefore renews her Complaint; Advice is taken in the Buſineſs, whether ſuch a Thing may be had, there being no Cauſe of publick Adultery, or Diſlike of the Husband: Again, it was a Queſtion, Whether the Wife might ſue a Divorce, or not, for that the Bill of Divorcement was given to the Husband, and not to the Wife; many ſuch like Objections being diſputed to and again, at laſt, it is concluded,

That, in Caſe the Earl was ſo unable, as ſhe reported, to execute the Office of an Huſband, and that, upon the Search of twelve Matrons, ſhe appeared ſtill to be a Maid, it was lawful, that there might be a Divorce, and the Reaſon was twofold: One, that there might be a Frigidity *quoad hanc*: Another, that Marriage was appointed for Procreation Sake, for which Cauſe, it was thought lawful to ſue a Divorce.

Upon this, they proceeded to the Search, twelve Matrons were impannelled, the Day appointed, the Search made, and the Verdict returned, that ſhe was a true Maid; Who ſhould bring this to the Ears of the King, but my Lord of *Northampton*, and ſo to the World, who grows jealous of Fraud, doubting either Corruption or Deceit? For it was vulgarly reported, that ſhe had a Child long before, in my Lord's Abſence; whereupon, ſome ſay this, ſome ſay that, and moſt, that the Counteſs was not ſearched, but that one of Sir *Thomas Monſon*'s Daughters was brought in to be ſearched in her Place, and ſo both Judges and Jury deceived. But, how true this is, is not credible; yet, nevertheleſs, they grant a Bill of Divorce; and, now a Separation being had between them, the Earl, in a great Diſcontent, leaves the Court, and repaired to his Houſe in *Warwickſhire*, and there lives a private Life.

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The Motion of Marriage goes forward; Overbury's *Opinion concerning it*; *he diſſuades* Rocheſter *from it*; *the Breach between them*; *the principal Cauſe of it.*

NOW might there be a lawful Diſcourſe of Marriage, ſince there was a lawful Divorce, had it nevertheleſs been kept private, and only ſome particular Friends made privy on *Rocheſter*'s Side; but *Overbury*'s Advice he requires amongſt others, in this Buſineſs, though to what End, it is unknown. Nevertheleſs, *Overbury* was utterly againſt it; and, being in ſerious Diſcourſe with him, concerning this Subject, in the Paſſage-Gallery at *Whitehall*, entered into theſe or the like Words, as was reported:

Firſt, How much he ſtood obliged to him, for his Countenance and Favour, who, therefore, would ſpeak Nothing but what was Truth. Then how dutiful and ready he was to perform all his Commands, from whence, he might eaſily perceive, that what he ſpoke was out of Affection. And *laſtly*, That he had often endeavoured to avert his Mind from theſe Things; that both Time and the Envy of Men might turn to his Prejudice, taxing him, that he had made all this to become hurtful unto him, and converting the Meaning of good Intentions towards him, to his Diſparagement and Loſs: Notwithſtanding, the Viſcount ſtill preſſed him on to paſs his Opinion, proteſting great Kindneſs, and to do Nothing without his Opinion; whereupon he lets him underſtand, That, perceiving the common Reports of the Multitude, and weighing them with the Greatneſs of his Perſon, he found it to be no leſs hurtful to his Preferment, than helpful to ſubvert and overthrow him. For who would, being poſſeſſed of ſo great Poſſibility as he was, ſo great Honours and large Revenues, and daily in Expectation of others, caſt all away upon a Woman, that is noted both for her Injury and Immodeſty, and pull upon him the Hatred and Contempt of great Perſonages, for ſo ſmall a Matter? Then he willed him to conſider with himſelf the Condition of the Perſon, whereof he ſpoke; the Manner of her Carriage from her Youth, her preſent Converſation, the many Envies, Diſhonours, and Diſlikes that were attendant upon her; and beſides, which is now the common Report of the Vulgar, and he ſhould find them to be ſo many Evils to attend her Subverſion and Overthrow.

It is not the Nature of a wiſe Man to make her his Wife, whom he hath made his Whore. Laſtly, he willed him to expect no better Requital at her Hands, than which ſhe had ſhewed to her former Husband, and withal, to weigh the preſent Condition that he was in, and to compare it with the future; now he had, as it were, but an Inclination unto ſuch a Thing, neither were thoſe Things made evident, that after Ages would lay open; nevertheleſs, that he was taxed with Incivility, Levity, and indeed Effeminateneſs; that, by the Opinion of the Wiſe, he was adjudged altogether unworthy of that Honour, that was beſtowed upon him. But, when theſe Surmiſes ſhould come by this his Marriage to be made evident, what Evils, before, were but ſuſpected, ſhould then be enlarged, and laid to his Charge: Honour is not attended with Voluptuouſneſs, nor are the Ruins of a rotten Branch to be cheriſhed, upon a new planted Tree; but, if that he meant to be made famous, and to continue that with him, that now he freely enjoyed, his Opinion was, that he ſhould utterly leave and forſake her Company, and to hold her was both hurtful and hateful.

Theſe Speeches drew on others, and the Viſcount, being a little nettled in his Affection, grows ſomewhat harſh. And Sir *Thomas* having been heretofore excepted at, with theſe Kinds of Contentions, grows ſo much the more careleſs, and anſwers Word for Word, ſo that from fair and friendly Speeches, they grew to Words of Anger, and to croſs each other. In Concluſion, *Overbury* requires his Portion due unto him, and ſo wills *Rocheſter* to leave him to his own Fortunes, for that he could not endure theſe inordinate Jangles, which he had accuſtomed towards him of late; and that, if there had been any Thing ſaid, that was either offenſive to him, or to the Diſparagement of the Counteſs, it was by his own Procurement, and by Reaſon of the Good-will and Affection that he bore to him; with theſe, and many ſuch Words, they parted.

Rocheſter *and the Counteſs meet, and conclude the Death of* Overbury: *That* Northampton *had a Hand in it, Cauſes why.*

THE Counteſs having, before this, borne a deadly Hate towards *Overbury*, becauſe he had oftentimes before diſſuaded the Viſcount, to abſtain from her Company; yet now, having diſcloſed unto her this Speech, ſhe becomes much more revengeful, eſpecially, becauſe he had taxed her, with the Name of a Whore; for Truth is hateful to the Evil, and what before ſhe concealed, now breaks forth with Fury. For Concealing Anger is much worſe than open Violence; perſuading *Rocheſter*, that it was not poſſible, that ever ſhe ſhould endure theſe Injuries, or hope for any Proſperity, as long as he lived, he being the only Man, that withſtood his Purpoſes, with many other Perſuaſions; that he only of all Men began to grow eminent, and who was the Man ſo likely to ſtep up after him, as *Overbury?* Inſomuch as theſe Perſuaſions, together with his own conceived Evil, procure the Viſcount to give a Liking to her Determination, and to put his Hand into the Fire, where he needed not, making himſelf acceſſary to that, which he had no Occaſion to put in Practice at all.

There were ſome, that charged *Northampton* to have had a Hand in theſe Buſineſſes, and to have uttered theſe and the like Words: That he wondered how the Viſcount could be ſo much affected to this Man *Overbury*, that without him he could do nothing, as it were, making him his Right-hand, ſeeing he, being newly grown into the King's Favour, and wholly depending upon his Greatneſs, muſt expect to come to Ruin, when that Man roſe to Preferment. Alſo he condemned *Overbury* for his Boldneſs and peremptory Saucineſs, that checked and corrected the Viſcount for the Love that paſſed betwixt the Viſcount and him, and oppoſed many of his Deſigns and Purpoſes; whereupon he concluded, That, unleſs he did either curb his Greatneſs, or abate his Pride, he in Time would be equal with him, both in Power and Greatneſs. Whether this proceeded out of Fear of himſelf, or Envy towards *Overbury*, or to collogue with his Niece and *Rocheſter*, or to prevent the Plagues of Sir *Thomas*, who altogether diſtaſted theſe niggling Courſes, it cannot be conceived, that theſe are the laſt Words, that he ſpoke of this Subject: That, for his own Part, he knew himſelf clear of all Offences againſt the State, and their Family was ſo eminent in the Commonwealth, that he could not hurt him. But, for *Rocheſter*, being made privy to all his Deſigns, growing peremptory, and no whit tractable to his Diſpoſition; beſides, likely to come to Eminency and Honour in the Commonwealth; he finds it both neceſſary and fitting, for his Safety, that he ſhould be a Means to diſpatch him; whereupon the Viſcount, being led by the Noſe, as he thought, for the beſt, gives Conſent, and endeavours to put in Practice what they have determined. Now on all Hands they caſt about how this might be effected and paſs unregarded, ſo that they might ſuſtain no Loſs or Diſparagement by the Attempt.

Sir William Wade *removed from the Lieutenancy of the* Tower. *Sir* Jervaſe Yelvis *preferred.*

FOR this Purpoſe alone it was thought that a Quarrel was picked with Sir *William Wade*, who was now Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and had continued ſo a great While; but there were other Cauſes objected: And firſt, He was thought too ſevere againſt the Lady *Arabella*, and gave ſome other Priſoners too much Liberty. Another was, That he, being now grown rich, began to grow careleſs, and neglected his Office. But the very Truth of the Buſineſs was thought to be this: Sir *Jervaſe Yelvis*, being a *Lincolnſhire* Gentleman, having been brought up in a publick Life from his Youth, trained in the Study of the publick Laws at *Lincoln's-Inn*, and ambitious of Preferment, offered a Sum of Money for that Honour and Place; for, howſoever Sir *William Wade* might be one Way taxed for his too much Deſire of Wealth (which Thing might be tolerable in him, being preſſed with a great Charge)

Charge) yet he was wiſe, honeſt, and diſcreet in his Place, and diſcharged it with much more Sufficiency, than he that ſucceeded him; but, according to the Saying of the Poet,

Quiſquis habet nummos, ſecura navigat aura;
Fortunaque ſuo temperet arbitrio.

Thoſe Men, that Store of Money have,
With proſp'rous Wind ſhall ſail;
And Fortune plays unto their Wiſh,
To ſpeed they cannot fail.

By this Means he is got into the Lieutenancy, and for this Cauſe Sir *William Wade* is put out. Things, ordered after this Sort, never proceed without Envy; unleſs the Perſons, that enjoy ſuch Places, be very conſiderate, it is likely they will have a ſudden Fall: But what care Men of Power for ſuch Things? He, being eſtabliſhed in his Office, muſt recollect his Money paid, by uſing ſome Kind of Extortion; and, to bear out this, be obſervant to ſuch as preferred him; and ſo, by their Countenance, he might uſe the greater Liberty. For this Cauſe he made the Earls of *Northampton* and *Rocheſter* the whole End of his Actions, fearing more to diſpleaſe them, than the King: A fit Man for their Purpoſe.

The Counteſs repairs to Mrs. Turner *to inquire a Man out for her; makes Complaint of* Overbury's *Inſolency; and diſcloſes her Determination.* Weſton *is nominated.*

IN the mean Time, the Counteſs thought it not enough to hear, nor to fret and fume, nor perſuade and intreat my Lord to undertake this dangerous Enterpriſe; but to Mrs. *Turner* ſhe muſt go, and there renew her Complaints with Tears (hardly found in a Woman of her Diſpoſition) proteſting ſhe was never ſo defamed, neither did ſhe ever think, that any Man durſt to be ſo ſaucy, as to call her *Whore* and *baſe Woman*, and that to *Rocheſter*, her only Hopes, and with an impudent Face; but *Overbury*, that Negro, that Scum of Men, that Devil incarnate, he might do any Thing, and paſs either unregarded, or unpuniſhed: This moves Pity in this pitiful Woman Mrs. *Turner*, who frets as faſt to ſee her fret, ſo that there is ſuch Storming between them, as is incredible. At length, as we ſee two Clouds, after long Strife in the Air, which ſhall have the Priority in Place, join in one; ſo theſe two Women, after they had fulfilled their frantick Humour, join in this, to be the Death of him: That muſt be the End; there is no Malice like the Malice of a Woman; no Submiſſion, no Intreaty, no Perſuaſion could prevail, but he muſt die. Mrs. *Turner* ſooths her with *Aye, that ſhe would*; and it *is* Pity he ſhould live to defame ſo honourable a Lady, ſo well deſcended, to the utter Diſparagement of her Houſe; and that, rather than he ſhould paſs with Life, ſhe would diſpatch him herſelf: Words of Courſe in ſuch Caſes, where People are carried away with heady Malice, not with Reaſon. Yet, for all this, coming to their right Senſes, they begin to weigh the Matter, and that it was no ſmall Thing to kill a Man, both in Reſpect of Conſcience, and Law; therefore they caſt about which ſhould be the beſt Way to do it; at laſt they conclude, That to poiſon him was the only Way, and that with leaſt Suſpicion. But then the Party that ſhould do it was to ſeek; for he muſt be no ordinary Man, but an Apothecary, or Phyſician, that might temper the Poiſon rightly to take Effect, according to their Mind, and of long Study: One *Weſton* was named, that had ſome Time been Servant to Dr. *Turner*, and thereby learned ſuch Experience, that none was ſo fitting to accompliſh this Exploit to him. This Man, now in the Country, muſt be ſent for; Mrs. *Turner* muſt work upon him to bring him to this Exploit; for Things of this Nature muſt be carried with Wiſdom and Diſcretion: For who will hazard his Life for Had I wiſt? Two-hundred Pounds are proffered him, and he of all Men undertakes it.

Overbury's *great Favour. The Motion of the Council to ſend him Ambaſſador to the* Archduke. *He contemplates of it, and is perſuaded by my Lord Viſcount to refuſe it.*

THeſe Things notwithſtanding, *Overbury* ſtill grows into Favour, and the Council, ſtill finding his Diligence and Sufficiency in his Place, nominates him as a Man fit to be ſent Ambaſſador into the *Low-Countries* to the Archduke, making that a Means to draw him up to great Preferments. This comes to *Overbury's* Ear, who, knowing my Lord of *Northampton* to be his utter Enemy, and growing jealous of *Rocheſter*, begins to contemplate what the Meaning of this might be; thus between Hope and Fear, he ſtands amazed: To refuſe would be to his great Diſgrace; to undertake it would be to the Loſs of his Preferment. Standing in theſe Doubts, the Viſcount, after ſo many Jangles, comes to him and ſalutes him, and, after many Diſcourſes, falls into Speech of the Intention of the Council concerning this Ambaſſage, not ſo much to aſſiſt and encourage him to it, as to ſee how he ſtood affected; whereupon, finding him hammering upon his Determinations, not being certainly determined to any Thing, he joins with him, and utterly diſſuades him from undertaking it: For, ſaith he, your Preferments and your Expectations lie not among foreign Nations; you are now in Credit at Home, and have already made Trial of the Dangers of Travel; Why then ſhould you hazard all upon Uncertainties, being in Poſſeſſion, as a Man may ſay, of all that you may expect by this Means already? Theſe Speeches, what with the Truſt he put in the Viſcount, what with the Doubtfulneſs of his Mind, do in a Manner confirm his Opinion rather to leave it, than to take it. But nevertheleſs he gives him to underſtand, that it was no ſmall Thing to oppoſe the Determination of the Council, and to contradict the King's Employment; for in either of theſe he muſt expect the Diſpleaſure of both, and be in Danger to receive condign Puniſhment.

But *Rocheſter*, to get theſe Doubts out of his Mind, with great Proteſtation and long Diſcourſes, let him underſtand he had ſo much Experience of his Worth, and found him ſo faithful and diligent in Employments, that he could as well miſs his Right-hand, as miſs him; and that, in Caſe any ſuch Danger ſhould happen to him, yet nevertheleſs, if either his Word, his Letter, Credit, or Favour, could either mitigate, releaſe, or relieve him, it ſhould not be wanting to do him Eaſe and Pleaſure.

Being led on with theſe Hopes, he is in a Manner drawn utterly to deny that which was intended for his Profit, and to give him a fit Opportunity to excuſe their Malice towards him, as after happened according to the Saying of the Poet:

Ne quicquam crede, haud credere quicquam
——nam fronte polito
Aſtutum rapidè torrent ſub pectore vulpem.

Believe not thou ſcarce any Man;
For oft a *Phrygian* Face
Is ſmoothly cover'd with a Smile,
But within ſeeks thy Diſgrace.

The Viſcount, ſeeing him at this Time in ſo fitting a Vein to be wrought upon, and ſo eaſily to be diſſuaded from his Purpoſe, ſhewed him much more Favour than heretofore he had done, the better to confirm Credence in him towards his Perſuaſions, and to encourage him in his Determination; and by this Means he is utterly deceived, and grows confident to forſake it; in this Mind the Viſcount leaves him, and betakes himſelf to his Purpoſe.

The Counteſs, Earl, and Viſcount meet. They determine of the Matter. The King is incenſed againſt Overbury.

SIR *Jervaſe*, being now grown old in his Office, and being acquainted with it, amongſt other Things, is ſounded whether he ſtands faithful to his Patrons, *Northampton* and *Rocheſter*, whereby it is found, that he would be pliant to any Thing they would deſire, but

yet

yet not made acquainted with this Determination; nevertheleſs, it feeds them with Hope to execute their Purpoſes with better Proſperity: For the Lieutenant being their Friend, and *Weſton*, a Man that had gotten the Art of Poiſoning, entertained for the Purpoſe, and with a reſolute Mind ready to effect it, made them neither ſuſpect nor doubt any Thing, only how they might get him to the *Tower*. For this Purpoſe it is thought fit, that *Rocheſter*, having the King's Ear, ſhould be a Means to poſſeſs the King with ſome Miſdemeanors that he had committed, that, thereby the King being incenſed againſt him, and the Refuſal of the Ambaſſage making evident the Truth of theſe Complaints, they need not doubt of any ſuch Matter; whereupon my Lord of *Rocheſter*, amongſt other Things, at a Time convenient, lets the King underſtand how inſolent *Overbury* was grown; that he not only contemned him, but his Majeſty alſo, eſtimating this Employment to be ſent Ambaſſador either too light a Preferment for his Deſerts, or elſe intended to procure him further Evil, and that he utterly diſliked it, and determined to refuſe it.

The King being poſſeſſed of theſe Things, and by him, who to the Judgment of the World was his greateſt Friend, took Diſpleaſure at it, ſo that, by his Countenance, one might have perceived his Anger: For the Frowning of a King is like the Roaring of a Lion, terrible to the Spectators and Hearers, ſo that now they doubted not of their Expectations to get him into the *Tower*; where being a Priſoner in the King's Diſgrace, under the Protection of one who more eſteemed their Favour, than the King's Diſpleaſure, ſequeſtered from his Friends, no Intercourſe ſuffered to come unto him, but what came from the Counteſs, *Northampton*, *Rocheſter*, and *Weſton*, a fit Agent to execute all Manner of Evils; why, to the Judgment of the World, it is impoſſible that ever this Evil ſhould come to Light. And thus, being ranked up in their own Conceits, they run headlong to their own Deſtruction: For, when there were but two Perſons privy to the Act of Murther, as in *Cain* and *Abel*, it could not paſs unpuniſhed, but that *Cain* muſt be marked with a perpetual Mark of Ignominy; How much leſs ſhall this go undiſcovered, when there are ſo many privy to it?

Thus may we ſee that one Sin another doth provoke,
And that Murther is as near to Luſt as Flame to Smoke.

Sir Thomas *refuſes the Ambaſſage; incurs the King's Diſpleaſure; he is ſent to the* Tower. Weſton *is preferred to him.* Greſham *dies.* Franklin *is entertained into the Buſineſs. A new Speech of Marriage between the Counteſs and* Rocheſter.

SIR *Thomas Overbury* and *Rocheſter* having, for ſome private Occaſion, fallen into a new Breach at *Newmarket*, he returns very penſively to *London*; and now the Time being come that he ſhould give an Anſwer, what he would do concerning this Ambaſſage, he anſwered, that he acknowledged himſelf much bound unto his Majeſty for many Favours that he had beſtowed upon him, as to prefer him to ſo great Honour; but yet nevertheleſs, knowing himſelf of ſuch a Place unexperienced, how to execute it, and beſides tied to many domeſtick Buſineſſes, deſired to be excuſed. It ſeeming ſomething ſtrange and harſh, that he ſhould neglect his own Good, and by this Means incur the Diſpleaſure of the King, and loſe his Expectations, makes ſome of his Friends to wonder, and others to ſtand in Amaze.

But in the Concluſion, as he had juſtly deſerved, by Reaſon of his Contempt, he is committed to the *Tower*, but not to be kept as a cloſe Priſoner; but, after, my Lord of *Northampton* and *Rocheſter*, being both of the Privy-Council, and in great Favour at Court, ſend unto the Lieutenant that he ſhould keep him cloſe Priſoner; who afterwards received by Word of Mouth from Sir *Thomas Monſon*, that he ſhould not ſuffer any Letters, Tokens, or other Things to be delivered unto him.

Their Expectation in this Thing being accompliſhed, Mrs. *Turner*, by the Inſtigation of the Counteſs, becomes a great Suitor to Sir *Thomas Monſon*, to have his Letter to prefer *Weſton* unto Sir *Thomas* to wait on him in the *Tower*; who hearing the Name of the Counteſs, and, withal, underſtanding the great Affection that was between her and *Rocheſter*, condeſcended,

ſcended, wrote, and ſent him with the Letter to Sir *Jervaſe* in the *Tower*; he ſhewed it to Sir *Thomas*, who, willing to deſerve his Patrons chiefeſt Favour, with the more Readineſs entertained him: As, when a Man ignorantly treads upon a Serpent, he is ſtung for his Labour; ſo Sir *Thomas* harbours in his own Breaſt the Author of his own Deſtruction.

Now *Greſham* growing into Years, having ſpent much Time, and many foul Prayers, to accompliſh theſe things, at this Time gathers all his Baubles, *viz*, Pictures in Lead, in Wax, in Plates of Gold, of naked Men and Women, with Croſſes, Crucifixes, and other Implements, wrapping them all up together in a Scarf; croſſed every Letter in the ſacred Word, Trinity croſſed, *A. W. O.* croſſed: Theſe were very holily delivered into the Hands of one *Weſton*, to be hid in the Earth, that no Man might find them; and ſo in *Thames-ſtreet*, having finiſhed his evil Times, he died, leaving behind him a Man and a Maid, the one hanged for a Witch, the other for a Thief.

After his Death with much Writing, many Intreaties and Rewards, one *Franklin* was entertained into theſe Actions, a Man of a reaſonable Stature, crook-ſhouldered, of a ſwarthy Complexion, and thought to be no leſs a Wizard than the two former, *Greſham* and *Forman*; this Man was more employed to make Poiſons fit to be adminiſtered by *Weſton* than otherwiſe; for he was excellent in that Art, to mitigate or increaſe their Strength, ſo that ſometimes a Poiſon ſhould be a Month before it worked: Verily evil Actions ſhall never want evil Actors; and, in all Ages, Phyſicians, Apothecaries, Druggiſts, and caſhiered Serving-men fallen into Want, have ſtill been the Agents in ſuch Enterpriſes. *Tiberius*'s Phyſician, *Spado* an Apothecary, and *Ligdo*, *Druſus*'s Servant, are made Agents to be his Poiſoners. *Nero*'s Bond-man muſt kill him; *Piſo*'s Captain under *Germanicus* muſt poiſon him; and by the Help of a Woman, Poiſoner of *Cowe*, a Town in *Greece*, who was ſo ſkilful, that ſhe conveyed Poiſon, into his Hair, to kill himſelf; a Centurion to *Maximus* muſt poiſon him, *Alexander*'s Phyſician, *Antipater*, and *Ariſtotle* muſt be the Authors of his own Death. And here *Franklin* a Kind of Phyſician, *Weſton* a Servant to Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Jervaſe Yelvis*, who is, as hereafter you ſhall hear, Privado to the Earl and Viſcount, and the Counteſs and Miſtreſs *Turner* are made Inſtruments to kill and diſpatch Sir *Thomas Overbury*: So that it hath been almoſt in all Ages, and in all ſuch Outrages found, that either ſuch Perſons or Women have been Actors in ſuch Attempts.

Overbury, being thus confined in the *Tower*, and accounted amongſt them as a Friar, a dead Perſon in the Law, in whoſe Breaſt many Secrets were contained, being ſtill fed on with Hope of Preferment and Liberty, leſt he ſhould diſcloſe what he knew: They at their Will and Pleaſure carouſe full Healths of Sin and Abomination, and freely diſcourſe of a Marriage to be conſummated between the Counteſs and *Rocheſter*, that ſo, being tied in this Bond of Matrimony, and joined in Affinity with my Lord of *Northampton*, more Truſt might be had in him, and better Uſe might be made of his Honour and Greatneſs.

Now there is none to ſupport him, no Man to diſſuade him, his Looſeneſs with the Counteſs gauls his Conſcience, and that it might be the more offenſive to him, and make him the willinger to conſent unto this Motion, he is ſtill preſſed with it, and that it is both unfit and unſeemly; whereas on the other Side, if they marry, it will be both lawful, and honourable, and commendable, and the Ears of the Vulgar will be then ſtopped, and none dare be ſo bold as to touch it; this carries Shew of Truth, ſo that, what with his former Affection, what with his preſent Offence that he conceives at theſe Courſes, he concludes the Marriage: Times are appointed to confer, how Impediments might be avoided, and what ſhould be fitting to be done in this Behalf.

How the Lieutenant came acquainted with the Buſineſs, and is encouraged to perſiſt by Northampton. *Rewards promiſed him. He examined Sir* Thomas *to find out his Affection: Moſt think of Religion: Some think towards the Counteſs.*

IT is now high Time to enter into this Action, and the Counteſs means to be the firſt, who, for this Purpoſe, went and got a Glaſs of blue Water, two Inches long; this, being wrapped in a Paper, ſhe delivers to *Weſton*'s Son with Inſtructions, that he ſhould

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go to the *Tower*, and deliver it to his Father; he doth ſo, who, having his Matter aforehand put into his Head, at Supper-time takes the ſame in one Hand, and Part of Sir *Thomas Overbury's* Supper in the other Hand, and who ſhould he meet withal, but Sir *Jervaſe Yelvis*, the Lieutenant? So he demanded of him, with a Kind of Caution, Whether he ſhould give it him now? The Lieutenant ſtops, and aſked him, What? To which *Weſton* anſwered, Sir, you know what is to be done. This made him ſtand in Amaze, and doubt the worſt; whereupon he calls *Weſton* into Examination, and makes him confeſs all his Intention, from what Grounds, and of whom he received it, and partly the Cauſe of it; he now, being made a Slave to Greatneſs, and having laid out much Money to purchaſe his Place, for Fear to loſe the one, and to offend the other, lets *Weſton* go, with this Caution to omit it for that Time; whereas a wiſe Man, rather than he would have run himſelf headlong into Perdition, would have diſcovered, and have made this a Means to have manifeſted his Faithfulneſs in his Office.

But what ſhall we ſay to a Man loſt? The next Day he is ſent for to the Lord of *Northampton*: There, after many long and large Diſcourſes, at length the Earl diſcloſes to him his Intention concerning *Overbury*, and, with thoſe Things, mingles many of his Inſolencies: Firſt, of his Obſtinacy againſt the Viſcount, his Inſolency againſt the Counteſs, his Oppoſition almoſt againſt all good Men, and that, for the Cauſes of ſuch a Thing happening, there being none to look after him, it would paſs unregarded, or unreſpected; but withal gives him many Cautions, how he ſhould manage himſelf in the Buſineſs, letting him underſtand what Manner of Man he was; a Scholar, and one that had an excellent Tongue and Wit; a Traveller, experienced in the Courſe of the World, and, beſides that, favoured the contrary Faction, and as great a Politician as any was this Day in *England*; therefore, in Regard he ought to be the more wary, both who came to him, and who went from him, and, above all, that no Letters paſs to and fro: Theſe, and many ſuch like other Speeches, having paſt between them (for the Earl was two Hours, by his own Confeſſion, prompting him with Cautions and Conſiderations, that he might be the readier to act his Part in this Adventure he was to deal in.) Laſtly, he concludes, that above all he ſhould inſinuate with him, to ſee how he ſtood affected to theſe Proceedings, and what Words he uttered from a Heart full of Thirſt with Grief and Sorrow, that muſt either ſpeak or burſt, and his Service and Diligence herein ſhall be rewarded with a thouſand Pounds.

Whether it was the Greedineſs of the Reward, or the fooliſh Deſire he had to give Content to the Earl and Viſcount, they being his only Favourers, or ſome other Hope ſtill unknown; yet he by this Means is brought to his own Deſtruction, and ſo gives Conſent to conceal that which was intended. At his Comming back, he repairs to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, under Pretence to comfort him in his Sorrow, and adviſeth him to be more lightſome, and not to conſume himſelf with Grief; by this Means entering into further Diſcourſe, ſecretly inſinuates into his Intentions: Sir *Thomas*, having a good Opinion of him, and ſuppoſing all was done out of Faith and Honeſty towards him, having by this Means learned what he could of him, writes unto the Lord of *Northampton* a Letter to this Effect:

My eſpecial good Lord,

HAving undertook my Priſoner, according to your Inſtructions, after long Silence, as ſtanding between Hope and Fear, he takes his Bible, and, after he had read upon it, and by it proteſted his Innocency, upon further Conference concerning the Counteſs, he ſaid, that he had juſtified her already, and that he could do no more than what he had done: But, for himſelf, alas! ſaith he, what will they do with me? I anſwered, So reaſon you, as you ſhall make no Queſtion hereafter of your Pureneſs; and I left him in ſome Senſe, to work upon him. As I was going, he concluded, That, in the Generality, ſhe was ſo worthy, that ſhe might be a Wife, in particular, for my Lord of *Rocheſter*, he would not ſay it, leſt my Lord ſhould condemn him, for Weighing his Worth.

At my next Coming to him, I found him not in Senſe, but Fury: He let fly at you, but was reſpective to my Lord of *Rocheſter*, whoſe Part he taketh altogether. I ſee the Event, I deſire it may be ſafely covered; what my Service may do you in this, or any Thing elſe, I will be faithful to your Lordſhip, and ſo I reſt,

Jervaſe Yelvis.

Theſe, and many other Things, being inſerted into this Letter, were ſent unto the Earl; which he read, and in Reading laughs and ſmiles at the Simplicity of the one, and Ignorance of the other; nevertheleſs, in outward Appearance, he applauds all the Actions of Sir *Jervaſe*, but eſpecially to my Lord of *Rocheſter*, holding him both a diſcreet and wiſe Man, and that his Services, and honeſt Dealing in this Employment, deſerve everlaſting Praiſes with After-ages.

More Poiſons are ſent from the Counteſs. Sir Thomas Monſon *is ſuſpected to have a Hand in the Buſineſs.* Overbury *grows ſickly, and jealous of his Diet; no Acceſs is ſuffered to him.*

Weſton, having received Twenty-four Pounds of his Allowance, and yet nevertheleſs nothing accompliſhed according to the Counteſs's Expectation, is checked by Miſtreſs *Turner* for Delaying it; whereupon he gets into his Hands certain Poiſons, *viz.* Roſacre, white Arſnick, Mercury ſublimate, Cantharides, red Mercury, with three or four more ſeveral Poiſons, tempering them with his Broth and his Meat, according as he ſaw them affected, increaſing and diminiſhing their Strength, as he was inſtructed by his ancient Friend Maſter *Franklin*; beſides theſe, Tarts and Jellies are ſent by the Viſcount and Counteſs, to Sir *Thomas Monſon*, as from thence by the Hands of one *Simon*, Maſter-ſervant unto Sir *Thomas*, to be delivered to *Weſton*, and ſo to *Overbury*, every of which Tarts and Jellies were poiſoned with a ſeveral Poiſon.

Theſe Courſes cauſed Sir *Thomas Monſon* to be ſuſpected of this Act, and to have a Hand in it: *Firſt*, In Reſpect he preferred *Weſton* to his Service: *Secondly*, Poiſoned Tarts and Jellies went out of his Houſe: And, *Laſtly*, For that he did not diſcover theſe Things, his Men only having Acceſs to the *Tower*, and that to ſpeak with *Weſton*. Now his Salt, his Meat, his Drink, and whatſoever he eats, is mingled with Poiſon; and, for the Increaſe of his Torment, is increaſed or diminiſhed, as they ſaw Sir *Thomas Overbury* affected.

By this Means he begins to grow extreme ſickly, having been heretofore accuſtomed to very good Health; inſomuch that he can ſcarce ſtand or go, what with the Pain of his Body, and the Heat: Yet, nevertheleſs, being a ſtrong Man, he ſtood it out a long Time, till, at length, he began to grow jealous of his Man *Weſton*, for his Malady increaſed or diminiſhed, as he affected; but yet ſome Phyſick he deſired, and at his ſpecial Inſtance and Requeſt, and not without ſome Gratitude, as was thought, one *Paul De la Bell*, an Apothecary, by the Advice of Doctor *Marvin*, brought a Bath to cool his Body, with Advice to be ſparing of his Diet, for that he ſuſpected that his Meat was not wholſome: Surely this did him much Good, and preſerved his Life longer than they expected, inſomuch that they miſdoubt ſome Fallacy or Fraud; and therefore ſend new Letters to the Lieutenant, to have a ſpecial Care that none may be ſuffered to ſee him, or ſpeak with him; for evil Men are full of needleſs Fears; and now there is ſuch ſpecial Watch had over him, that none of his Men might be permitted ſo much Liberty as to ſpeak with him out at a Window; and, the Reaſon being asked, Anſwer was made, that the Lieutenant had Commandment from the Council that it ſhould be ſo.

Thus the good Gentleman paſſed away his tedious and ſorrowful Days with many Diſcontents, being filled with Pains and Grief, without Friends and Comforters, ready to be vexed and tormented upon every Occaſion, and conſuming and languiſhing away without any common Society that was allowed to the meaneſt Priſoner in the Houſe; in this Man we may ſee the Miſery of ſuch as fall into the Hands of Popiſh Catholicks, for, by *Northampton*'s Means, was this Strictneſs ſhewed towards him; here will we leave him languiſhing in Sorrow, and lamenting his Misfortune.

The Marriage between the Viſcount and the Counteſs publiſhed; queſtioned, whether it might be lawful. A Nullity obtained to make it lawful. My Lord of Eſſex repays the Portion. The Viſcount made Earl of Somerſet.

TIME can no longer conceal theſe ſecret Meetings, but they muſt at length come to Light: The Marriage between the Viſcount and the Counteſs is publiſhed; this is ſtrange to the World, and ſo much the more ſtrange, by how much three ſuch great and eminent Perſons as the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Counteſs, and the Viſcount were intereſted in it: And now, according to the common Courſe, every one ſpeaks as he ſtands affected; ſome boldly, others ſparingly; ſome call her a looſe Woman, and pity the good Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſay that he had ſuſtained more Wrong than ever any *Engliſh* Peer had done.

Firſt, to ſuffer Diſgrace by the Prince, now by his Wife; others blame her with Words harſh and unſeemly; a third Sort *Rocheſter*; and that it is Pity, but that ſhe ſhould prove as bad a Wife to him as ever ſhe was to the Earl of *Eſſex*; then, if *Overbury* had been at Liberty, this had never happened. Others, that were more ſtayed and judicious in their Opinion, foreſaw the Ruin and Downfal of *Rocheſter* by this Means, but none durſt ſpeak of it. For who will put his Finger into the Fire, unleſs he be compelled? Nevertheleſs, to ſtop the Mouths of the Vulgar, this Marriage is called into Queſtion, whether it may be lawful or not, becauſe her Husband was then living: For this Cauſe, the Biſhops of this Land were divided. By the Opinion of ſome ſhe might, by the Opinion of others ſhe might not; my Lord of *Canterbury*, *London*, and many others were utterly againſt it; but *Winchester* and *Ely* ſtood ſtifly it might, provided a Nullity might be had; for by that Means the former Marriage ſhould be utterly determined.

A Nullity was obtained, and, upon the Grant of that, it was ordered, that my Lord of *Eſſex* ſhould repay the Portion that he received with her at his Marriage, that ſo, to the Shew of the World, it might be ſaid, there had been no Marriage between them. This, afterwards, was called into Queſtion, and thought a mere Trick of *Northampton*, to diſcharge ſome of the greateſt of the Clergy, and to diſcountenance our Religion; it left a foul Scar, and gave a foul Occaſion to the Adverſaries to ſpeak broadly, where they had Liberty, and of ſome even in our Kingdom.

This Order being ſent to my Lord of *Eſſex*, he forthwith prepares for the Repayment of Five-thouſand Pounds, for ſo much he had received with her; and, for this Purpoſe, he ſold and felled divers Woods at *Adderſton*, and near thereabouts: His Grandmother, the Counteſs of *Leiceſter*, helped him much, or elſe he ſhould have been conſtrained to ſell much Land to pay it; verily a hard Courſe, having ſuſtained ſo many Injuries!

The King, nevertheleſs, continues his Favour towards *Rocheſter*; and, that he might be as eminent as the beſt, he is inſtalled Earl of *Somerſet*. Thus Favours are heaped upon him, though he little deſerved them. And the Counteſs, what ſhe deſireth, is ſtill to be a Counteſs, but called after another Name, that is, Counteſs of *Somerſet*. Many are the Chances that happen in the World, ſome good, ſome bad, and thoſe Things, we leaſt ſuſpect, do ſooneſt happen to divert us.

At this Time, my Lord of *Somerſet* little thought to have been laid in the *Tower*, and and made Heir of *Overbury*'s Bed-Chamber; but, by this, we may ſee, that all Things are in the Hands of God.

The Marriage comes to Overbury's *Ears. He propheſieth his own Death. He falleth into a Relapſe. He writes to the Earl to remember his Promiſe. Anſwer is ſent him with white Mercury, inſtead of a medicinal Powder. His Death. The State of his Body after his Death. The Rumour that is ſpread of him. The Author's Lamentation.*

NOW, although Sir *Thomas Overbury* was kept private, and that no Man might have Acceſs to him; yet the News of this Marriage comes to his Ears, and preſently, upon Hearing of it, he tells the Meſſenger, that he had almoſt as good have ſaid, To-morrow he ſhould die, for he was ſure now not to live long; and, thereupon, falls into great Lamentations, as well in regard of the Earl of *Somerſet*, that he had ſo caſt away his Fortunes, as of himſelf, for that now he more ſuſpected his Life, than ever heretofore. Whereupon he falls into a Relapſe, and his Malady increaſed every Day more and more upon him, whether weakened with Grief, or for Want of Liberty, or through Abſtinence; it is not unknown, that the Poiſon had more Power over him, than ever heretofore, inſomuch that he could ſcarce contain himſelf, by Reaſon of his extreme Languiſhing away, as a Man in a Conſumption: But with much more Extremity; ſo that now, being in this Extremity, he thinks it high Time to put *Somerſet* in Mind of his Promiſe. And, for this Purpoſe, he writes a Letter to this Effect:

Right noble and worthy Sir,

THE former accuſtomed Favours, and abſolute Promiſe, concerning my preſent Delivery, have cauſed me at this Time, by theſe Lines, to ſollicit your Lordſhip, and to put you in Remembrance of the ſame, not doubting, that your Honour is at all forgetful of me, but only, by Reaſon of my Impriſonment, being poſſeſſed of a dangerous Diſeaſe, would, for my Body's Safety, partake of the Felicity of the open Air: In which Caſe, if your Lordſhip pleaſe to commiſerate my preſent Neceſſities, and procure me my ſpeedy Delivery, I ſhall not only ſtand ſo much the more obliged, but alſo acknowledge you the Defender and Preſerver of my Life.

Theſe Lines, being ſubſcribed, were ſent to *Somerſet*, and delivered into his own Hands; the Meſſenger returns Anſwer, That preſently he could not accompliſh what he required, but willed him not to doubt, for ſhortly he ſhould hear of his Deliverance. Thus, being fed with Hopes, he takes new Comfort to him; in the mean Time *Weſton* repairs to Mrs. *Turner* for more of his Pay, being in Want: Anſwer was made, that, as ſoon as he had ended his Employment, he ſhould not fail to receive it; but, before then, he muſt not expect any Thing: Whereupon he returns, and enters into new Deſigns; for, in all this Time, that is, from the One and Twentieth of *April*, until the Beginning of *September* following, in the Year 1613, Sir *Thomas* had held out: While he was thus puzzling himſelf, to bring this to Perfection, *Somerſet* ſent him a Letter, to this Effect:

THAT, as yet, the Court was buſy about important Buſineſs, and the King's Ear was not at Leiſure to entertain any Motion; but, as ſoon as he could find Opportunity, he would not fail to ſpeak in his Behalf. In the mean Time, to eaſe the Pain of his Malady, he had ſent him a ſovereign Powder, either to be eaten, or drank, which Powder was rank Poiſon. This feeds him ſtill with Hope, but brings him ſmall Comfort.

Now *Weſton* had found out an unknown Apothecary, and with him concludes, for twenty Pounds, to adminiſter a Clyſter, wherein ſhould be put Mercury ſublimate; the Youth was to come to dye it; *Weſton* prepares it, and perſuades Sir *Thomas* that it will be much for his Health; whereupon, about the fourteenth Day of *September*, he brings the ſaid Apothecary, to execute his Office, aſſiſts him therein, and, by the Infuſion thereof, he falls into a languiſhing Diſeaſe, with a Pain in his Guts; the next Day after, with Extremity of Pain, he gave up the Ghoſt.

After his Death, *Weſton* receives the reſt of his Pay, and diſpatches the unknown Apothecary into *France*. After, it was given out, that Sir *Thomas* lived a baſe, looſe Life in the *Tower*, and

and not according to that Strictneſs as became a Priſoner; but, being ſuffered to have too much Liberty, he run into Exceſs of Laſciviouſneſs, ſo that thereby he got the Pox, and thereof died. This went for current amongſt ſome, amongſt others that were ignorant, ſome little Reſpect was had to it; but to others, that ſought narrower into the Matter, they found it far otherwiſe, for *De la Bell*, the Apothecary, before ſpoken of, having Relation to him, a little before his Death, reported, he was changed in his Complexion, his Body conſumed away, and full of yellow Bliſters, ugly to look upon; and, it appeared by a Letter my Lord of *Northampton* wrote unto *Rocheſter*, to pick a Thank, that there was found in his Arm a Bliſter, and upon his Belly, twelve Kernels raiſed, not like to break, each as broad as three Pence, and as big as a ſmall Button; one Iſſue upon his Back, whereupon was a Plaiſter, from his Shoulder downward, of a dark tawny Colour, ſtrange and ugly to behold; he ſtunk ſo intolerably, as was not to be born withal, being thrown in a looſe Sheet into his Coffin, and buried without Knowledge or Privity of his Friends upon *Tower-hill*; at laſt he concludes, that God is gracious in Cutting off ill Inſtruments before their Time.

Some of the factious Crew had a Purpoſe, if he had got out, to have made ſome Uſe of him; from whence may be gathered, how that *Northampton* held Proteſtants factious, and ſuſpected Sir *Thomas* to have further Knowledge of his Secrets, than he would have had him; which was the Cauſe, as was thought, beſides the former Evils, that haſtened his End, and cauſed him to be taxed with ſo great Infamy, as to die of the Pox. This paſſed current, and the Miſchief lies concealed; Who dare ſpeak of it, two ſuch great Men having their Hands in it?

Thus we may ſee, good and bad Men come to miſerable Ends, and oftentimes thoſe, that are virtuous, do ſooneſt ſuffer Diſgrace and Contempt. This Man, before he came to Court, was brought up in all Gentlemanlike Qualities: In his Youth, at *Cambridge*; after, in the *Middle-Temple*, there inſtructed in the Qualities becoming a Gentleman; by the Intreaty of my Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Robert Cecill*, preferred to Court, found Favour extraordinary; yet hindered of his Expectation by ſome of his Enemies, and, to ſhift off Diſcontents, forced to travel, and therein ſpent not his Time, as moſt do, to Loſe; but furniſhed himſelf with Things fitting a Stateſmen, by Experience in foreign Governments, Knowledge of the Language, Paſſages of Employment, external Courtſhip, and good Behaviour, Things not common to every Man: Notwithſtanding, ſuch are the Imperfections of our Times, he is brought into Ignominy and Contempt, and all thoſe good Qualities are obſcured, by the diſgraceful Reproaches of a diſſolute Woman: What ſhall we then ſay, ſince that Vice and Virtue do both end in Miſery? He is moſt happy, that liveth moſt private; for, according to the Saying of the Poet,

Vitam, animas, operam, ſumptus, impendimus aula,
Præmia, pro meritis, quæ retributa putas?
Aula dedit nobis reſcripta votata papyro,
Et ſine mente ſonos, & ſine corde manus.
Paucos beavit, aula plures perdidit,
Sed & hos quoque ipſos, quos beavit, pendebit.

Our Luſts, our Souls, our Wealth we ſpend
In Court to purchaſe Praiſe;
But what Reward it in the End
For our Deſerts repays?

Their Vows and Proteſtations deep,
Not preſs'd in Paper, but in Mind;
Their Sounds of Words do lull aſleep,
From Body forc'd, not from the Mind;

Hands there we join, but not our Hearts,
Whereby it happeneth few are bleſt,
And many Thouſands that reſort
Unto the Court, by it are loſt.

And, of thoſe few that bleſſed are,
We often ſee there fall again;
Their bleſſed Days they ſpend in Care,
And after end their Lives in Pain.

The Complaint for Want of Treaſure. The King ſets many Lands to Fee-Farm. The Death of the Lord Harrington: *The Death of his Son.*

GREAT Sums of Money being diſburſed upon her Grace's Wedding, and daily Employments for others; ſome for *Ireland*; the Lord Treaſurer, wanting there to defray ordinary Expences, ſome for the King's own Uſe, and ſome for other Occaſions, cauſes a great Complaint for Want of Treaſure: Officers at Court go unpaid, and many of the King's Servants receive not their Wages at ſet Times, ſo that the King is forced to ſet many of his Lands to Fee-Farm, and the four Deputy Treaſurers, with ſome few others, have the Paſſing of them; now my Lord *Harrington* obtained a Patent for the Making of braſs Farthings, a Thing that brought with it ſome Contempt, though lawful; for all Things lawful are not expedient; who, being injoined to go into the *Low-Countries* with her Grace, by the Way loſt his Life. His Son ſucceeded, both in Honour and Patent, and enjoyed them not long before he died: Within a ſhort Time after, the hopefulleſt Gentleman of that Name, more fit for Employments, than for private Life, and for a Stateſman, than a Soldier: He had been at *Cambridge*, there reputed for a great Scholar; he travelled into *Italy*, *Venice*, and *France*; he employed his Time, for the moſt Part, in Study, whereby he made himſelf apt for great Matters. But yet it pleaſed God, even then, when he was in his greateſt Hope, to cut off his Days: He gave all that he had to the Counteſs of *Bedford*, his Siſter, defeating her neither of the Land, nor the Right of the Barony, eſteeming her to be worthy of much more than he had to leave. He made a worthy and godly End: Theſe Things, coming ſo thick one after another, left no Time for Men to dream of *Overbury*'s Death.

The Earl of Somerſet's *Conſcience accuſeth him.* Northampton's *Speech to him. He becometh a Neuter in Religion.* *The Earl of* Northampton's *Courſe.*

A Nullity being thus purchaſed, he dignified, as is ſaid, and the Match concluded about *Candlemas*, 1614, they marry with much Joy and Solemnity, a Maſk being performed at *Somerſet*'s Charge, and many Rumours paſs without any Reſpect: All theſe Things notwithſtanding, a guilty Conſcience can never go without Accuſation; Penſiveneſs and Fulneſs do poſſeſs the Earl, his wonted Mirth forſakes him, his Countenance is caſt down, he takes not that Felicity in Company as he was wont to do, but ſtill ſomething troubles him: Verily, it is a dangerous Thing to fall within the Compaſs of a guilty Conſcience, it eateth and conſumeth the Soul of a Man, as Ruſt doth Iron, or as beating Waves hollow the Rocks; and, though theſe Things are not made publick, yet, nevertheleſs, *Northampton* obſerved it in him; having ſo admirable Capacity, he could make Uſe of all Things; wherefore, knowing his Diſeaſe, *viz.* his Mind gauled with Murder, and knowing the Earl tractable, as he deſired, he enters into more familiar Diſcourſe with him: For, when the Mind of a young Man is corrupted with Evil, he runs headlong into Sin without Stay or Fear; wherefore, amongſt many other Diſcourſes, this falls between them: That, in Caſe the Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury* ſhould come to Light, they were then in a moſt dangerous State; and the next Thing they muſt expect is Loſs of Life, Goods, Lands, Honours, their Names to be made ſcandalous to the World, and, to conclude, to be branded with an ignominious Death; neither was there any Way left for to eſcape this, but either by Making their own Fortunes ſo great, that they might oppoſe all Accuſations, or elſe, being Catholicks, to endeavour, that, in defending them, they again might aſſiſt their Cauſe, in Caſe that any Matter came againſt them; this carrying ſome Shew and Likelihood of Truth, and, indeed, his Caſe being deſperate, if ever it ſhould come to Light, he concludes to combine with *Northampton* in whatſoever he ſhould undertake, and, in Concluſion, became a Neuter in Religion; whereupon, to the Intent he might ſet up further Evils on Foot, beſides thoſe before remembered, he begins to rip up the ancient Quarrel between the *Welch* and the *Engliſh*, who now murmur at ſome Diſcontents; and, to the Intent to hearten on the *Iriſh*, ſends Letters

ters thither, by the Hands of one *Hammon*, a poor Man, unto ſuch whom he knows to be faithful in the *Romiſh* Religion, and thereby confirms them in their Opinion, aſſuring them that God will ſtill provide one or more to protect his Church, and that now the greateſt Favourite in *England* would ſtand for them; upon which Letter, the *Iriſh* grew obſtinate, as I have ſaid, and altogether neglect the Service of God, and utterly deny the Oath of Supremacy, proteſting Loſs of Life and Goods, rather than to be forced to ſo damnable a Thing.

Now we ſee there the Church utterly forſaken, none to hear Divine Service: The Diſcipline of their own Church eſtabliſhed, and the *Iriſh* in general expecting a Day to have their Liberty and Freedom in Religion. The ſame Man, returning this News, is alſo ſent into *Yorkſhire*, with a black Staff, and a Knob upon the End, within which Knob, Letters are conveyed from Place to Place, as well for appointing Aſſemblies, as Meetings for Maſs, and Entertaining of Prieſts; now might a Man go to Maſs in divers Places of the City, And who were ſo publickly favoured as Prieſts? Their Number increaſe, their Prieſts are entertained, Confeſſion in many Places publickly practiſed, and, although it was contrary to the Law, yet, Greatneſs countenancing them, it was little regarded. In the mean Time, Quarrels went forward between the *Scotch* and *Engliſh*, continual Complaints, and the Suit of Clothworkers, with Hope of Obtaining their Requeſt; not ſo much becauſe of the Profit, as to raiſe up a Diſcontent between the *Dutch* and them. Theſe Courſes cauſed divers Men to paſs divers Opinions, and many Men to paſs their Opinion as they affected either Parties.

The Rumours of the Spaniſh *Fleet. A Proclamation againſt* Spaniſh *Money. A Leaguer in the* Low-Countries. *The publick Rumours againſt my Lord of* Northampton. *He exhibits a Bill in the* Star-Chamber *againſt the Publiſhers. They juſtified by my Lord of* Canterbury's *Speech. The Death of my Lord of* Northampton; *his Funeral; his Will. The Names of thoſe that ſucceeded him in his Offices.*

NOT long after, it was rumoured Abroad, that the *Spaniard* had drawn out a Navy of Ships of an hundred Sail, but to what Purpoſe no Man knew; many ſuſpected for *England*, becauſe they were come ſo far upon thoſe Coaſts; others ſaid, for the Uſe of the Mariners to accuſtom them to Sea; but moſt of all were of Opinion, that theſe were but Shadows, and that the *Spaniard* was to have taken Advantage of the Time. Howſoever, upon this there followed a Proclamation againſt *Spaniſh* Money, that their Money ſhould not go current in *England*, which cauſed many to ſuſpect worſe than the worſt, and ſome ſaid one Thing, ſome another: Upon the Neck of that, come Wars in the *Low-Countries*, ſome ſay againſt the *Palſgrave*, others againſt the State. The *Scots* begin to fly out in Rebellion, and are ſuppreſſed. The Wild *Iriſh* in *Ireland* begin to ſtir, ſometimes Thirty, ſometimes Forty, ſometimes Three hundred, fly out and ſtand upon their Guard. Theſe Things miniſter Occaſion of Wonder to the Ignorant, and many of them, who knew the Truth of Things, knew not what to ſay to it. Prieſts come into the Kingdom by Tens, Fifteens, Twenty at a Time, and have free Acceſs, ſo that my Lord of *Northampton*, being Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, begins to be called into Queſtion: Some ſay he hath a Hand in thoſe Things; others ſay, he lets Prieſts have their free Acceſs, and that in *Bloomſbury*, amongſt his own Buildings, they have free Harbour; others ſay, that, through his Countenance, thither any Man might go to publick Maſs. Beſides, many other Intelligences, brought from beyond the Seas, draw him further into Suſpicion, and the King begins to withdraw his Favour from him; wherefore he exhibits his Bill againſt ſuch as defamed him, into the *Star-Chamber*: Some are, for this Cauſe, committed to the *Tower*, others to *Newgate*, others to the *Fleet*, till they come to their Anſwer. And, in the End, openly in the *Star-Chamber* he is accuſed for Suffering Prieſts to have free Acceſs into *Yorkſhire*, under Pretence of his Office; for Countenancing them, for Sending Letters to and again to encourage Men in their Opinions, and many other ſuch like Things.

And,

And, when my Lords came to paſs their Voices, my Lord of *Canterbury*, amongſt the reſt, made a Speech to this Effect: 'That, 'although many have been the Rumours and 'Reports that had paſſed in theſe Times, ſome 'of them ſhut up for uncertain Truths and fly-'ing Fables, then entertained for approved 'Truths; yet, nevertheleſs, ſuch Things are 'grounded upon Reaſon, and for which, Men 'of upright Conſciences have ſome Occaſion to 'ſpeak; to have ſuch either lightly valued or 'puniſhed, was rather Injuſtice, than any Way 'beſeeming the Equity of that Court: But, in 'Truth, theſe, whereof we now ſpeak, are 'grounded upon ſome Cauſe, and my Lord's 'own Letters make evident, that he hath done 'ſome Things both againſt his own Conſcience 'and Meaning, merely to attain unto Honour 'and Sovereignty, and to pleaſe the King:' And with that he pulls out a Letter, written from my Lord to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, to this Effect:

'THAT, howſoever the Condition of the 'Times compelled him, and his Majeſty 'urged him to turn Proteſtant, yet, neverthe-'leſs, his Heart ſtood with the Papiſts, and that 'he would be ready to further them in any At-'tempt. This and much more being read, to 'ſome Purpoſe he proceeded, and ſhewed how 'that thoſe Things were not merely uncertain, 'but even the Actions that followed them did 'juſtify them to be true. For there were never 'known to be ſo many Prieſts to come over 'into this Kingdom in ſo ſhort a Time, as of 'late there had done, neither could he aſſure 'himſelf that my Lord was true-hearted unto 'the State. Alſo he harboured ſuch about him, 'as would undertake to write in Defence of the '*Gunpowder-Treaſon*.'

This and much more being ſaid, about the latter End of *Eaſter Term*, in the Year 1614, my Lord, being hereat much diſcouraged, after the Court broke up, took his Barge [illegible] to *Greenwich*, and there made his Will, wherein he publiſhed himſelf to die in the Faith he was baptiſed; made ſome of his Servants his Executors, and others he beſtowed Gifts upon; his fair Houſe he diſpoſed to my Lord Chamberlain, his Lands to my Lord *Theophilus Howard*; retired back to his Houſe at *London*, and, before *Midſummer Term* following, was dead.

Many were the Rumours that were raiſed of this Man, after his Death: That he was a Traitor to the State; and that he was not dead, but carried beyond Sea to blind the World; and the Reaſon was, becauſe he would be buried at *Dover*, and not at *London*.

Others ſay, that, if he had lived, he would have been the Author of much Stir; many diſlike him, and, as was reported, even the King himſelf towards his latter End, which made him to fall into theſe Courſes; but, truly, he was a notable Politician, and carried Things more commodiouſly for the Papiſts, than ever any before him. His Funeral was kept privately at *Rocheſter*, where he deſired to be buried, becauſe it was the chief Port-Town of his Office, without any State, to outward Appearance. My Lord Treaſurer, that now is, ſucceeded him in his Treaſurerſhip. My Lord of *Somerſet* is made Chancellor of *Cambridge*. My Lord *Zouch*, Warden of the *Cinque Ports*. My Lord of *Worceſter*, ſome ſhort Time after, Lord Privy Seal. Theſe ſucceeded him in his Offices.

The Clothworkers obtain their Petition. The old Charter of the Merchant-Adventurers is ſeized into the King's Hands. The Dutch *grow diſcontented at it. The Doubtfulneſs of* Somerſet's *Mind. He ſues for his Pardon; obtains it. My Lord Chancellor refuſeth to ſeal it. Falls into Suſpicion. Begins to be neglected.*

THE Clothworkers ſtill perſiſting in their Suit, and having ſuch ſtrong Friends to ſtand for them, and Alderman *Cocking*, a rich Merchant, to back them, they at length obtained what they deſired, and Proclamation goes forth, That no more white Cloth ſhall go over undyed, or undreſſed; and, for this Purpoſe, the old Charter of the Merchant-Adventurers is ſeized into the King's Hands, ſo that the Company fall to Decay. Now the *Dutchmen* they begin to murmur againſt the *Engliſh*, and make Proclamation there, That no Man ſhall buy any ſuch Cloths as come over ſo dreſſed and dyed: Whereupon the *Engliſh* make a new

new Proclamation, That no Man ſhall tranſport Wool out of the Kingdom. Theſe Things fed ſome with Hope of ſome further Troubles; yet, nevertheleſs, it is ſo ordered by the Council, that all Things are pacified, and ſome Quantities amounting to a certain Number of white Cloths, are ſuffered to be tranſported, as well to give Content to the *Hollanders*, as Satisfaction and Employment to ſome young Merchants that had entered into this Trade, by which Means theſe Clamours are a little ſtayed; yet, nevertheleſs, great Impreſſion of Envy is between theſe two Countries.

Now, one of the greateſt Friends, that *Somerſet* had, being dead, and himſelf ſtill jealous of his Safety, he begins to caſt about how he might avoid the Danger of the Law; for his Intelligencers gave him Notice of many deſperate Words, that were uttered concerning *Overbury*'s Death; whereupon, finding the King in a good Humour, he moves him to this Effect: That, whereas it had pleaſed his Majeſty to commit many Things into his Charge, and ſome of them proving ſomething too weighty for him to undergo, it was ſo, that ignorantly he run himſelf into a *Præmunire*, whereby he had forfeited to him both his Lands, Goods, and Liberties; and that he came now to ſurrender them all up into his Majeſty's Hands, unleſs it pleaſed him, of his wonted Favour towards him, to grant him Pardon for that, and many other Offences that he had ignorantly committed. The King, ſtill bearing a good Affection towards him, bade him draw out his Pardon, and he would ſign it; whereupon he makes his Repair to Sir *Robert Cotton*, and intreats him to look him a Pardon, the largeſt he could find in former Precedents: So he brings him one, that was made by the Pope to Cardinal *Wolſey*; the Effect of which was,

'That the King, of his mere Motion and 'ſpecial Favour, did pardon all and all Man-'ner of Treaſons, Miſpriſions of Treaſons, 'Murders, Felonies, and Outrages whatſo-'ever, by the ſaid Sir *Robert Carr*, Earl of '*Somerſet*, committed, or hereafter to be com-'mitted;' with many other Words, to make it more ample and large, according to Form; which he cauſed to be drawn and ingroſſed, and brought it unto the King. The King ſigns it; at length it comes to my Lord Chancellor's Hands; he peruſes it, and refuſes to let it paſs the Seals. My Lord aſks the Reaſon. Anſwer was made, That he could not juſtify the Doing of it, but that he ſhould incur a *Præmunire*, as well as himſelf. This ſtruck *Somerſet* to the Heart, and then he was in greater Doubt, than ever he was before; for ſtill he is ſtung with Fear to be touched with *Overbury*'s Death, and ſo very penſively returns to *Whitehall*, and there remains.

The King coming to *London*, my Lord Chancellor acquainted him with the Pardon, and ſhewed the King what Danger he had incurred, in Caſe he had ſealed it. The King, perceiving the Truth of the Buſineſs, ſuſpecting ſome greater Matter, than he knew of, withdraws his Countenance from *Somerſet*, who, now wanting Virtue to ſupport his Greatneſs, without the King's Favour, falls into the Contempt of many; and thoſe, that are his Enemies, neglect him, and do, as it were, deride his Manner of Carriage; by which Means he runs headlong into his own Perdition, as ſhall be hereafter ſhewed.

My Lord Chancellor is ſued in the Star-Chamber, *for being within the Compaſs of a* Præmunire. *The King goes to* Cambridge. *A Breach about* Ignoramus. *My Lord* Coke *ſtands againſt my Lord Chancellor. The King graces Sir* George Villiers, *and beſtows great Honours upon him.* Somerſet's *Courſes to conceal* Overbury's *Death. His Covetouſneſs. His Inſolency. He is croſſed by* Villiers. *The Report of the Vulgar.*

IN this Year (1614) the King, by the Intreaty of *Somerſet*, determined to go to *Cambridge*, and there was entertained with great Solemnity; but, amongſt the reſt, there was a Play, called by the Name of *Ignoramus*, that ſtirred up a great Contention between the common Lawyers and the Scholars, inſomuch that their Flouts grew unſufferable; but at laſt it was ſtayed by my Lord Chancellor, and the Explaining of the Meaning.

About this Time it happened, that, divers Citizens having recovered certain Sums of Money in the *King's-Bench*, and thereof having had Judgment againſt the Party, the De-

ſendant, he, nevertheleſs, exhibits his Bill into the *Chancery*, to have Relief of the Plaintiffs at the Common Law; having already had Judgment of the ſame Matter, there ſtands out, and diſobeys the King's Proceſs; whereupon a Writ of Contempt iſſues againſt them, they are taken, committed to the *Fleet*, and there continue in their Obſtinacy; nevertheleſs, not long after, upon ſome Advice, they exhibit their Bill into the *Star-Chamber* againſt my Lord, pretending, That he ought not to intermeddle with any Matters that were already determined at the Common Law, and whereof a Judgment had been paſſed; and this was ordained by the Statute of 4 *Hen.* IV. *cap.* 23. whereby it was enacted, That Judgment, given in the King's Court, ſhall not be examined in *Chancery*, Parliament, or elſewhere, until it be undone by Attaint, or Error, *&c.* Now, my Lord having laid them faſt upon a Bill exhibited before him, and Judgment being already given, That therefore my Lord had incurred a *Præmunire*, and humbly prayed Relief in this Caſe; many were the Opinions of Lawyers concerning this Matter: Some ſtood on my Lord Chancellor's Side; ſome ſaid the poor Men had Injury, and that they might juſtify what they had done; and, amongſt many, my Lord *Coke* ſtood out very ſtiffly, That my Lord Chancellor could not juſtify that Action: And thus it ſtood ſtill in Queſtion, Whether my Lord be in a *Præmunire*, or no?

My Lord of *Somerſet*, continuing ſtill in his looſe Courſes, and utterly neglecting that Severity, that ought to be in a Man of his Place, beſides the former Suſpicions and Jealouſies, gives Occaſion of others alſo, whereby the King doth more and more fall into Diſlike, there being at this Time about the Court a young Gentleman, that, not long before, had arrived from his Travels out of *France*; his Name was *Villiers*, a *Leiceſterſhire* Gentleman, and of an ancient Houſe; who, as well in Reſpect of Carriage, as of his Countenance, was more remarkable than many others. On this Man the King caſts a particular Affection, holding him to be the propereſt and beſt deſerving Gentleman of *England*; whereupon he entertained him into Favour, beſtowed a thouſand Pounds upon him, and afterwards adorned him with the Title of Knighthood. And now he begins to grow every Day more eminent than other; greater Honours are beſtowed upon him, as, the Dignity to be Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the Horſe: Places not common to every Perſon, and ſo much the more remarkable, becauſe they are beſtowed upon him, being ſo young in Years; his Wiſdom is commended of the Wiſeſt [illegible] his Expectations greater, than many that went before him.

This ſtings *Somerſet* to the Heart, to ſee another ſtep to his Place; he more fears his Subverſion and Downfall; wherefore he goes about to circumvent Danger, and for this Purpoſe ſends into *France*, to make away the Apothecary, that adminiſtered the Phyſick that killed Sir *Thomas*, endeavouring to get in all Letters and Writings that had paſſed concerning the Buſineſs, and diſgracing and diſcountenancing all ſuch as at any Time once ſpoke of the Death of *Overbury*, to the Intent that it might be concealed and kept cloſe; but what God will have diſcloſed, ſhall never be concealed: Meſſengers are ſent from Place to Place; he being a Privy-Counſellor, and in Favour, his Warrant paſſes current, ſo that in all Places Trunks, Cheſts, Boxes, Studies, Diaries, and ſuch Houſes, wherein he ſuſpected any Letters, or other Matters that appertained to that Miſchief, lay hid, were broken open and ſearched, to the Intent that they might bring ſome Writings to my Lord; yet nevertheleſs many, and more than were dreamed on, of thoſe Letters, came to my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Hand, and my Lord *Coke*'s, ſo that thoſe Courſes makes him rather more ſuſpected, than any Whit at all eaſed his Grief.

At Home in his Office uſing extraordinary Covetouſneſs and Parſimony, he thereby heaped up to himſelf great Store of Money, and would not undertake any Enterpriſe, unleſs he was well rewarded for his Pains; every new Occaſion and Occurrence, that came to his Hands, brought him in alſo a Fleece of Money. Offices in Court in his Gift were not beſtowed without Money, the King's Letters not purchaſed without Money, no Pardon without Money, ſo that he was as great a Bribe-taker, as his Mother the Counteſs of *Suffolk*, and many Rumours and hard Reports were ſpread on him for the ſame; yet nevertheleſs he ſtill continued his Favour, in Deſpight, as a Man may ſay, of his Oppoſites, even unto the greateſt Dignity, which cauſed him to be as proud as covetous, and to commit as many Inſolencies, as he had received ſecret Bribes. He thought it no

Matter

Matter to lean on the Cuſhion in Publick to check ſome of the Nobility; and amongſt the reſt to make a flat Breach with my Lord of *Canterbury*, a grave and reverend Gentleman, one of the Pillars of this Kingdom, and that could diſcern the Follies of this young Man. Thus, admiring of his own Worth, he works his own Subverſion, and by theſe Inſolencies plucking more Evils upon his Head, and daily adding more Enemies, to thoſe that before he had deſerved.

Theſe Things laid him open to the Envy of the Greateſt; and Sir *George Villiers*, ſeeing his exceeding Covetouſneſs, having now the Ears of the King, would oftentimes croſs his Expectations, as it is credibly reported, and deceive him of many a Bribe which he hoped for, doing thoſe Things voluntarily, and for Thanks, which my Lord would not have ſpoken of without much Money. Theſe Courſes laid him open to the Contempt of the Vulgar alſo: And now all Men, according to their Cuſtom, began to exclaim of his great Extortion. Thus may we ſee him falling.

Overbury's *Death called into Queſtion.* Weſton *ſent for, and, by my Lord* Coke *examined, ſtands out; upon my Lord of* London's *Perſuaſion, confeſſeth all. The Earl and Counteſs attached; they deny the Deed. Sir* Thomas Monſon *committed to the* Tower. *Sir* Walter Raleigh *and the Counteſs of* Shrewſbury *ſet at Liberty. The Death of the Lady* Arabella. *The Conviction of the Earl and Counteſs: The Manner of their Arraignment, and the many Rumours that were ſpread upon theſe Things.*

THE Death of *Overbury*, having now lain concealed about two Years, and the Earl's Inſolence growing every Day greater than other, procures him many more Enemies, as is ſaid; yet there was no Man that was ſo hardy, for Fear of the King's Diſpleaſure, he carrying a very good Affection ſtill towards him, to make him acquainted with it, or bring it to the Trial of the Law. At laſt, for divers are the Rumours how it was diſcovered, one was, that Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Man petitioned my Lord *Coke*, and the Subſtance of the Petition was, to let his Lordſhip underſtand that whereas his Maſter had been committed to the *Tower* by the Conſent of *Northampton* and *Somerſet*, and there languiſhed to Death unnaturally; that, if it pleaſed his Lordſhip to call one *Weſton* before him, he might gather that out of him that might diſcover the whole Plot and Practice. Others ſay that my Lord of *Canterbury*, having conceived, as is ſaid, ſome Diſlike againſt *Somerſet*, and willing to make himſelf gracious with the King, poſſeſſed Sir *Ralph Winwood* with the Buſineſs, one that was preferred to be Secretary under my Lord of *Somerſet*, and to aſſiſt him, and lets him underſtand the whole Matter, as hath been related; and that many Letters came unto his Hands, and Preſumptions therein that it ſhould be true; and there remained a Trunk in ſuch a Place, wherein many Writings are contained, that would make evident the Truth. Sir *Ralph*, being willing likewiſe to become more eminent with the King, poſſeſſed him with the Buſineſs, and, proceeding upon a confident Ground, a Warrant was ſent to my Lord *Coke* to proſecute the Matter. Others ſay, that by the Loſs of a Letter it was diſcloſed; and divers Opinions there were, how it ſhould come to Light, it having been kept cloſe ſo long: For Things of this Nature, when they are ſo long concealed, bring more Wonder; but, howſoever it was made known, my Lord *Coke*, by Vertue of his Warrant, ſent for *Weſton* to come before him, and examined him upon divers Articles concerning this Subject, and perſuaded him, intreated him, and threatened him to tell the Truth: *Weſton* ſtood out, and would not; thus he perſiſted, for a Week or Fortnight; many Men urged him to it; Accuſers were brought before him, and depoſed upon their Oaths, That whatſoever was objected againſt him was true; this little prevailed.

At laſt, my Lord of *London* went to him, and, by his Perſuaſions, he tells all: How Mrs. *Turner* and the Counteſs came acquainted; what Relation ſhe had to Witches, Sorcerers, and Conjurers; that *Northampton*, *Somerſet*, *Franklin*, the *Monſons*, and *Yelvis* had their Hands, in that Buſineſs; whereupon they were all apprehended, ſome ſent to the *Tower*, others to *Newgate*. Having thus confeſſed this Evil, being

ing convicted according to the Courſe of Law, he was had to *Tyburn* to be hanged, and there Sir *Hidles*, and others, imagining this to be but a Fable, and that he was hired to accuſe thoſe Perſons (for who, almoſt, would have believed it?) examine him at the Gallows; and, upon his Examination, he juſtified what he had done, to the great Wonder of all thoſe that ſtood by and heard it. After him Mrs. *Turner*, after her *Franklin*, then Sir *Jervaſe Yelvis*, upon their Arraignments of the Facts, were found Guilty, and hanged, all very penitent and ſorrowful for what was done.

To write the Particulars of their Arraignments, Confeſſions, and the Manner of their Deaths is needleſs, being common. Now the Counteſs and the Earl are attached, and committed to Protection; one to the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, the other to the Sheriff of *London*; and, according to the Courſe of ſuch Caſes, there are great Reports raiſed, Watch and Ward kept more than ordinary, and the Guard more obſervant. This makes the King ſtand amazed, and to imagine there is no Truth in Men; he grows more jealous of himſelf than heretofore, becauſe his only Favourite, and that, as it were, in his Boſom, ſhould be intrapped in ſuch an Evil: And the Tongues of the Vulgar began to walk; ſome ſay, that *Northampton* and *Somerſet* had combined with the *Spaniard*, for a Sum of Money, to deliver them up the Navy, and that Sir *William Monſon*, Vice-Admiral, ſhould have done it the next Spring: That the King, and the whole State, ſhould have been poiſoned at the Chriſtening of the Counteſs's Child, for ſhe was then with Child; and many more the like Rumours were ſpread, not worth Relating, to the Intent to incenſe the People the more againſt them, and to make the Matter more heinous and grievous to the World. At this Time the Lady *Arabella* died, a Matter more remarkable than was obſerved, and gave ſome Occaſion of Speech to many, but yet, nevertheleſs, paſſed over in Silence.

Theſe Hurlyburlies being grown ſomewhat calm, and the Minds of Men a little ſettled, the Counteſs, and others authoriſed for that Purpoſe, were examined; and my Lord *Coke* was the Man that preſſed the Evidence againſt them, which, as it was thought, procured ſome great Enemies; twenty-two Articles were objected againſt them. *Somerſet* pleaded Ignorance, and that theſe Objections were mere Tricks to intrap him, and ſet the King againſt him; the ſame Anſwer was in the Counteſs, and that it might rather proceed out of Envy, than for any juſt Cauſe. They cauſe it to be given out, that their Accuſations were wrongful, and none were accuſed, but ſuch as were the greateſt Favourites to the King; ſo that there was much Ado to little Purpoſe. At laſt, when they heard that *Weſton*, *Turner*, *Franklin*, and *Yelvis* were all hanged, and that they had confeſſed the Matter, the Counteſs, being brought before the Council, confeſſed the whole Truth; but *Somerſet* ſtood to it ſtill, that he was not an Agent in it, and that theſe Accuſations did nothing touch him, and therefore he ought to be excuſed.

Nevertheleſs, his Lands and Goods were committed to Cuſtody, Part to my Lord Treaſurer, and Part to others, to the King's Uſe: The Money, Plate, and Jewels, which he had heaped up together, amounted, by Report, unto two-hundred-thouſand Pounds, his Lands nineteen-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and the King beſtowed many of them upon the Prince. There was little Speech of this, in reſpect that both Perſon and Matter, wherein he was an Agent, were both envied and facinorous; neither was there any that pitied him, but moſt ſaid, That he had but his juſt Deſerts, for the Injuries and Wrongs that he offered unto *Eſſex*.

The Arraignment was put off, and, in the mean Time, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was ſet at Liberty. This Man had continued in the *Tower* now almoſt ten Years a condemned Perſon, for a Plot intended againſt his Majeſty at his firſt Coming in; he bore a great Envy againſt *Somerſet*, becauſe he had begged his Lands of the King, and got them into his Poſſeſſion, giving him many Taunts, during the Time he was in the *Tower*. Theſe two Accidents happening beyond Expectation (the one being the eſpecial Favourite of the King, the other a condemned Man; the one impriſoned, the other ſet at Liberty) gave great Occaſion of Speech and Rumour, and ſo much the more Wonder and Admiration, becauſe of *Raleigh*'s Wit and Policy.

And this Year alſo the Counteſs of *Shrewſbury*, who was committed for being privy to the Eſcape of the Lady *Arabella*, was ſet at Liberty, and the Earl, her Huſband, died, leaving the greateſt Part of his Land unto his Daughters; during all this Time, that is, from *Michaelmas* Term, unto the ſhort Vacation, between *Eaſter* and *Trinity-Term*, the

Arraign-

Arraignment was put off; ſome attributed the Cauſe to be, becauſe the Counteſs was with Child, and, in the mean Time, was delivered of a Daughter; ſome, that further Proofs of Uncertainties might be brought in; others, to give them longer Time to conſider on the Matter, and that it was a great Favour; I ſay, theſe Rumours being publiſhed amongſt the People, at length, the King authoriſed my Lord Chancellor to be High Steward of *England* for the Time being, and joined eight of his Judges with him for his Aſſiſtance, viz. the four Judges of the *King's-Bench*, my Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, Juſtice *Nichols*, my Lord Chief Baron, and others of the Barons, with Power to call *Somerſet* and the Counteſs before them, to ſhew Cauſe why they ſhould not have Sentence of Death paſſed upon them for this Offence committed, both againſt the Laws of the Land, and againſt the King, his Crown and Dignity. So, upon the Twenty-fourth of *May*, in this Year 1616, there being a Seat Royal placed at the upper End of *Weſtminſter-hall*, a little ſhort of the *King's-Bench*, and Seats made round about it, for the reſt of the Juſtices and Peers to ſit on, and a little Cabbin built cloſe by the *Common-Pleas*, for the Priſoners, when they came from the *Tower*, to be put to reſt them in, they proceed to the Trial after this Manner: As ſoon as my Lord High Steward, with great State, came into *Weſtminſter-hall*, with his Aſſiſtants the Judges, divers Lords and Gentlemen attending, and four Serjeants at Arms before him, aſcending a little Gallery made of Purpoſe to keep off the Croud, he takes his Seat, and the reſt of the Aſſiſtants and Peers, according to their Places. This being done, after Silence proclaimed, one of the Heralds at Arms reaches the High Steward's Patent, and delivers it to the Clerk of the Crown to read it; after, Sir *Ralph Coningsby* reaches him his Staff, and is there preſent, according to his Place, to give Attendance.

After the Patent read, and Proclamation for Silence, and that the Accuſers ſhould come in, the Priſoners were ſent for by the Clerk of the *Exchequer*, whoſe Office it was to attend the Priſoners: This being done, and the Priſoners placed at the Bar, Sir *Henry Fanſhaw* reads the Indictment, to which the Counteſs pleaded Guilty, and confeſſed the Fact: But *Somerſet* pleaded Not Guilty, and had Time from Ten of the Clock to clear himſelf; much was ſaid, but to little Purpoſe: At laſt the Peers, having conferred of the Matter, return their Verdict, laying their Hands upon their Breaſts, and ſwearing by their Honours (for they do not make an Oath as ordinary Jurors do) that he was Guilty of the Murder and Poiſoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, whereupon my Lord High Steward pronounced Sentence of Death againſt him; and ſo he was had back to the *Tower*, where he remaineth at the Mercy of the King. This Man may juſtly ſay as Pope *Barbaroſſa* ſaid, when he was put from the Popedom:

Qui modo ſummus eram, lætatus nomine, præſul,
Triſtis & abjectus, nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelſus ſolio nuper verſabar in alto,
Cunctaque gens pedibus oſcula prona dabant;
Nunc ego pœnarum fundo deculcor in imo,
Vultum deformem pallidaque ora gero.
Omnibus e terris aurum mihi ſponte ferebant,
Sed nec guza juvat, nec quis amicus adeſt.
Sic varians fortuna vices adverſa ſecundis
Subdit & ambiguis nomine ludit atro;
Cedit in exemplum cunctis quos gloria tollit,
Vertice de ſummo mox ego Papa cado.

Lo here I am, that ſome Time took Delight
in Name of Pope;
Now, being ſad and abject, do bewail
my Fate and Hope.
Of late preferr'd, I did converſe with ſtate-
ly Pomp and Grace,
And every Nation to my Feet their
ready Kiſſes place:
But now in Dungeon deep am thrown of Pains
in mortal Fear,
A Countenance pale, a Body lean, deform'd
with Grief I bear.
From all Parts of the Earth they brought me
Gold without Conſtraint,
But now no Gold, nor precious Stones, nor
Friends can eaſe my Plaint.
So variable Fortune is ſo nice
to great Attempts,
So ſubject and ſo doubtful too, ſo ad-
verſe in Events,
That Atys with our Name doth play, as with
a Tennis-ball;
For, being liſted up with Fame, the great-
er is our Fall:
Let this Example be to ſuch, whom For-
tune doth advance,
That they, as I by Popedom fell, may fall
by like Miſchance.

For

For we cannot read of any that ever was ſo great a Favourite as *Somerſet*, neither the *Spencers* with *Edward the Second*, nor the Earl of *Warwick* with *Henry the Sixth*, nor the Duke of *Suffolk* with *Henry the Eighth*, as this Man was with the King; neither was there any that ever came to ſo ſudden and unexpected a Fall.

They therefore, that do but rightly conſider this Diſcourſe, ſhall find in it three Things worthy Obſervation:

Firſt, That neither Honour, nor Wealth, are any certain Inheritance, but Occaſion (unleſs God be merciful unto us) for the Devil to pick a Quarrel againſt us, to bring us to Infamy.

Secondly, That God never leaves Murder (though never ſo cloſely carried) unpuniſhed.

Laſtly, That there were never known, in ſo ſhort a Time, ſo many great Men to die with Suſpicion of Poiſon and Witchcraft; *viz.* Firſt, my Lord Treaſurer, the Prince, my Lord *Harrington*, his Son, *Overbury*, and *Northampton*; beſides theſe, which are no leſs than Six, others within three Years and an Half, and the two *Monſons*, which yet remain untried.

Sir Francis Bacon's *Speech at the Arraignment of the Earl of* Somerſet.

IT may pleaſe your Grace, my Lord High Steward of *England*, and you my Lords the Peers, you have here before you *Robert* Earl of *Somerſet* to be tried for his Life, concerning the Procuring and Conſenting to the Impoiſonment of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, then the King's Priſoner in the *Tower* of *London*, as an Acceſſory before the Fact.

I know your Hopes cannot behold this Nobleman, but you muſt remember the great Favours which the King hath conferred on him, and muſt be ſenſible, that he is yet a Member of your Body, and a Peer as you are, ſo that you cannot cut him off from your Body but with Grief; and therefore you will expect from us, that give in the King's Evidence, ſound and ſufficient Matter of Proof, to ſatisfy your Honours and Conſciences.

As for the Manner of the Evidence, the King our Maſter who (amongſt his other Virtues, excelleth in that Virtue of the Imperial Throne which is Juſtice) hath given us Command, that we ſhould not expatiate, nor make Invectives, but materially purſue the Evidence, as it conduceth to the Point in Queſtion.

A Matter, that, though we are glad of ſo good a Warrant, yet we ſhould have done of ourſelves; for far be it from us, by any Strains, or Wit of Arts, to ſeek to play Prizes, or to blaſon our Names in Blood, or to carry the Day otherwiſe than upon ſure Grounds; we ſhall carry the Lanthorn of Juſtice, which is the Evidence, before your Eyes upright, and to be able to ſave it from being put out with any Grounds of Evaſion or vain Defences; that is our Parts, and within that we ſhall contain ourſelves, not doubting at all, but that the Evidence itſelf will carry that Force, as it ſhall need no Advantage, or Aggravation.

Firſt, My Lords, the Courſe, that I will hold in delivering of that which I ſhall ſay, for I love Order, is this: *Firſt*, I will ſpeak ſomewhat of the Nature and Greatneſs of the Offence, which is now to be tried, not to weigh down my Lord with the Greatneſs of it; but rather contrariwiſe to ſhew, that a great Offence needs a good Proof. And that the King, howſoever he might eſteem this Gentleman heretofore, as the Signet upon his Finger (to uſe the Scripture Phraſe) yet, in ſuch a Caſe as this, he was to put him off.

Secondly, I will uſe ſome few Words touching the Nature of the Proofs, which in ſuch a Caſe are competent.

Thirdly, I will ſtate the Proofs.

And, *Laſtly*, I will produce the Proofs, either out of Examination, and Matters of Writing, or Witneſs *viva voce*.

For the Offence itſelf, it is of Crimes next unto High Treaſon the greateſt, it is the ſouleſt of Felonies: It hath three Degrees of Stages. *Firſt*, It is Murder by Impriſonment. *Secondly*, It is Murder committed upon the King's Priſoner in the *Tower*. *Thirdly*, I might ſay, that it is Murder under the Colour of Friendſhip, but that it is a Circumſtance Moral, and therefore I leave that to the Evidence itſelf.

For Murder, my Lords, the firſt Record of Juſtice, which was in the World, was Judgement upon a Murder, in the Perſon of *Adam*'s firſt-born *Cain*; and though it was not puniſhed by Death, but with Baniſhment, and a Mark of Ignominy, in Reſpect of the Primogenitors,

or the Population of the World, yet there was a ſevere Charge given, that it ſhould not go unpuniſhed.

So it appeareth likewiſe in Scripture, that the Murder of *Abner* by *Joab*, though it were *David* reſpited, in reſpect of great Services paſt, or Reaſon of State, yet it was not forgotten.

But of this I will ſay no more, becauſe I will not diſcourſe: It was ever admitted and ranked in God's own Tables, that Murder is of Offences, between Man and Man, next unto High Treaſon, and Diſobedience to Authority, which ſometimes have been referred to the Firſt Table, becauſe of the Lieutenancy of God in Princes the greateſt.

For Impoiſonment, I am ſorry it ſhould be heard of in our Kingdom: It is not *noſtri generis nec ſanguinis peccatum*: It is an *Italian* Comfit for the Court of *Rome*, where that Perſon, that intoxicateth the Kings of the Earth, is many Times really and materially intoxicated and impoiſoned himſelf. But it hath three Circumſtances, which makes it grievous beyond other Matters: The *Firſt* is, That it takes a Man away in full Peace, in God's and the King's Peace, that thinks no Harm, but is comforting of Nature with Refection and Food, ſo that, as the Scripture ſaith, *his Table is made a Snare.*

The *Second* is, That it is eaſily committed, and eaſily concealed; and, on the other Side, hardly prevented, and hardly diſcovered: For Murder by Violence, Princes have Guards, and private Men have Houſes, Attendants, and Arms; neither can ſuch Murder be committed, but *cum ſtrepitu*, with ſome overt and apparent Acts, that may diſcover and trace the Offenders: But, for Poiſon, the Cup itſelf of Princes will ſcarce ſerve, in regard of many Poiſons, that neither diſcolour nor diſtaſte: It comes upon a Man when he is careleſs, and without Reſpect; and every Day a Man is within the Gates of Death.

And the *Laſt* is, Becauſe it concerneth not only the Deſtruction of the maliced Man, but of every Man, *Quis modò tutus erit?* For many Times the Poiſon is prepared for one, and is taken by another, ſo that Men die other Men's Deaths, *Concidit infelix aliena vulnere*, and is, as the *Pſalmiſt* calleth it, *Sagitta nocte volans*, The Arrow that flieth by Night, that hath no Aim nor Certainty; and therefore, if any Man ſhall ſay to himſelf, Here is great Talk of Impoiſonment, but I am ſure I am ſafe, for I have no Enemies, neither have I any Thing another Man ſhould long for: Why, that is all one, he may ſit next him at the Table, that is meaned to be impoiſoned, and pledge him of his Cup: As we may ſee in the Example of 21 *Hen.* VIII. that, where the Purpoſe was to poiſon one Man, there was Poiſon put into Barm or Yeaſt, and with that Barm Pottage or Gruel was made, whereby Sixteen of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Servants were poiſoned; nay, it went into the Alms-baſket likewiſe, and the Poor at the Gate were poiſoned. And therefore, with great Judgment, did the Statute made that Year, touching this Accident, make Impoiſonment High Treaſon; becauſe it tends to the Diſſolving of human Society; for whatſoever Offence does ſo, is, in the Nature thereof, High Treaſon.

Now, for the *Third* Degree of this particular Offence, which is, That it is committed upon the King's Priſoner, who was out of his own Defence, and merely in the King's Protection, and for whom the King and the State were a Kind of Reſpondent: It is a Thing that aggravates the Fault much, for certainly, my Lord of *Somerſet*, let me tell you this, that Sir *Thomas Overbury* is the firſt Man that was murdered in the *Tower* of *London*, ſave the Murder of the two young Princes, by the Appointment of *Richard the Third.*

Thus much of the Offence, now to the Proofs.

For the Nature of Proofs, you may conſider, that Impoiſonment, of all Offences, is the moſt ſecret; even ſo ſecret, as that if, in all Caſes of Impoiſonment, you ſhould require Teſtimony, you ſhould as good proclaim Impunity.

Who could have impeached *Livia* by Teſtimony, for the Poiſoning of the Figs upon the Tree, which her Husband was wont to gather with his own Hands? Who could have impeached *Paraſetis* for the Poiſoning of the Knife ſhe carried with her, and Keeping the other Side clean, ſo that ſhe herſelf did eat of the ſame Piece of Meat that they did, whom ſhe did impoiſon?

Theſe Caſes are infinite, and need not to be ſpoken of the Secreſy of Impoiſonment; but wiſe Men muſt take upon them in theſe ſecret Caſes *Solomon*'s Spirit, that, when there could be no Witneſſes, collected the Act by the Affection: But yet we are not at our Cauſe, for that,

that, which your Lordſhips are to try, is not the Act of Impoiſonment, for that is done to your Hands; all the World by Law is concluded to ſay, that *Overbury* was poiſoned by *Weſton*; but the Queſtion before you is of the Procurement only, and, as the Law termeth it, as Acceſſory before the Fact, which Abetting is no more, but to do or uſe any Act or Means, which may aid or conduce to the Impoiſonment.

So that it is not the Buying, nor the Making of the Poiſon, nor the Preparing, nor Confecting, nor Commixing of it, nor the Giving, or Sending, or Laying of the Poiſon, that are the only Acts that do amount unto the Abetment; but, if there be any other Act or Means done or uſed to give Opportunity of Impoiſonment, or to facilitate the Execution of it, or to ſtop, or divert, any Impediments that might hinder it, and that it be with an Intention to accompliſh and atchieve the Impoiſonment; all theſe are Abetments and Acceſſories before the Fact: As, for Example, If there be a Conſpiracy to murder a Man, as he journeyeth on the Way, and it be one Man's Part to draw him forth to that Journey by Invitation, or by Colour of ſome Buſineſs; and another takes upon him to diſſuade ſome Friend of his Company, that he is not ſtrong enough to make his Defence; and another hath a Part to hold him in Talk, till the firſt Blow be given; all theſe, my Lords, without Scruple, are Acceſſories to the Murder, although none of them give the Blow, nor aſſiſt to give the Blow.

My Lords, he is not the Hunter alone, that lets ſlip the Dog upon the Deer, but he that lodgeth him, and hunts him out, or ſets a Train or Trap for him, that he cannot eſcape, or the like.

But this, my Lords, little needeth in this Caſe; for ſuch a Chain of Acts of Impoiſonment, as this, I think, was never heard, nor ſeen.

And thus much of the Nature of the Proofs.

To deſcend to the Proofs themſelves, I ſhall keep this Courſe:

Firſt, I will make a Narration of the Fact itſelf.

Secondly, I will break and diſtribute the Proofs, as they concern the Priſoner.

And, *Thirdly*, According to the Diſtribution, I will produce them, or read them to uſe them.

So that there is nothing that I ſhall ſay, but your Lordſhip ſhall have three Thoughts or Cogitations to anſwer it.

Firſt, When I open it, you may take your Aim.

Secondly, When I diſtribute it, you may prepare your Anſwers without Confuſion.

And, *Laſtly*, When I produce the Witneſſes, or the Examinations themſelves, you may again ruminate, and re-adviſe to make your Defence.

And this I do, that your Memory and Underſtanding may not be oppreſſed or overborn with Length of Evidence, or with Confuſion of Order; nay more, when your Lordſhip ſhall make your Anſwer in your Time, I will put you in Mind, where Cauſe ſhall be, of your Omiſſion.

Firſt, therefore, Sir *Thomas Overbury*, for a Time, was known to have great Intereſt and ſtrict Friendſhip with my Lord of *Somerſet*, both in his meaner Fortunes, and afterwards, inſomuch that he was a Kind of Oracle of Direction unto him; and, if you will believe his own Vaunts, being indeed of an inſolent and thraſonical Diſpoſition, he took upon him, that the Fortunes, Reputation, and Underſtanding of this Gentleman, who is well known to have an able Teacher, proceeded from his Company and Counſel: And this Friendſhip reſted not only in Converſation and Buſineſs at Court, but likewiſe in Communication of Secrets of State; for my Lord of *Somerſet*, exerciſing at that Time, by his Majeſty's ſpecial Favour and Truſt, the Office of Secretary proviſionally, did not forbear to acquaint *Overbury* with the King's Packets and Diſpatches from all Parts of *Spain*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*; and this not by Glimpſes, or now and then Rounding in the Ear for a Favour, but in a ſetled Manner. Packets were ſent, ſometimes opened by my Lord, ſometimes unbroken, unto *Overbury*, who peruſed them, copied them, regiſtered them, and made Table-talk of them, as they thought good. So, I will undertake, the Time was, when *Overbury* knew more of the Secrets of State, than the Council-table did; nay, they were grown to ſuch Inwardneſs, that they made a Play of all the World beſides themſelves, ſo as they had Cyphers and Jargons for the King and Queen, and great Men of the Realm; Things ſeldom uſed, but either by Princes, or their Confederates, or at leaſt by ſuch as practiſe

tiſe and work againſt, or at leaſt upon Princes.

But underſtand me, my Lord, I ſhall not charge you with Diſloyalty this Day; and I lay this for a Foundation, That there was great Communication of Secrets between you and Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and that it had Relation to Matters of State and the great Cauſes of this Kingdom.

But, my Lords, as it is a Principle in Nature, That the beſt Things are in their Corruption the worſt, and the ſweeteſt Wine [illegible] the ſowreſt Vinegar; ſo fell it out with them that this Exceſs, as I may ſay, of Friendſhip [illegible] ended in mortal Hatred, on my Lord of *Somerſet*'s Part.

You have heard my Lord Steward ſay ſometimes in *Chancery*, That Froſt and Fraud end foul; and I may add a third, and that is the Friendſhip of ill Men, which is truly ſaid to be Conſpiracy, and not Friendſhip. For it fell out, about a Twelvemonth, or more, before *Overbury*'s Impriſonment in the *Tower*, that the Lord of *Somerſet* fell into an unlawful Love towards that unfortunate Lady, the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, and to proceed to a Marriage with *Somerſet*. This Marriage and Purpoſe did *Overbury* mainly impugn, under Pretence to do the true Part of a Friend, for that he accounted her an unworthy Woman.

But the Truth was, *Overbury*, who, to ſpeak plainly, had little that was ſolid for Religion, or Moral Virtue, but was wholly poſſeſſed with Ambition and Vain-glory, was loth to have any Partners in the Favour of my Lord of *Somerſet*, and eſpecially not any of the Houſe of the *Howards*, againſt whom he had always profeſſed Hatred and Oppoſition.

And, my Lords, that this is no ſiniſter Conſtruction, will appear to you, when you ſhall hear, that *Overbury* made his Brags to my Lord of *Somerſet*, that he had won him the Love of the Lady by his Letters and Induſtry: So far was he from Caſes of Conſcience in this Point.

And certainly, my Lords, howſoever the Tragical Miſery of this poor Gentleman, *Overbury*, might ſomewhat obliterate his Faults, yet, becauſe we are not upon Points of Civility, but to diſcover the Face of Truth before the Face of Juſtice, for that it is material to the true Underſtanding of the State of this Cauſe, *Overbury* was naught and corrupt; the Ballads muſt be mended for that Point.

But to proceed: When *Overbury* ſaw, that he was like to be Poſſeſſor of my Lord's Grace, which he had poſſeſſed ſo long, and by whoſe Greatneſs he had promiſed himſelf to do Wonders, and being a Man of an unbounded and impudent Spirit, he began not only to diſſuade, but to deter him from the Love of that Lady, and, finding him fixed, thought to find a ſtrong Remedy; ſuppoſing that he had my Lord's Head under his Girdle, in Reſpect of Communication of Secrets of State; as he calls them himſelf, *Secrets of Nature*; and therefore dealt violently with him, to make him deſiſt, with Menaces of Diſcovery, and the like. Hereupon grew two Streams of Hatred upon *Overbury*; the one from the Lady, in Reſpect that he croſſed her Love, and abuſed her Name, which are Furies in Women; the other of a more deep Nature, from my Lord of *Somerſet* himſelf, who was afraid of *Overbury*'s Nature, and that, if he did break from him, and fly out, he would wind into him, and trouble his whole Fortunes. I might add a third Stream of the Earl of *Northampton*'s Ambition, who deſires to be firſt in Favour with my Lord of *Somerſet*, and, knowing *Overbury*'s Malice to himſelf, and to his Houſe, thought that Man muſt be removed and cut off; ſo as certainly it was reſolved and decreed, that *Overbury* muſt die.

Hereupon they had Variety of Devices to ſend him beyond the Seas, upon Occaſion of Employment.

That was too weak, and they were ſo far from giving Way to it, that they croſſed it; there reſted but two Ways of Quarrel, Aſſault and Poiſon. For that of Aſſault, after ſome Propoſition and Attempt, they paſſed from it, as a Thing too open and ſubject to more Variety of Shame; that of Poiſon likewiſe was an hazardous Thing, and ſubject to many Preventions and Caution, eſpecially to ſuch a working and jealous Brain as *Overbury* had, except he was firſt faſt in their Hands; therefore the Way was firſt to get him into a Trap, and lay him up, and then they could not miſs the Mark; and, therefore, in Execution of this Plot, it was denied, that he ſhould be deſigned to ſome honourable Employment in Foreign Parts, and ſhould underhand, by my Lord of *Somerſet*, be encouraged to refuſe it; and ſo, upon Contempt, he ſhould be laid Priſoner in the *Tower*; and then they thought he ſhould be cloſe enough, and Death ſhould be his Bail, yet were they not at their End; for they conſidered, that if there were not a fit Lieutenant of the

Tower for their Purpoſe, and likewiſe a fit Underkeeper of *Overbury*: *Firſt*, They ſhould meet with many Impediments in the Giving and the Exhibiting of the Poiſon. *Secondly*, They ſhould be expoſed to note an Obſervation that might diſcover them. And, *Thirdly*, *Overbury*, in the mean Time, might write clamorous and furious Letters to his Friends, and ſo all might be diſappointed. And, therefore, the next Link of the Chain was, to diſplace the then Lieutenant *Wade*, and to place *Helvis*, a principal Abettor in the Impoiſonment; to diſplace *Carey*, that was Underkeeper in *Wade*'s Time, and to place *Weſton*, that was the Actor in the Impoiſonment. And this was done in ſuch a While, that it may appear to be done, as it were, in a Breath.

Then, when they had this poor Gentleman in the *Tower* cloſe Priſoner, where he could not eſcape nor flie, where he could not feed but by their Hands, where he could not ſpeak or write but through their Trunks, then was the Time to act the laſt Day of his Tragedy.

Then muſt *Franklin*, the Purveyor of the Poiſon, procure five, ſix, ſeven ſeveral Poiſons, to be ſure to hit his Complexion: Then muſt Mrs. *Turner*, the Lay Miſtreſs of the Poiſons, adviſe what works at preſent, and what at a Diſtance: Then muſt *Weſton* be the Tormentor, and chace him with Poiſon after Poiſon, Poiſon in ſalt Meats, Poiſon in ſweet Meats, Poiſon in Medicines and Vomits, until, at laſt, his Body was almoſt come, by Uſe of Poiſon, to the State of *Mithridates*'s Body, by the Uſe of Treacle, and Preſervatives, that the Force of the Poiſons is blunted upon him; *Weſton* confeſſing, when he was chid, for not Diſpatching him, that he had given him enough to poiſon twenty Men.

And, laſtly, becauſe all this aſked Time, Courſes were taken by *Somerſet*, both to divert all the true Means of *Overbury*'s Delivery, and to entertain him with continual Letters, partly with Hopes and Proteſtations for his Delivery, and partly with other Fables and Negotiations, ſomewhat like ſome Kind of Perſons which keep in a Tale of Fortune-telling, when they have a felonious Intent to pick their Pocket and Purſes.

And this is the true Narration of this Act, which I have ſummarily recited.

Now, for the Diſtribution of the Proofs, there are four Heads to prove you guilty, whereof two are precedent to the Impoiſonment, the third is preſent, and the fourth is following or ſubſequent, for it is in Proofs, as it is in Lights; there is a direct Light, and there is a Reflexion of Light, and a double Light.

The *Firſt* Head or Proof thereof is, that there was a Root of Bitterneſs, a mortal Malice or Hatred, mixed with a deep and bottomleſs Miſchief, that you had to Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

The *Second* is, That you were the principal Actor, and had your Hand in all the Acts, which did conduce to the Imprisonment, and gave Opportunity to effect it, without which, the Impoiſonment could never have been, and which could ſeem to tend to no other End, but to the Impoiſonment.

The *Third* is, That your Hand was in the very Impoiſonment itſelf; and that you did direct Poiſon, and that you did deliver Poiſon; and that you did continually hearken to the Succeſs of the Impoiſonment; and that you ſpurred it on, and called for Diſpatch, when you thought it lingered.

And, *Laſtly*, That you did all Things after the Impoiſonment, which may detect a guilty Conſcience, for the Smothering of it, and the Avoiding of Puniſhment for it, which can be but of three Kinds.

That you ſuppreſſed, as much as in you was, Teſtimony; that you did deface, deſtroy, clip, and miſdate all Writings that might give Light to the Impriſonment; and you did fly to the Altar of Guiltineſs, which is a Pardon of Murder, and a Pardon for yourſelf, and not for yourſelf.

In this, my Lord, I convert my Speech unto you, becauſe I would have you alter the Points of your Charge, and ſo make your Defence the better.

And two of theſe Heads I have taken to myſelf, and left the other to the King's two Serjeants.

For the firſt main Part, which is the mortal Malice, coupled with Fear, that was in you, to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, although you did palliate it with a great deal of Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation, even to the very End: I will prove it, my Lord Steward, the Root of this Hate was that which coſt many a Man's Life, that is, Fear of diſcovering of Secrets; I ſay, of Secrets of a dangerous and high Nature, wherein the Courſe that I will hold ſhall be this:

I will

I will ſhew that a Breach and Malice was betwixt my Lord and *Overbury*, and that it burſt forth into violent Threats and Menaces on both Sides.

Secondly, That theſe Secrets were not of a light, but an high Nature, I will give you the Elevation of the Pole; they were ſuch, as my Lord of *Somerſet* had made a Vow, that *Overbury* ſhould neither live in Court, nor Country; that he had likewiſe opened himſelf ſo far, that either he or himſelf muſt die for it; and of *Overbury*'s Part, he had threatened my Lord, that, whether he did live or die, my Lord's Shame ſhould never die; but that he would leave him the moſt odious Man in the World: And, further, that my Lord was like enough to repent where *Overbury* wrote, which was in the *Tower* of *London*; he was a Prophet in that; ſo there is the higheſt of the Secret.

Thirdly, I will ſhew you, that all the King's Buſineſs was, by my Lord, put into *Overbury*'s Hands, ſo as there is Work enough for Secrets, whatſoever they write them; and, like Princes Confederates, they had their Cyphers and their Jurgons.

And, *laſtly*, I will ſhew you, that it was but a Toy to ſay the Malice was only in Reſpect he ſpoke diſhonourably of the Lady, or for Doubt of Breaking the Marriage, for that *Overbury* was Coadjutor to that Love, and the Lord of *Somerſet* was as deep in ſpeaking ill of the Lady, as *Overbury*: And, again, it was too late for that Matter, for the Bargain of the Match was then made, and paſt; and, if it had been no more than to remove *Overbury*, for Diſturbing the Match, it had been an eaſy Matter to have landed over *Overbury*, for which they had a fair Way, but that would not ſerve.

And, laſtly, *Periculum periculo vincitur*, to go ſo far as an Impoiſonment, muſt have a deeper Malice than Flaſhes, for the Cauſe muſt have a Proportion in the Effect.

For the next general Head, or Proof, which conſiſts in the Acts preparatory, or middle Acts, they are in eight ſeveral Points of the Compaſs, as I may term them.

Firſt, There were divers Devices and Projects to ſet *Overbury*'s Head on Work to diſpatch him, and to overthrow him, plotted between the Counteſs of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, before they fell upon the Impoiſonment; for always, before Men fix upon a Courſe of Miſchief, there will be ſome Rejection; but die he muſt, one Way or other.

Secondly, That my Lord of *Somerſet* was principal Practiſer, I muſt ſpeak it, in a moſt perfidious Manner, to ſet a Train and Trap for *Overbury* to get into the *Tower*, without which, they durſt not attempt the Impoiſonment.

Thirdly, That the Placing of the Lieutenant *Yelvis*, one of the Impoiſoners, was done by my Lord of *Somerſet*.

Fourthly, That the Placing of *Weſton*, the Underkeeper, who was the principal Impoiſoner, and the Diſplacing of *Carey*, and the Doing all this within the While of fifteen Days after *Overbury*'s Commitment, was by the Means and Countenance of my Lord of *Somerſet*. And theſe were the active Inſtruments of the Impoiſonment; and this was a Buſineſs the Lady's Power could not reach unto.

Fifthly, That becauſe there muſt be a Cauſe of this Tragedy to be acted, and chiefly becauſe they would not have the Poiſons work upon the ſudden, and for that the Strength of *Overbury*'s Nature, or the very Cuſtom of receiving the Poiſons into his Body, did overcome the Poiſons, that they wrought not ſo faſt; therefore *Overbury* muſt be held in the *Tower*, as well as he was laid in; and, as my Lord of *Somerſet* got him into the Trap, ſo he keeps him in, and abuſes him with continual Hope of Liberty; but diverted all the true and effectual Means of his Liberty, and makes light of his Sickneſs and Extremities.

Sixthly, That not only the Plot of getting *Overbury* into the *Tower*, and the Devices to hold and keep him there, but the ſtrange Manner of the cloſe Keeping of him, being in but for a Contempt, was, by the Device and Means of my Lord of *Somerſet*, who denied his Father to ſee him, denied his Servants that offered to be ſhut up cloſe Priſoners with him, and, in Effect, handled it ſo, that he made him cloſe Priſoner to all his Friends, and expoſed to all his Enemies.

Seventhly, That all the Advertiſement the Lady received from Time to Time, from the Lieutenant, or *Weſton*, touching *Overbury*'s State of Body, and Health, were ever ſent nigh to the Court, though it were in Progreſs, and that from my Lady, ſuch a Thrift and

Listening he had to hear that he was dispatched.

Lastly, That there was a continual Negotiation to set *Overbury's* Head on Work, that he should undertake to clear the Honour of the Lady, and that he should be a good Instrument towards her, and her Friends; all which was but Entertainment: For your Lordships shall see divers of my Lord of *Northampton's* Letters, whose Hand was deep in this Business, written, I must say, in dark Words and Clauses; that there was one Thing pretended, and another Thing intended. That there was a real Charge, and some what not real; a main Drift and Dissimulation: Nay, further, there are some Passages, which the Peers, in their Wisdoms, will concern, to point directly at the Imprisonment.

The Vindication of that Hero of Political Learning, *Nicholas Machiavel*, the second *Tacitus*. MS.

NICHOLAS *Machiavel* is cried down a Villain, though many think he deserves a better Title.

Who intends to express a dishonest Man, calls him a *Machiavilian*; they might as well say, he was a *Straffordian*, or a *Marlborian*; thus Men embrace the first Apparitions of Virtue and Vice, and let the Substance pass by untouched.

He was not only an *Italian*, but a Courtier.

He was Secretary to the State of *Florence*, of which he wrote an excellent and impartial History.

He lived in the Days of Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, being familiar with his Son *Cæsar*, and what those Princes were, is sufficiently known; no Times were fuller of Action, nor shewed the Instability of worldly Honours more, than the Occurrences that happened in *Italy* in his Time.

Now from a Man wholly employed in Court Affairs, when it was thought a Madness to look beyond second Causes, worse Things might have been with better Reason expected, than these so bitterly condemned; which are indeed but the History of wise Impieties, being before imprinted in the Hearts of ambitious Pretenders, and by him made legible to the meanest Understandings; yet, he is more blamed for this fair Expression, than they are that daily commit far greater Impiety, than his or any Pen else is capable to express.

Most of the Estates of *Italy* did in his Time voluntarily, or were compelled to change their Masters; neither could that School teach him any Thing more perfectly, than the Way to Greatness; nor he write a more acceptable Treatise, than *Aphorisms of State*.

He saw the Kingdom of *Naples* torn out of the House of *Anjou*, by *Ferdinand*, and the People kept in Tyranny both by the Father and the Son.

He saw the no less mad, than disloyal, Ambition of *Lodowick*, Duke of *Milan*, who took the Government upon him, out of the Hands of young *Galeas*, with as much Treachery and Cunning, as *Francis Sforza*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Duke of *Orleans*.

He beheld *Charles the Eighth*, King of *France*, brought into *Italy*, by the said Duke of *Milan*, to keep the People at Gaze, whilst he poisoned his Nephew, who was to expect the Dukedom, when he was of Age.

He saw the Descent of *Charles* winked at by Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, in Hopes to raise a House for his Son *Cæsar*, out of the Ruins of some of the Princes, in which he was deceived; for the *French* King made himself Master of all *Italy*, entered *Rome* twice, put the holy Father, to take Sanctuary, in the Castle of St. *Angelo*, and to subscribe to such Conditions, as the victorious King was pleased to prescribe him; upon which his Holiness came out, and though *Charles*, in Shew of Reverence, did kiss his Foot, yet he took his Son *Cæsar* for Hostage, to secure the Performance of his Promise, though he covered it with the Name of Ambassy, ever to reside with the King, in Token of Amity.

And after *Cæsar* made his Escape, the holy Father, contrary to his Oath, made a League against the *French* King.

He

He was an Eye-Witneſs of an Amity, contracted between the Vicar of Chriſt and his known Enemy, the *Turk*; with whom he agreed, for Money, to poiſon his Brother, who was fled into *Chriſtendom*, for Fear of his Brother *Bajazet*, then reigning, and was under the Pope's Protection at *Rome*; he ſaw the *French* King poſſeſs all *Italy*, within the ſmall Time he had gained it.

He ſaw both Pope *Alexander* and his Son overthrown, by one Draught of Poiſon, prepared by themſelves for others; of which the Father died preſently, but the Son, by Reaſon of Youth, and Antidotes, had Leiſure to ſee what he had formerly gotten torn out of his Hands, and he forced to fly to his Father in-Law the King of *Navarre*, in whoſe Service he was murthered.

He was an Obſerver of ambitious Practices of Princes; of the domeſtical Impiety of the Pope, who was Corrival with his two Sons, in the Love of his own Daughter, the Lady *Lucretia*, whom they all three enjoyed; which bred ſuch a Hatred between the Brothers, that *Cæſar* being jealous, that the other had a greater Share in her Affection, killed him one Night, and threw him into *Tyber*.

He obſerved that Men in ſoft Raiment might be found at Court, but their Conſciences ſeared and hard.

He ſaw how Princes never kept their Promiſes ſo exactly, as not to fall, when they ſee a greater Profit falling out, another Time, by breaking them.

Is not Falſehood and Deceit their true Dialect, nay Cozenage, reduced into ſo neceſſary an Art amongſt them, ſo that he, that knows not how to deceive, knows not how to live? Let any one Judge, that reads their Stories.

Breach of Faith in private Men is accounted diſhonourable and damnable, but Kings claim a larger Character, by Reaſon of their univerſal Commerce; and, as Ambaſſadors ought to be excuſed, if they lie Abroad for the Good of their Country, becauſe they repreſent their Maſters Perſons, with far greater Reaſon, then, may they do it, that employ them.

Many Governments are like natural Bodies; outwardly they ſhew a comely Structure, but ſearch into the Intrails, from whence the Original and true Nouriſhment proceed, and there will be found nothing but Blood, Filth, and Stench.

His Fortune is to be commiſerated, that he in particular ſhould bear the infamous Marks, which belong to the vileſt Stateſmen in general.

It was his Profeſſion, to imitate the Behaviour of Princes, were it never ſo unſeemly; nay, Religion itſelf cannot condemn the Speculation of Ill, in Miniſters of State, without laying herſelf and Profeſſors open to all Injury.

What are Chronicles, but Regiſters of Blood, and Projects to procure the Spilling of it? The Princes, there named, put in red Letters, yet none blames them that write them.

Who could adviſe better than this *Florentine*, a Member of the *Roman* Church? And he is in that Regard to be leſs blamed, for Diſcovering the wicked Practices of ambitious Men, becauſe he had as much Converſe with the Pope, then in Being, as any Man, and with whom all Impieties were as familiar as the Air he breathed in.

If any can pretend a juſt Quarrel with *Machiavel*, they are Kings; for as it is the ordinary Courſe of light Women, to find Fault with the broad Diſcourſe of that they maintain their Power by; ſo Stateſmen may beſt blame the Publication of thoſe Maxims, that they put in Practice, with more Profit and Security.

If the unjuſt Steward was commended for his worldly Wiſdom, What doth he ſay more of *Cæſar Borgia*, than that he was a politick Tyrant? And if, without Leave of the Text, he propoſes him, for an Example, yet it is of Ill; and who is more fit to be a Pattern of, or to Villainy, than one of the ſame Coat?

If the Lives of *Lewis the Eleventh*, or the *Fourteenth*, were examined, it will be found they acted more Ill than *Machiavel* wrote, or for aught is known, ever thought; yet the firſt has Wiſdom inſcribed on his Tomb, and the laſt is cried up for a great Stateſman. And did not they always kiſs their Crucifix, after the Doing of a diſhoneſt Thing, pronouncing a Sentence or two, that diſcovered the Complexion of their Hearts, they might have paſſed for as honeſt Men, as their wiſe Anceſtors, or any Princes in their Times, who now lie quiet in their Graves; a Favour this Man is denied, by ignorant and ungrateful Poſterity.

He being to make a Grammar for the Underſtanding of Tyrannical Government, Is he to be blamed, for Setting down the general Rules in it.

He

He inſtructs wiſe Princes to diſpatch their ungrateful Actions by Deputies, and thoſe that are popular with their own Hands.

Upon how great Diſadvantage ſhould a good Prince treat with a bad, if he were not only familiar with the Paths of Wickedneſs, but knew other Ways to ſhun them, and how to undermine the treacherous Practices?

He hath raked the Truth too far, in many Things, which makes him ſmell as he doth in the Noſtrils of ignorant People; whereas the better experienced know it is the wholſome Savour of the Court, eſpecially where the King is of the firſt Head.

He would have Men prepared to encounter the worſt of Men; and therefore he reſembles him to a Man driving a Flock of Sheep, into a Corner, and did there take out their Teeth, and inſtead, gave each of them a Set of Wolves Teeth; ſo that, whereas one Shepherd was able to drive a whole Flock, now each Sheep had Need of a particular Shepherd, and all little enough.

He was of an honourable Family born at *Florence*, and the Writer hereof, being about the Year 1642, at *Florence*, made what Inquiry he could after his Reputation, and found that he left a good Name behind him, as of a pious, charitable, ſincere, good Man, as any in that City.

By *James Bovey*, Eſq; at Cl[illegible]m in *Surrey*.

Anno Salutis 1693.
Ætatis 71.

Cheam, in *Surry*.

On the North Wall, on a fair Marble Monument, is this Inſcription:

In Memory of
James Bovey, Eſq;
who was buried near this Place,
January the 13, 1695.
And alſo of
Margaretta, his Wife,
buried *Auguſt* the 3d,
1714.
In the 76th Year of her Age.

* Vide *Aub.* Ant. *Surrey*, Vol. II. p. 115.

N. B. *The Copy of this Diſcourſe, which was in the* Harleian *Library, being imperfect, we have been obliged with that which is here printed, being the Author's Original MS. by* Peter Thompſon, *Eſq; the preſent worthy High Sheriff of* Surrey.

The Coat of Arms of Sir *John Presbyter*. Printed in the Year 1658. *Folio*, containing one Page.

HE bears Party per Pale indented, God's Glory, and his own Intereſt; over all Honour, Profit, Pleaſure counterchanged; enſigned with a Helmet of Ignorance, opened with Confidence befitting his Degree, mantled with Gules and Tyranny, doubled with Hypocriſy over a Wreath of Pride and Covetouſneſs; for his Creſt a Siniſter Hand, holding up a ſolemn League and Covenant, reverſed and torn; in a Scroll, underneath the Shield, theſe Words for his Motto, *Aut hoc aut Nihil*.

This Coat Armour is dupalled with another of four Pieces, ſignifying thereby his four Matches.

The *Firſt* is of the Family of *Amſterdam*; ſhe bears for her Arms, in a Field of Toleration, three *Jews* Heads proper, with as many blue Caps on them.

The *Second* is of the Houſe of *Geneva*; ſhe bears for her Arms, in a Field of Separation, Marginal Notes on the Bible falſe quoted.

The *Third* is of the Country of *New England*; ſhe bears, for her Arms, a prick-eared Preachman, pearched upon a Pulpit proper, holding forth to the People a Schiſmatical Directory.

The *Fourth* and Laſt is *Scotland*; ſhe bears in Eſcutcheon the Field of Rebellion, charged with a Stool of Repentance.

The

The Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Letter to the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Eccleſiaſtical Court. Containing one *Folio* Page.

My Lords,

I Moſt humbly intreat your Lordſhips favourable Interpretation of what I now write: That ſince your Lordſhips are reſolved to proceed againſt thoſe who have not complied with the King's Command in reading his Declaration, it is abſolutely impoſſible for me to ſerve his Majeſty any longer in this Commiſſion. I beg Leave to tell your Lordſhips, that though I myſelf did ſubmit in that Particular, yet I will never be any Ways inſtrumental in puniſhing thoſe my Brethren that did not: For as I call God to witneſs, that what I did was merely on a Principle of Conſcience, ſo I am fully ſatisfied, that their Forbearance was upon the ſame Principle. I have no Reaſon to think otherwiſe of the whole Body of the Clergy, who upon all Occaſions have ſignalized their Loyalty to the Crown, and their zealous Affection to his preſent Majeſty's Perſon, in the worſt of Times. Now, my Lords, the Safety of the Church of *England* ſeeming to be exceedingly concerned in this Proſecution, I muſt declare I cannot, with a ſafe Conſcience, ſit as Judge in this Cauſe, upon ſo many pious and exeellent Men, with whom (if it be God's Will) it rather becomes me to ſuffer, than to be in the leaſt acceſſary to their Sufferings: I therefore earneſtly requeſt your Lordſhips to intercede with his Majeſty, that I may be graciouſly diſmiſſed any further Attendance at the Board, and to aſſure him, that I am ſtill ready to ſacrifice whatever I have to his Service, but my Conſcience and Religion.

My Lords,

Your Lordſhips moſt faithful

and humble Servant,

R——.

Vox Populi: Or the People's humble Diſcovery of their own Loyalty, and his Majeſty's ungrounded Jealouſy. *London*, printed *Anno* 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

ALthough the Charms of Rhetorick have ſtained your Majeſty's Declarations, Anſwers, Proclamations, Speeches, and Meſſages, with all the Gall and Oppoſition, that poſſibly could be infuſed, to exaſperate us into the Nature of bad Subjects; yet are we reſolved to depart from nothing, that may oblige, and court your Majeſty to continue our gracious King.

Your evil Counſellors have tempted your Majeſty, in all they could, to divide your individual Perſon from your regal Authority; and we have vowed, in the Preſence of God, with all the Power and Induſtry we have, to keep them inſeparable; which being inconſiſtent with the Malignity of that Council, which daily joins itſelf cloſer to your Majeſty, and divides us, we are neceſſitated to employ that Power, for the Separating that Malignity from your Majeſty, which elſe will be the Ruin of us all, both King and People.

That there is Malignity, the ſtrong Siding for the Lord *Strafford*, and for the Votes of

Popiſh

Popish Lords in Parliament; the difficult Yielding to such good Acts, as began to establish our Peace, and Adventuring to question the same, at your Majesty's Return from the North, by a *Query* of the Freedom of this Parliament; the many Attempts for dissolving us; the late and slow Disarming of the Papists; the Enticing many worthy Men of Quality to petition against established Votes, to the great Disturbance and Dishonour of both the Houses, and then Incensing them to sacrifice the Peace and Liberty (if not the Lives) of themselves, and the whole Kingdom, to their inconsiderate Revenge; and, *lastly*, the Uniting all those into one Army, by an illegal Commission of *Array*, do abundantly testify to all Men's Consciences (but such whom Passion, and not Malice, hath carried from us, we hope Wisdom and Religion will restore unto us). Besides, what Malignity hath been wanting in shameful Reproaches, provoking Scoffs, false Constructions, prejudicate Censures, scandalous Libels, treacherous Plots, both at Home and Abroad; in slugging all Proceedings, that tend to the Safety of *England* or *Ireland*; in making cheap the Repute of Parliaments; and, *lastly*, both in the Invitation and Consent of deserting the Houses, to attend and countenance your Majesty's strange Distance from your Parliament, and Taking up of Arms against it?

We would not accuse your Majesty, our Hearts abhor it; nor will our Laws suffer it, unless they speak and proceed to Extremities, although your Majesty endeavour much to be thought the sole Agent: But, as our Laws instruct us, we accuse such Counsellors, and Instruments of regal Commands, without which the regal Office cannot stand; though we do not instance in all the particular Authors, the Causes of all Things being found but with Difficulty; for such, as dare do Ill, will not want so much Self-love, as to conceal it, having the Lives, and Livelihood, of them and theirs at Stake, to bribe their Secrecy, until such Time as they grow bold in Wickedness, and discover themselves, or he, that seeth in Secret, brings them forth to be rewarded openly.

And in this loyal Care of your sacred Person, and tender Respect of your princely Honour, finding that, besides the daily Discourse of successive Dangers, which seemed to be countenanced by your Majesty, and of unsupportable Grievances past, and present, both in Church and State, with the slow and difficult Reparations of either, the People had also strengthened a Jealousy, from the Intercourse of Letters between the Pope and your Majesty, then Prince, in *Spain*; from your Preferring the Embraces of a Catholick, before a Protestant, to be the Consort of your royal Bed and Bosom; from the Increase of Papists, Priests, Jesuits, and a Papistical Clergy, and Ceremonies throughout the Land, and the general Decrease, and several Persecutions of Protestants, and faithful Preachers; from the common Boast, even of Papists themselves, that you were of their Religion, and that all your Majesty's most secret Counsels were first known to them; from the sharp and eager Proceedings against *Scottish* Protestants, and slow Proceedings against *Irish* Papists and Rebels; and, *lastly*, from the earnest Reprieve of Priests or Jesuits at first, and afterwards of six Priests and Jesuits; and high Accusation desperately prosecuted against six Members of our Houses of Parliament; that your Majesty had certainly given up your Faith to the See of *Rome*. So that, being also inflamed by the rebellious and prodigious Massacres of *Ireland*, there remaining no Oaths, nor Execrations, sufficient to satisfy jealous People from Princes, that once give up their Belief to that See, which allows no Oaths, nor Faith, to be kept to such, whom they shall pronounce Hereticks, as they do us, and imposeth a conscientious Obedience, Secrecy, and Assistance to all their dismal Stratagems, we resolved, without Publishing the Disease, as a sovereign Remedy, to settle the Militia, and thereto counselled your Majesty.

But what is Counsel, if not followed? And what are your Majesty's Acts without Counsel? Surely, if your Majesty's Acts out of Parliament are guided, and are not authentick, but by Advice of your Majesty's Attorney, Judges, or Privy-counsellors, and they have Power to declare so, Shall the great Council of Parliament go less, that gives to all them Being, and includes them? Or shall the Orders of any of their Courts be legal, and shall not those of the Parliament be much more?

In this Advice, therefore, and Resolution of the Militia, which your Majesty used, when there was no Need, we yet most humbly and earnestly, in this extreme Need and Necessity of the Subject, persist, until your Majesty remove the just Occasions of Fears, and accord

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to a ſufficient Cure of Jealouſies, by putting the People's Safety into the People's own Hands; whoſe Jealouſies are no Whit abated by your Majeſty's Abſence from Parliament, and Raiſing of contrary Forces, and Sending of ſeveral Meſſages, and Returning to your old Counſels; and the Papiſts chearful Intereſting themſelves in, and Rejoicing at all your Proceedings, they all appearing like ſo many ſeveral Omens of the People's Return to their old Ceremonies, and to their old Grievances, or worſe; nor can we ſuffer thoſe, who, by the Counſel of the Nation, have done faithful Service to the Nation, to perish for their faithful Service.

The Acts of Sir *John Hotham*, and the reſt employed for the Militia and the Navy, had general Commands and Inſtructions to authoriſe them, and have had particular Approbations to confirm them; they muſt not ſuffer, and we live, nor ſhall ſo great a Sin make our Nation odious to God and Man, if we can help it. It is not the Allegation of a minor Part of Parliament can abuſe the wiſer and more religious Sort of your Subjects, ſince all Men know, that each Man's Vote is of equal Power and Freedom in Parliament, and the Voices of a few cannot out-eccho a great many; whatſoever, therefore, is there concluded, cannot be but by Plurality of Voices, which truly makes the Parliament; and the diſſenting Party makes up the Faction, if they perſiſt; or, if it ſhould ſo fall out, that the major Part (through Neglect, or Confidence in them remaining) abſent themſelves, then are their Votes no leſs included in the Perſons remaining, than the Votes of the whole Kingdom in the Fulneſs of Parliament: If any be deterred from this Freedom, it argues Guilt, or Cowardice, either of which ſhould pronounce ſuch a one unworthy a Truſt of ſo great Importance, none being called to the Bar, but ſuch as ſpeak directly oppoſite to the publiſhed, or concluded Orders of the Houſe, or wilfully to move Sedition, by diſtracting the Senſe of the Houſe, to the great Hinderance, and dangerous Delay of more neceſſary Affairs; or elſe the Conſciences of Men (convinced with their Reaſons and Propoſitions) would ſoon engage the major Part in their Behalf, and not againſt them: Which Thing likewiſe may be ſaid of thoſe Multitudes coming with Congratulations to confirm ſuch, as freely diſcharge their Duties; it being the Duty of all to ſpeak the Senſe of the major Part of the People, and ſuch Confirmations are but the Tokens of it; and, if this were not ſo, we run the greater Hazard in your Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, than the diſſenting Party in the Diſſenting of their Equals.

We do avow all our Proceedings to be, by the Law of God, the Integrity of our own Conſciences, and the Law of the Land; the Interpretation whereof, whether it be fitting to be delivered up unto your Majeſty's Arbitrament, and ſuch as your Majeſty will advance thereunto, or to remain in Parliament, (wherein the Liberty and Votes of Subjects are preſerved) your Majeſty may judge, or which of theſe your People will conſent to.

As for arbitrary Power (which only is incident to Kings and Princes, who, ſetting up their Will for Law, forſake the Benefit of Counſel) it cannot poſſibly, in any Kind, be a juſt Aſperſion on a Parliament, which is itſelf a Council, the greateſt Council, and the very proper Foundation of all Laws of the Kingdom.

We do confeſs, in this your Majeſty's Abſence and Diſſent, we find a Want of that Harmony, which ſhould make all our Orders as well pleaſant and delightful, as good and profitable; and we grieve no leſs for your Majeſty, who, in this Remoteneſs, diveſt your royal Perſon of all that Glory and Authority, which ſhould accompany your royal Actions.

What ſhould your Majeſty pretend any Fear, when your undaunted Courage left ſuch a Teſtimony to the Contrary, in your Paſſing with ſo ſmall Attendance through the City, and dined there, even then, when the News of *Ireland* had gauled the Memory afreſh of former Plots, and the Zeal of People ſtruck into Flame for the Dangers of Parliament, and were imbittered with the Remembrance of hardly-eſcaped Burthens of Monopolies and Ship-monies, *Court of Honour*, *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, and the *Canons*? Or what could leſs partake of Fear, than ſuch a deſperate Aſſault of the Privileges of Parliament, in your own moſt royal Perſon, with ſuch an uncouth Sort of Attendants, the very Day before?

And, as there was no Sign of Fear in your Majeſty, ſo was there no Cauſe of Fear from us, or from any your Majeſty's Subjects, to whom, had we entertained the leaſt Diſaffecti-

on, or Diſloyalty) there wanted not Opportunity, in any of thoſe Times, to have endeavoured our own Ends; but ſo far were we from any ſuch Attempt, as the malignant Perſons do falſly belch upon us, that we not only calmed the Minds of People, but brought them to undergo thoſe Charges towards the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Armies, which thoſe malignant Perſons had brought upon your Majeſty. Having therefore theſe great Teſtimonies of Love and Loyalty, What can your Majeſty fear or ſuſpect? Unleſs you could yet retain a Reſolution to conſent, or be an Actor in ſome more horrid Deſign, that could provoke your People beyond all what is paſt, to forget their Reſolutions of Affection and Allegiance to your Majeſty; but ſure your royal Preſence will diſcuſs all Fears and Jealouſies, which your continued Abſence cannot but foment.

We all have ſworn Allegiance to your ſacred Perſon, as King; we did not the ſame, when you were Prince, nor is it longer of Force unto your royal Father, that then was King; when your Majeſty recedes from your Kingly Office, you are ſo far abſent from the Object of our Allegiance; there is no Difference of Benefit to him that hath Eyes, and to him that hath none, if Light be wanting. All our Oaths depend upon the Oath your Majeſty hath taken: O then return unto your Parliament, and ſo unto your People; return unto your Parliament, and ſo unto your lawful Power; return unto your Parliament, and ſo unto your State and Glory; where, when your royal Aſſent hath confirmed thoſe neceſſary Privileges, which may keep whole the Conſciences and Eſtates of your moſt loyal Subjects, all this our Body falls into Atoms, and your Majeſty alone remains in Glory, to be beheld the Preſerver of thoſe Privileges, which all our long and faithful Endeavours have conſulted with your Majeſty.

An Epiſtle to *Charles the Second*, King of *England*, and to every individual Member of his Council. Preſented to them in pure Love and Good-will, that they might conſider of the Things herein contained, before the King was crowned, or had taken his Oath; foraſmuch as a Neceſſity from the Lord was laid upon the Penman of the ſaid Epiſtle, in Order thereto, who is known to divers People, by the Name of *Chriſtopher Cheeſman*. From the Town of *Reading*, in *Berkſhire*, the 15th of the ſecond Month, 1661.

GIVE Ear, O King, and hearken to Counſel; let thy Heart be inclined to Underſtanding, and diligently conſider the Things that concern thy everlaſting Peace, and the Well-being of all People, under thy Government. And Oh, you Counſellors of the King, know you this, that the God of *Iſrael*, who governs in the Heavens, and in the Earth, hath appeared in theſe Nations, in the Abſence of the King, and ſince his Father's Days, to bring to paſs his great Work, in Performance of his Promiſes, and Returning the Captivity of his People, who have been, many Ages paſt, moſt cruelly afflicted and oppreſſed, under *Pharaoh*'s hard Taſk-maſters, who have exerciſed Authority over their Conſciences. But, now, the Lord God is come to deliver his *Iſrael*, in the Spirit, by the Hand of the great Prophet, that *Moſes* prophecied of, ſaying, *The Lord your God ſhall raiſe up a Prophet, like unto me; one from among your Brethren; him ſhall you hear in all Things: And whoſoever ſhall withdraw his Ear from hearing that Prophet, ſhall be cut off from among the People.* This is the Prophet, O King and Council, that is worthy to reign, and,

and, by the Hand of this Prophet, will the Lord bring to paſs the Purpoſes of his Heart, and will ſet up Juſtice and Righteouſneſs in the Earth; and whoever they be, that will not bow down and hearken to this Prophet, whether King, Councils, Parliaments, Armies, Synods, or others, ſhall aſſuredly be deſtroyed, and cut off from among the People. For this great Prophet, of whom *Moſes* ſpoke, is the only begotten of God, the Chriſt, the Saviour, the *Light of the World, that enlighteneth every one that cometh into the World.* This is he, O King and Council, that the Lord God hath raiſed up in theſe Nations, ſince thy Father's Days, and in thy Abſence, and he alone is worthy to reign, not Synods, nor Hireling Miniſters; and Thouſands there be within thy Dominions, O King, that have received this great Prophet and true Light, and a good Underſtanding thereby (Glory, Glory to the Lord God for evermore) and now are making War with the Nations in Righteouſneſs, and in particular, with thee, O King, and with thy Council; not with Sword, nor Spear, nor Plottings, nor Combinations, to hurt thee, O King, or any of thy Family or People, nor any Ways ſeeking to remove thee from thy Crown and Dignity, but, with the Spirit of God, ſtriving to eſtabliſh thy Throne in Righteouſneſs, and to crown thee with everlaſting Honour and Dignity. And know this, O King and Council, that the People and Servants of the Lord do not ſtrive againſt Fleſh and Blood, neither are their Weapons carnal, but ſpiritual, and mighty, through God, to make War with the Man of Sin in all his Appearances and Forms of Governments, whether Preſbytery, or Epiſcopacy, or any other Antichriſtian Form, which muſt all be thrown down in this Day of the Lord's mighty Power, wherein he hath made bare, and will, yet more and more, make bare his Arm; and his Power and Authority ſhall be known againſt the Hierarchy of Antichriſt, in the utter Deſtruction thereof; the Lord will daſh to Pieces all the Powers and Authorities of the Earth that ſtand in his Way, or, any Way, ſeek to uphold the Kingdom and Authority of the Beaſt, and of the falſe Prophet which is full of Darkneſs. And the Lord God will bring in his Kingdom of Righteouſneſs, which he hath begun to ſet up, and the ſame will finiſh, though it be to the everlaſting Deſtruction of all Earthly Potentates and People, that ſtand in Oppoſition thereto.

Therefore, O King, take Heed what thou doſt, in this thy Day, and Power: And, O Council of the King, take Heed, leſt you counſel the King, either to ſwear, or to go about to eſtabliſh, or ſet up the Kingdom of Antichriſt, under any Form whatſoever, whether Epiſcopacy, or Preſbytery, or any other; for aſſuredly, if you ſo do, it will be the utter Deſtruction both of you, and your King. And again I ſay, O King and Council, take Heed; for your Enemy, and the Enemy of Man's Salvation, is very active in this Day, and will not ceaſe tempting of you, both within and without, to make you Inſtruments to obſtruct the Work of the Lord, to whoſe Temptations if you yield, the Lord will daſh you to Pieces; and ſo you will become as miſerable as thoſe that are gone before you.

And, O King, in the Fear and Dread of the Lord, prize thy Time, and the Lord's Mercies towards thee, and thy Family, for they have been very great, in this Day of thy Viſitation, wherein the Lord hath not been wanting to thee, but hath ſent his Servants, Time after Time, to counſel thee, and to forewarn thee, of the ſore Judgments that are haſtening upon theſe Nations, for the Wickedneſs thereof.

And the Lord God hath been ſtriving with thee, not only by his Spirit, in his Miniſters and Servants; but his Witneſs, in thine own Conſcience alſo, ſince he hath ſet thee upon thy Father's Throne.

And myſelf (as one of the leaſt, to whom the Lord hath ſhewed Mercy, in Bringing me into the good Land, wherein every one, that is faithful, receives of the Fruits and Increaſe thereof, and drinks of the pleaſant Streams that therein run, which more refreſh than all the Increaſe of Earthly Treaſure) do now, in Obedience to the Motions of God's Spirit, and in his Fear and Dread, give in my Teſtimony before thee, O King, and before thy Council, for the Lord God, though King of Kings, yet not obeyed by the People, out of his Fear, and Teachers of theſe Nations, and for his Truth, that is fallen in the Gates; and, for his People, though harmleſs and juſt, yet more oppreſſed than any other People in the Nations, by

Reaſon of the Hireling Miniſtry, which teach the People to err, and are Enemies to God's Truth and People.

Know this now, therefore, O King, that, if thou wilt not regard the Lord God's Striving with thee, by his Servants, nor hearken to, nor return at the Reproofs of God's Witneſs, in thy own Conſcience, then the Lord will withhold his Servants from thee, and his Spirit from ſtriving with thee, and give thee up to Hardneſs of Heart; and then thou wilt be ruled by blood-thirſty Men, Enemies to God's Truth, and his People, who will cauſe thee to do ſuch Things, which, may be, was once far from thy Heart to do; and then the Lord God, who reſpects no Man's Perſon, will ſmite thee and them, with a very terrible Overthrow, and utter Ruin and Deſtruction, as he hath done, to thoſe that have gone before thee, who would not hearken to God's Servants, nor return at his Reproofs. For known be it to thee, O King, God did not remove thoſe Men from the Throne of Government, in theſe Nations, for their Well-doing, but for their Evil; for their unrighteous and unjuſt Actions, becauſe they governed not for God; and therefore, as the Kingdoms of the Earth are the Lord's, ſo he diſpoſeth of them, as he pleaſeth: He plucks down the Governors therein, whoſe Actions proclaim them Traytors to their Lord and Maſter, who intruſted them, and ſet up others to try them alſo, whether they will obey and do his Commands, and the Things that he delights in: *Viz.* Mercy and Juſtice, true Judgment and Righteouſneſs; and the contrary he denies, with the Workers thereof, from the higheſt to the loweſt. And ſo, when that wicked and perfidious Generation of Men would, by no Means, be reformed, then the Wrath of the Lord was kindled, and his Decree went forth againſt them; and ſo they were daſhed in Pieces, even like a Potter's Veſſel; it was their Wickedneſs cauſed them to fall, and Nothing elſe; for they ſtill obſtructed the Lord's Work, and yet he bore with them a long Time, and would not that any ſhould break them to Pieces, but diſappointed all Plottings and Combinations againſt them, from Time to Time; and alſo counſelled them, by his Miniſters and Servants, which he ſent unto them, and did warn them of the Evil that fell upon them long before it came, and reproved them of their evil Deeds, and, divers Times, ſuffered their own Servants to take their Power from them, and then they lay under Shame and Contempt for ſome Time, and then reſtored to Government again; but ſtill they went on, in their evil Practices, being covetous, ſelf-ſeeking Men, having a Form of Godlineſs, but denied the Power thereof; they were great Oppreſſors, and hard-hearted Men; and impriſoned the Miniſters and Servants of the Lord, and maintained an Idle, Droniſh, Idolatrous, Hireling, Tythe-taking Miniſtry in the Nations; and ſuffered them to perſecute, oppreſs, and afflict the moſt precious Miniſters and Servants of God, whoſe Eſtates they took away, and whoſe Bodies they impriſoned, and ſome of them moſt cruelly abuſed in Priſon, even unto Death; mark, therefore, O King, had the Lord been pleaſed with ſuch Things, then, doubtleſs, thou and thy Party had never returned to govern in theſe Nations, any more; if the Lord had ſeen good, that Oppreſſion, and Grinding the Faces of the Poor, and Maintaining a Hireling Miniſtry, and Forcing the People of God to pay Tythes, and Perſecuting and Impriſoning of God's Miniſters and Servants, ſhould have continued in theſe Nations, then thoſe Men, which he removed to bring thee in, might have been fit Inſtruments for ſuch a Work, and no Need for thee to have been brought in, in ſo eminent a Manner, to do the Work, with which, the Spirit of the Lord was burdened and grieved, from Day to Day, and for which, his Wrath broke forth againſt thoſe Men, whoſe Names now rot in perpetual Infamy.

Therefore, Doth it not concern thee, O King, and thy Council, to conſider what you are doing? For the Lord is the ſame now, as ever he was, and regards not King, Council, Parliaments, Armies, Protectors, ſo called, or any one, more than another, otherwiſe than they are found in the Path of Righteouſneſs, Mercy, and true Judgment.

Therefore, awake, awake, O King; with thy Council ſtand up, and ſee whereon the Baſis of thy Kingdom ſtands, leſt thy Crown and Dignity fall in the Duſt in theſe great Overturnings; for verily, verily, there is yet a greater Overturning than has been, that will ſuddenly come upon theſe Nations: In which Overturning, O King, thou, and thy Party, if you proceed, as you have begun, muſt be the very Subject matter of the Day, and muſt drink the very Bottom and Dregs of that Cup, which all Perſons,

Perſons, that have miſcarried in Government for divers Years paſt, have taſted of; for the Lord has tried you many Years, by ſore and grievous Affliction, and now hath reſtored you, that all People and Nations may ſee what you will do; and thou, O King, and thy Party, hait begun to ſet up and maintain that falſe Miniſtry and Worſhip, and idolatrous Practice, and vain Sports (for which the Wrath of God broke forth, about twenty Years ſince, againſt thy Family) that is to ſay, Epiſcopacy, with all the Abominations, both in Worſhip and Practice, which it brings along with it, notwithſtanding the Light that ſhines in this Day of the Lord's mighty Power, and this glorious Day of Viſitation, wherein the Lord hath admitted you to ſtand for Trial: And know this, O King, thy Father and his Party deceaſed, never ſaw ſuch a Day, nor received ſo much Mercy (as thee, and thy Party that now ſurvives, have done) but were in the dark and cloudy Day, folded up under the Hireling Miniſters, and had not the Miniſters of Chriſt, the Light of the World, ſent unto them, with Meſſage after Meſſage, as to thee, and thy Party, hath been done, counſelling thee, O King, and thy Council, to fear God, and to work Righteouſneſs; and the Miniſters and Servants of the Lord have been faithful unto thee, O King, in every Thing, and in this Thing in particular; that is, Thou limit not the Spirit of God, in forcing all to worſhip God, after the Manner of the Nations and Heathen, nor to maintain a Hireling Miniſtry; for, where there is ſuch a Thing done by Authority, there muſt of Neceſſity follow great Ignorance, and groſs Darkneſs will ſoon cover the Face of ſuch a Nation; for a forced Uniformity in Matters of God's Worſhip, and the Hireling Miniſtry, are not of God, but of the Devil; not of Chriſt, but Antichriſt; and ſuch a Miniſtry I do affirm, and ſhall maintain, was the Cauſe of thy Father's Fall; for the Hireling Miniſtry, at that Time, had their Hearts full of War, and were divided, and ſo miniſtered Death unto the People on both Sides. And if thou, O King, ſhalt ſuffer Religion to be eſtabliſhed by a Law, and ſhalt force People thereunto, it will be thy utter Ruin, and thou wilt aſſuredly miſcarry in Government, as any that hath gone before thee.

And this I declare to thee in tender Love and Pity towards thee, and likewiſe exhort thee in the Fear and Dread of the Lord God, that thou ſwear not at all; for, if thou doſt, thou breakeſt the Command of *Chriſt Jeſus*, the Light of the World, who is the Wiſdom of God (by whom Princes rule, and the Kings of the Earth decree Juſtice) who ſaid, Swear not at all. Conſider, O King, what Advantage is Swearing to the juſt Man? Will he be the more juſt for Swearing? Or, is the Command of Chriſt of none Effect? Nay, O King, the juſt Man need not ſwear, thereby to add to his Integrity; nor doth the unjuſt Man any Ways abate or deſtroy the Deceit or Hypocriſy of his wicked Heart, whereby he may become more juſt by Swearing. Therefore, O King, if thou canſt not do Juſtice and Right, for the People over whom God hath made thee chief Ruler and Magiſtrate without Swearing, thou wilt never be able to do it by Swearing: Nay, O King, but on the contrary, for thee to ſwear that thou wilt maintain ſuch Religion, or do ſuch and ſuch Juſtice for the People, puts thee into an abſolute Incapability to do Juſtice, foraſmuch as that thou refuſeſt that Wiſdom, by which Kings decree Juſtice, as aforeſaid, that is, *Chriſt Jeſus*, the Wiſdom of God, who ſaid, Swear not at all, and ſo ſaid his Apoſtle *James*. And, under the Old Covenant, an Oath was an End to all Striſe; but Chriſt the Oath of God, and New Covenant, ſaid, Swear not at all; and Chriſt the New Covenant is the Prophet, that *Moſes* propheſied of, and ſaid, Whoſoever would not hear him, ſhould be cut off from among the People.

Therefore, O King and Council, ſwear not at all, neither eſtabliſh Religion by a Law, to force an Uniformity thereunto, nor maintain a Hireling Miniſtry; for ſuch a Thing was the Overthrow not only of thy Father, but of all that have followed after, till thyſelf, by the mighty Hand of God, wert ſet in the Place where now thou art. The Parliaments, Protectors, and Armies were all Swearers, and high Pretenders to Religion in the Form, but nothing in the Power, but perſecuted all the Upright in Heart, who were in the Power, but out of their Form; ſo I ſay, thoſe Governors who have miſcarried in Government did buſy themſelves very much in Matters of God, touching the Conſciences of other Men, whereof they had nothing to do; but, in the mean Time, neglected the Witneſs of God in their own Particulars, and ſo were mindleſs and careleſs of their Duties, as Civil Magiſtrates, profeſſing themſelves wiſe, and exalting

themſelves into the Temple of God, wherein they had not to do, ſave in their own Particulars: They became Fools even in the Management of their Civil Affairs, and ſo laid a ſandy Foundation, and, like fooliſh Builders, continued building their own, till ſuch Time as their Building did fall, and great was the Fall thereof. And all this did proceed from the Hireling Miniſtry, which hath in all Ages brought forth the ſame Fruits, being ſtill fawning upon, and tampering with the great Men of the Earth, and Kings and Councils, and Parliaments, and all Men in Authority, to eſtabliſh Religion, and to ſettle their Maintenance; and then, as the Prophet ſaith of them, 'He that will not put 'into their Mouths, they preſently make War 'againſt him'; and this hath been the State and Condition of this Nation and others.

And therefore, O King and Council, be wiſe, and learn by other Men's Harms (who not contenting themſelves in their Places, to do the Work ſet them about, but leaving their own Work undone, did intermeddle and buſy themſelves about God's Work, and the Conſciences of Men, of which *Chriſt* alone is Lord; and for this hath the Lord daſhed them to Pieces, one after another, ſince thy Father's Days; firſt the Parliament, then Protector, ſo called, and Protector again; then the Parliament, then Army and Committee of Safety, ſo called, then Parliament again; againſt all which the Lord hath appeared in much Severity, and hath removed all out of his Way, and hath brought thee and thy Party into their Place and Authority, to try you: Take Heed, I ſay, therefore, O King and Council, of Running againſt the Rock, for, if you do, you will aſſuredly be daſhed to Pieces, as they already are; for falſe Worſhip and falſe Miniſters muſt down, and all that take Part with them, and, till that Time, there will never be Peace on Earth; for it is the falſe Miniſtry, that divides the People, and cauſes them to run into Factions and Diviſions, and that ſets People at Variance one with another.

The falſe Miniſtry, O King, that is the evil Tree which brings forth bad Fruit; and, indeed, they can do no otherwiſe, for they are not of God, but of the evil One. It is clearly ſo, O King; for the Tree was to be known by his Fruit, and he is now grown ſo big, and his Fruit ſo numerous, that one may run and read of what Sort the Tree is; and they, that ſee it not to be the evil Tree, are very near the Pit of everlaſting Deſtruction.

Thou waſt a Child, O King, in thy Father's Days, and kneweſt not to what Perfection this evil Tree was then grown; but withdraw thyſelf a little into thy private Chamber, and there inquire of the Ancient of Days, and aſk Counſel at the Oracle of God, the Light in thine own Conſcience, and therewith compare the Doctrine of Chriſt, who is the Word of God, and is very near thee, even in thy Heart, and in thy Mouth, and thou wilt then ſee, hear, and underſtand what Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſay, and the Prophets before them, concerning the falſe Prophets and the falſe Miniſters.

C. C.

The Rebels Catechiſm: Compoſed in an eaſy and familiar Way, to let them ſee the Heinouſneſs of their Offence, the Weakneſs of their ſtrongeſt Subterfuges, and to recall them to their Duties both to God and Man.

Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they, that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation. Rom. xiii. 2.

Printed, 1643. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

To

To the Chriſtian Reader.

READER, thou muſt not look for all Things new, in a Point ſo agitated, ſo thoroughly diſcuſſed and canvaſſed as this hath been. It is well if they who come behind both in Time, and Knowledge, add any Thing, though it be but little, unto thoſe before them. All, I ſhall promiſe thee in this ſhort Diſcourſe, is, that I have contracted, into a narrow Compaſs, what I found ſcattered and diffuſed in many, and thoſe larger Tracts; which I have offered to thy View in a more eaſy and familiar Way than hath been formerly preſented. And ſomething thou ſhalt meet with here, which thou haſt not found in any other Diſcourſes of this Argument, beſides the Faſhion and the Dreſs. Theſe are the moſt prevailing Motives I can lay before thee, to tempt thee to the Studying of this Catechiſm; *which, if it ſhall confirm thee in thy Duty unto God and the King, or reclaim thee from thy Diſaffection unto either of them, it is all I aim at; and ſo fare thee well.*

January 25, 1643.

QUESTION. Who was the firſt Author of Rebellion?

A. The firſt Author of Rebellion, the Root of all Vices, and the Mother of all Miſchief (ſaith the Book of *Homilies*) was *Lucifer*, firſt, God's moſt excellent Creature, and moſt bounden Subject, who, by Rebelling againſt the Majeſty of God, of the brighteſt and moſt glorious Angel, became the blackeſt and fouleſt Fiend and Devil; and, from the Height of Heaven, is fallen into the Pit and Bottom of Hell.

2. *Q.* How many Sorts of Rebellion are there?

A. Three moſt eſpecially; that is to ſay, the Rebellion of the Heart, the Rebellion of the Tongue, and the Rebellion of the Hand.

3. *Q.* What is the Rebellion of the Heart?

A. The Rebellion of the Heart is a rancorous Swelling of the Heart, againſt the Authority and Commands of the ſupreme Power under which we live: Which, though it be ſo cunningly ſuppreſſed and ſmothered, that it break not out either into Words or Deeds, yet makes a Man guilty of Damnation, in the Sight of God. And this is that of which the *Wiſeman* tells us, ſaying, Curſe not the King, no, not in thy Thought; for a Bird of the Air ſhall carry the Voice, and that which hath Wings ſhall tell the Matter. *Eccleſ.* x. ver. 20.

4. *Q.* What is the Rebellion of the Tongue?

A. The Rebellion of the Tongue is a malicious Defaming of the Perſon, Actions, Parts, and Government of thoſe Sovereign Princes to which the Lord hath made us ſubject, of Purpoſe to diſgrace them amongſt their People, to render them odious and contemptible, and, conſequently, to excite their Subjects to riſe up againſt them. Of this, it is, whereof the Lord God commanded, ſaying, Thou ſhalt not ſpeak Evil of the Ruler of thy People, *Exod.* xxii. 28. acknowledged for a divine Precept by St. *Paul*, *Acts* xxiii. 5. See, to this Purpoſe alſo, that of *Solomon*, *Prov.* xxiv. 21, where it is ſaid, It is not fit to ſay unto a King, Thou art wicked: And, if it be not fit to ſpeak Evil to him, aſſuredly it is as unfit to ſpeak Evil of him. And, finally, of this it is, that *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher tells us, ſaying, Ὁ κατηγορῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑβρίζει. He, that ſpeaks Evil of the Magiſtrate, offends againſt the Commonwealth. But I muſt let you know, withal, that, though this of the Tongue be a diſtinct Species of Rebellion, and ſo judged in Law, yet many Times this, and the other of the Heart, are but the Ground and Preparations to the Rebellion of the Hand, or actual Rebellion, as they call it commonly. And this appears moſt plainly in the Story of *Abſalom*, whoſe Heart firſt ſwelled againſt his Father, for being ſo difficult in reſtoring him to his Court and Preſence, upon the Murder which he had committed on his Brother *Amnon*, 2 *Sam.* xiv. 24, 28. and his Tongue found the Way to diſgrace his Government, which he accuſed of Negligence and Injuſtice, to the common People, 2 *Sam.* xv. 2, 3, &c. before he blew the Trumpet, and took Arms againſt him, and made him flee with ſome few Servants, from the Royal City, *ver.* 14. But here

here we take it not for a Preparation, but for a Species diſtinct, as before was ſaid.

5. *Q.* Why do you call the Swellings of the Heart, and the Revillings of the Tongue, by the Name of *Rebellion*, conſidering, that the Law, which puniſheth Rebellion with no leſs than Death, doth take no Cogniſance of Men's Thoughts; and that when *Gervaſe Shelvey*, of *Sandwich*, ſaid lately to a Gentleman of that Town, That, if the King came thither, he would ſhoot the Rogue; for which, he was impriſoned by the Mayor now being: It was reſolved by the High Court of Parliament, that theſe Words were but a Miſdemeanor, and ſo he was releaſed again?

A. The Houſe of Commons, which you call the *High Court of Parliament*, did not ſo much deliver their Judgment in the Caſe aforeſaid, as betray their Diſaffection in it to his Majeſty, whoſe Perſon they endeavour to deſtroy, that they may keep his Power ſtill amongſt themſelves: Or, if they did, it was a very falſe and erroneous Judgment, directly contrary unto the Reſolution of my Lords the Judges, and other Sages of the Law in all former Ages, by whom it is affirmed expreſly, That if any Man do compaſs or imagine the Death of our Lord the King (as all Rebels do) and doth declare the ſame Imagination by any *Overt-fact*, either Deed or Word, he ſhall ſuffer Judgment as a Traitor, *Licet id, quod in voluntate habuit, ad effectum non perduxerit*, as *Bracton* hath it; Although it do not take Effect, and go no farther than the Thought or Purpoſe of the firſt Contriver. Upon which Ground it was, no Queſtion, that *Shimei* ſuffered Death by the Hands of *Solomon*. For, although *David* ſpared him upon Submiſſion, becauſe he would not intermix the Joy of his Return unto *Jeruſalem* with any ſad and mournful Accident (as that muſt needs have been unto *Shimei*'s Friends) 2 *Sam.* xix. 22. yet he gave Order to his Son, To bring his hoary Head down to the Grave with Blood, becauſe he had curſed him with a grievous Curſe, in the Day when he went to *Mahanaim*, 1 *Kings* ii. 8. which was accordingly performed by *Solomon*, ver. 46.

6. *Q.* But *Shimei*'s Caſe can be no Precedent to us, who are not governed by the Judicial Law of *Moſes*, but by the Common Law of *England*, and the ruled Caſes in that Law. And, therefore, tell me, if you can, whether our own Books do afford you any of the like Examples?

A. Our own Books do afford us many; as *viz.* in the Caſe of *Walker*, a Citizen of *London*, and that of Mr. *Burdet*, an Eſquire of *Warwickſhire*, both executed in the Time of King *Edward the Fourth*, for Words which might be conſtrued to a treaſonable and rebellious Senſe, though, perhaps, no ill Meaning was intended: That of the *Windſor* Butcher, in the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*, for Saying, that, rather than ſell his Meat at ſo mean a Rate, he would ſend it to the Rebels in the *North*; and, finally, of one *Oldhall*, one of the Yeomen of the Guard in Queen *Mary*'s Time, who had Judgment of Death for certain traiterous and ſeditious Words ſpoken againſt her Majeſty, although no Inſurrection or Rebellion did enſue upon them. For the Particulars, I muſt refer you to our Law Books, and the common Chronicles.

7. *Q.* Proceed we now unto your third and laſt Sort of Rebellion, and tell me what you mean by the Rebellion of the Hand, and how many Sorts there are of it?

A. The Rebellion of the Hand is of two Sorts, whereof the firſt is the Compoſing and Diſperſing of falſe and ſcandalous Books and Pamphlets, tending to the Diſhonour of the King, his ſubordinate Officers, and Form of Government, of Purpoſe to alienate the Affections of his Subjects from him, and make them the more apt to rebel againſt him. And this is puniſhable with Death alſo, by the Law of *England*, as may appear by the Examples of *Bugnall*, *Scot*, *Heath*, and *Kennington*, being Sanctuary-men in St. *Martin's le Grand*, *London*, who had Judgment to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, in the Time of King *Henry the Seventh*, for Setting up ſeditious Bills, to the Scandal of the King, and ſome of his Council: Of *Penry*, *Udall*, *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, *Studley*, *Billot*, and *Betteſter*, zealous Puritans all, all of which were condemned, and three of them hanged in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Time, for Writing treaſonable and ſeditious Books, by which the Peace of the Kingdom might have been diſturbed, though no Rebellion followed on them: Of *Copping* and *Thacker*, who were hanged at St. *Edmundſbury*, in the ſaid Queen's Time, for Publiſhing the Pamphlets wrote by *Robert Browne*, againſt the Book of *Common-Prayer*;

which

which *Compton* thus reports in his Lawyers *French*, *Deux executez pour poublier les livres de* Robert Browne, *encontre le livre de common prayer*. And, finally, witneſs the Example of Mr. *Williams*, a Barriſter of the *Middle Temple*, who was executed in King *James*'s Reign, for Writing a defamatory Book, againſt the ſaid King, and his Poſterity.

8. *Q.* What is the other Sort of that Rebellion, which you call the Rebellion of the Hand.

A. The other Sort of the Rebellion of the Hand is that which commonly is called *actual Rebellion*, and is defined by the Statute of the 25th of King *Edward the Third*, to be A Levying of War againſt our Sovereign Lord the King, in his Realm, or an Adhering to the King's Enemies in his Realm, giving to them Aid and Comfort in the Realm, or elſewhere. And ſo it is determined alſo in the Civil Laws, by which all thoſe, *qui arripiunt arma contra eum cujus jurisdictioni subditi sunt*, Who take up Arms againſt ſuch Perſons to whoſe Authority they are ſubject, are declared to be Rebels. Where note, that not the open Act only, but the Attempt and Machination is brought within the Compaſs of Rebellion. *Rebellio ipse actus rebellandi est, qui non solum facto sed machinatione committitur*, as thoſe Lawyers tell us. And it is worth our Obſervation, that not only the Bearing Arms againſt the King is declared to be Rebellion by the Law of *England*, but that it was declared to be Rebellion by the chief Judges of this Kingdom, at the Arraignment of the Earl of *Eſſex* (the Father of him, who now is in the Head of this Rebellion) for any Man to ſeek to make himſelf ſo ſtrong, that the King ſhould not be able to reſiſt him, although he broke not out into open Act.

9. *Q.* What is the End that Rebels do propoſe unto themſelves, when they put themſelves into Rebellion?

A. The Depoſition and Deſtruction of the King in Poſſeſſion, and an Alteration of the preſent Government. And ſo it was determined, by the joint Conſent of all the Judges, at the Arraignment of the Earl of *Eſſex*, abovementioned, by whom it was reſolved, for Law, that, in every Rebellion, there was a Plot upon the Life and Depoſition of the Prince; it being not to be conceived, that the Rebels would ſuffer him to live or reign, who might have Opportunity, in the Change of Things, to puniſh them for their Rebellions, and avenge himſelf upon them for their Treaſons. And this they did confirm by the Civil Laws, and further juſtify and confirm by the Strength of Reaſon, with which it ſeemed inconſiſtent, *Ut qui semel Regi jus dixerit*, That he, who had once over-ruled his King by Force of Arms, ſhould either ſuffer him to live, or recover the Poſſeſſion of his Realm again. All which they made good, by the ſad Examples of King *Edward the Second*, and King *Richard the Second*, who did not long enjoy either Life or Crown, after they came into the Hands of thoſe who rebelled againſt them.

10. *Q.* But thoſe Examples, which you ſpeak of, were in Times of Popery: Have you the like to ſhew ſince the Reformation?

A. I would to God we had none ſuch, but we have too many. For, not to look into our neighbouring Realm of *Scotland*, and the Proceedings of ſome there, who called themſelves *Proteſtants*, againſt their Queen; the Rebellion plotted by the Earl of *Eſſex* in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Time, though there was Nothing leſs pretended, was to have ended in the Death of the Queen, and the Alteration of the Government. For, as was afterwards confeſſed by ſome of his Accomplices, the ſecret Part of the Deſign was, to have ſeized upon the Queen, and ſecured his Adverſaries in the Court; whom, when he had condemned and executed, *Parliamento indicto reipub. formam immutare statuit*; He then reſolved to call a Parliament, and ſettle a new Form of Government. Which, how it could be done, and the Queen alive, I believe you know not. And ſo much was acknowledged by the Earl himſelf, after the Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him, when he affirmed to certain of her Majeſty's Council, *Reginam sospitem esse non posse, si ipse superstes*, That, whilſt he lived, it was not poſſible for the Queen to continue in Safety. Thus have you ſeen the main Deſign of that Rebellion, as of all others whatſoever; what his Pretences were which he caſt Abroad, the better to ſeduce the People, I ſhall not ſtick to tell you, if you put me to it.

11. *Q.* I ſhall not trouble you with that at this preſent Time. But, ſince you ſay, That Levying of War againſt the King is properly and truly to be called Rebellion, I would fain aſk, Whether you mean it only in ſuch Caſes where the Subjects take up Arms out of Pride and Wantonneſs, or in ſuch alſo when they

are neceſſitated and forced unto it in their own Defence?

A. I mean it equally in both Caſes, though, of the two, the former be more odious in the Sight both of God and Man. For even defenſive Arms, as your Party calls them, are abſolutely unlawful in the Subject againſt his Sovereign; in regard, that no Defenſive War can be undertaken, but it carrieth a Reſiſtance in it to thoſe higher Powers, to which every Soul is to be ſubject: Which Powers being obtained by Almighty God, it followeth, by the Apoſtle's Logick, who was a very able Diſputant, That they, who do reſiſt the Powers, reſiſt the Ordinance of God, and, conſequently, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation. A Rule which took ſuch deep Impreſſion in the Primitive Chriſtians, that, though for perſonal Valour, Numbers of Men, and Leaders able to conduct them, they were ſuperior to the adverſe Party in the *Roman* Empire, yet they choſe rather to expoſe their Lives unto the mercileſs Fury of the Perſecutors, than take up Arms againſt their Princes, or diſturb the Peace of their Dominions, under Pretence of ſtanding in their own Defence, being ſo tyranically and unjuſtly handled. For Proof whereof, we may alledge *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, and ſome other Ancients, whoſe Words we will produce at large, if you think it neceſſary.

12. *Q.* You need not put yourſelf to that Trouble. For we deny not, that the ancient Chriſtians did rather chooſe to ſuffer, than to take up Arms; but, when we ſay, that, though they were exceeding numerous, yet they were not formed into States and Kingdoms, and that when they were once eſtated in Laws and Liberties, as in *France*, *Holland*, *Scotland*, and *Germany*, they made no Queſtion then to defend themſelves: What can you anſwer unto that?

A. I ſuppoſe the *Roman* Empire was a ſettled State, as ſtrongly cemented with all the Ligaments of Power and Policy, as any one of theſe you mention; and that the Subjects of that Empire had their Laws and Liberties, which, as their Anceſtors had received from the Indulgence of their Emperors, and the *Roman* Senate, ſo they tranſmitted them to their Poſterity. And yet, when all the Empire had received the Faith in the Time of *Conſtantine*, and that no Religion but the Chriſtian had publick Countenance from the Laws, during the moſt Part of his Reign, and the whole Reign of his three Sons (which was for fifty five Years, no fewer) the Subjects kept themſelves to their former Principles. Inſomuch that, when the Emperor *Julian* began to intrench upon their Liberties, and infringe thoſe Laws, which had been granted them by the Grace and Goodneſs of thoſe Princes, they knew no other Way, nor Weapons, by which to make Reſiſtance to ſuch lawleſs Violence, but their Prayers and Tears: Καὶ τοῦτο μόνον κατὰ τῶν δεινῶν φάρμακον, And this was all the Medicine which they had to cure that Malady, as we find in *Nazianzen*. The like I could produce from St. *Ambroſe* alſo, were not this ſufficient. And for your Inſtances of *France*, *Holland*, *Scotland*, and *Germany*, which you have muſtered up to make good your Cauſe; I am ſorry for the Proteſtant Religion's Sake, that you have furniſhed me with ſo many Examples of Rebellions ſince the Reformation; ſome of which ended in the Death, and others in the Depoſition of their natural Princes: Which was a Point you ſeemed to doubt of in your tenth Queſtion.

13. *Q.* But, tell me ſeriouſly, Do you conceive that all Reſiſtance of this Kind, made by Force of Arms, may be called Rebellion; and that there are no Caſes which may make it lawful, and warrantable by the Laws of God or Man?

A. Your Queſtion hath two ſeveral Parts, and muſt receive two ſeveral Anſwers. And, to the *Firſt*, I anſwer ſeriouſly, it being now no Time to trifle, that all Reſiſtance, of the Kind you ſpeak of, not only may be called Rebellion, but is Rebellion in the true and natural Senſe of the Word. For if, as the Civilians ſay, *Rebellis dicitur inobediens Principi circa concernentia proſperitatem Imperii*, That every one may be ſaid to be a Rebel, who yielded not Obedience to his Prince in all ſuch Particulars, as do concern the flouriſhing Eſtate of his Dominions; aſſuredly he is a Rebel in the higheſt Degree, who takes up Arms againſt his Sovereign, whatever his Pretences be, and, by ſo doing, doth embroil his Kingdoms in all theſe Miſeries, which moſt inſeparably are annexed to a Civil War. Now frame the ſecond Part of the preſent Query, into a diſtinct Queſtion of itſelf, and I will give ſuch an Anſwer to it, as I hope ſhall ſatisfy.

Q. My Queſtion is, Whether the Condition of the Perſons which are engaged in ſuch Reſiſtance, the Grounds on which they go, and the End they aim at, make not an Alteration

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in the Case; so that Resistance, qualified by these several Circumstances, become not warrantable by the Laws both of God and Man?

A. The Answer unto this is already made in the Book of *Homilies*; where it is said, that, 'Though not only great Multitude of the rude 'and rascal Commons, but sometimes also 'Men of great Wit, Nobility, and Authority, 'have moved Rebellion against their lawful 'Princes; though they should pretend sundry 'Causes, as the Redress of the Commonwealth, 'or Reformation of Religion, though they have 'made a great Shew of holy Meaning by be-'ginning their Rebellion with a counterfeit 'Service of God, and by Displaying and Bear-'ing about divers Ensigns and Banners, which 'are acceptable unto the rude ignorant com-'mon People (great Multitudes of whom, by 'such false Pretences and Shews, they do de-'ceive and draw unto them) yet, were the 'Multitudes of the Rebels never so huge and 'great, the Captains never so noble, politick, 'and witty, the Pretences feigned to be never 'so good and holy, yet the speedy Overthrow 'of all Rebels, of what Number, State, or 'Condition soever they were, or what Colour 'or Cause soever they pretended, is, and ever 'hath been such, that God doth thereby shew, 'that he alloweth neither the Dignity of any 'Person, nor the Multitude of any People, nor 'the Weight of any Cause, as sufficient for 'which the Subjects may move Rebellion a-'gainst their Princes.' So far the very Words of the Book of *Homilies*.

15. *Q.* Why do you tell us thus of the Book of *Homilies*, composed by a Company of ignorant Bookmen, Men utterly unskilful in the Laws of the Land. Think you that we ascribe to them so much Authority, as to be over-ruled by them in this Case?

A. It may be not. But I must tell you that there was a Statute made in the thirteenth Year of Queen *Elisabeth*, intitled, *An Act for Reformation of Disorders in the Ministers in the Church*, &c. in which it was enacted, amongst other Things, That all who were to be admitted unto Holy Orders, or instituted into any Ecclesiastical Preferment, should first subscribe unto the Articles of Religion, agreed upon in Convocation, *Anno* 1562. One of which Articles recites the Names and Titles of each several Homily, and approves their Doctrine. So that, although the Homilies were at first composed by Men unskilful in the Laws, as you please to say, yet they received both Strength and Approbation from the skilfullest Lawyers of those Times, convened with the Nobility and Gentry in the Court of Parliament, and consequently have as much Authority as the Parliament could add unto them. But, since you are not pleased with this general Answer, give me your Doubts and Queries in particular, and see what I can say unto them?

16. *Q.* First then, I ask, Whether if the King become a Tyrant, it be not lawful, in that Case, to bear Arms against him?

A. Yes, if *George Buchanan* may be Judge, who tells us plainly, that he would have Rewards proposed to such as should kill a Tyrant, as formerly there were for those who destroyed Wolves. But, if St. *Paul* may rule the Case, we shall find it otherwise. For if we ask to whom it was that the Apostle did command Subjection to be given, even by every Soul; to whom it was that he forbad Resistance to be made, upon Pain of Damnation; we shall find it was no other than the Emperor *Nero*, the greatest Tyrant, the bloodiest and most terrible Prince, the greatest Monster of Mankind, that ever yet was born of Woman. Yet St. *Paul*, writing to the *Romans*, over whom he did so cruelly tyrannise, commanded every Soul to be subject to him, not for Wrath only, but for Conscience Sake, and that, upon the Pain and Peril of Damnation, no Man should be so bold as to resist his Power, or rebel against him. And, doubtless, *Nebuchadnezzar* was a mighty Tyrant, one who had taken from the *Jews* their Laws, their Liberty, their Religion, and whatsoever else was most dear unto them. Yet were the *Jews* commanded to submit unto him, and patiently to bear the Yoke which was laid upon them; and not to hearken to their Prophets, nor to their Diviners, nor unto their Dreamers (mark it, for this is just your Case) which speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the King of *Babylon*, for they prophesy a Lye unto you, that you should perish, *Jerem.* xxvii. *v.* 9. Finally, to oppose the Saying of an heathen Man, unto that wicked Speech of him who did pretend so much unto Reformation, we find it thus resolved in *Plutarch*, Οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ νομισμένον βασιλέως σώματι τὰς χειρὰς προσφέρειν That it was contrary both to positive Laws, and the Law of Nature, for a-

ny Subject to lift up his Hand againſt the Perſon of his Sovereign.

17. *Q.* Is it not lawful to bear Arms againſt ſovereign Princes, for the Preſervation of Religion?

A. Yes, for thoſe Men who place Religion in Rebellion, and whoſe Faith is Faction, but for no Men elſe. The *Jews* might well have pleaded this againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he deſtroyed their Temple, and forbad their Sacrifices; and the Chriſtians in *Tertullian*'s Time, when they were at the Strongeſt, againſt the Emperor *Severus*, who did not only labour to ſuppreſs Religion, but utterly to root out the Profeſſors of it; and yet the contrary Doctrine was then preached and practiſed, as before was ſhewed you. What Weapons the poor Chriſtians did make Uſe of, in the Time of *Julian* the Apoſtate, in his Endeavours to ſubvert the Goſpel, and eſtabliſh Paganiſm again in the Place thereof, we told you lately out of *Nazianzen*; and ſhall now add, that the Chriſtian Party was then ſo ſtrong and powerful in the *Roman* Armies, that, when *Jovinian* was elected Emperor on the Death of *Julian*, the Soldiers with one Voice cried out, Ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἅπαντες χριστιανοί, *That they were all Chriſtians*. So that it was not Conſciouſneſs of their own Weakneſs, nor the Fear of Wrath; but Conſcience of their Duty, and the Fear of God, which made them patiently ſubmit to the preſent Storm. Thus, when the younger *Valentinian* endeavoured to ſupplant the true Religion, and to ſet up *Arianiſm*, to which he ſtrongly was addicted, the Tyrant *Maximus* made Offer to St. *Ambroſe* of his Arms and Forces, the better to enable him to reſiſt the *Arians*, and to preſerve the true Religion; but the good Father abſolutely refuſed the Offer. And though he was ſo well beloved and honoured by the People generally, that he could eaſily have armed them againſt the Emperor, and cruſhed the *Arian* Faction in the Court, by whom his Councils were directed; yet he betook himſelf to no other Weapons, than his Prayers and Tears, the ancient Weapons of the Chriſtian: *Coactus repugnare non novi, dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere; aliter nec debeo nec poſſum reſiſtere*; other Reſiſtance knew he none, though preſſed and oppreſſed too, than his Tears and Prayers.

18. *Q.* What, if he violate our Laws, and infringe our Liberties, may we not then bear Arms againſt him?

A. Somewhat in Anſwer to this you received before, in the Command impoſed upon the *Jews* by the Prophet *Jeremy*, not to rebel, or take up Arms (which come both to one) againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babylon*, although he did ſo tyranniſe and lord it over them, that neither their old Laws, nor Liberties, were a Jot regarded. But that, which I ſhall tell you now, is St. *Paul*'s Caſe, in the xxiiid of the *Acts*. Being brought to plead his own Cauſe, and the Goſpel's too, before the Council of *Jeruſalem*, in the firſt Entrance to his Plea, the High-Prieſt, *Ananias*, commanded them that ſtood by to ſmite him on the Mouth; and ſitting there to judge him after the Law, commanded him to be ſmitten contrary to the Law. St. *Paul*, upon the Apprehenſion of ſo great an Injury, ſo plainly contrary unto the Laws, and Liberties of the *Jewiſh* Subject, calls him *whited Wall*, and threateneth him with Vengeance from Almighty God. But finding that it was the High-Prieſt whom he had reviled (who had ſometimes the ſupreme Government of the *Jewiſh* State) he cried *Peccavi* out of Hand, imputed his Offence to Ignorance, *I wiſt not*, Brethren, that he was the High-Prieſt; and finally, condemned himſelf with a *Scriptum eſt*, ſaying, It is written, thou ſhalt not ſpeak Evil of the Ruler of thy People; if ſo, in Caſe we may not ſpeak Evil of our Rulers, when they ſmite us contrary to the Laws, and the Subject's Liberty, which is the Rebellion of the Tongue, aſſuredly we may not take up Arms againſt them, under thoſe Pretences, which is the Rebellion of the Hand.

19. *Q.* What, if the King be in the Hands of evil Counſellors, may we not take up Arms to remove them from him?

A. Yes, if the Earl of *Eſſex* may be Judge, whoſe Father fell into Rebellion under that Pretence, *ut regnum ab impotenti quorundam dominatu liberaret*, as to free the Kingdom from ſome Men who had got the Queen into their Hands, and conſequently ingroſſed unto themſelves the principal Managery of the Commonwealth. But he had other Aims than that, as before was told you; and ſo had they that went before him in the ſelf-ſame Road. When *Watt Tyler*, and *Jack Straw*, and the Reſidue of that raſcal Rabble, had took up Arms againſt King *Richard the Second*, they made the *Londoners* believe (who have been always apt to be deluded by the like Pretences) that,

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when they had seized on the evil Counsellors, which abused the King, and brought them to a legal Trial, then they would be quiet. But, under this Pretence, they broke open Prisons, robbed Churches, murdered the King's good Subjects, and finally, arrived to so high an Impudence, that *Watt Tyler* did not stick to say, That, within four Days, all the Laws of *England* should proceed from his Mouth. And, when *Jack Cade* had drawn the *Kentish* to rebel against King *Henry the Sixth*, he gave it out, that, if he could get the King and Queen into his Hands, he would use them honourably; but, if he could lay Hands on any of the Traytors which were about them, he would take Care to see them punished for their Misdemeanors. But, in good Truth, the End and Aim of the Rebellion was to depose King *Henry* and the House of *Lancaster*, in Favour of the Title of the Duke of *York*.

20. *Q.* What, if the King assaults a Subject, or seek to take away his Life; May not the Subject, in that Case, take up Arms against him?

A. Yes, if *Paræus* may be Judge, and some of the *Genevan* Doctors, who have so determined. But *David's* Case, which commonly is alledged in Defence hereof, if looked on with the Eyes of Judgment, doth affirm the Contrary. For *David*, though he had a Guard of some Friends and Followers, to save him from the Hands of such wicked Instruments, as *Saul*, in his unjust Displeasure, might have used against him; yet he preserved himself from *Saul*, not by Resistance, but by Flight, by flitting up and down as the King removed, and approached near him with his Armies. For, had he had a Thought of War, though Defensive merely, it is probable he would have took the Opportunities which were offered to him, either of seizing *Saul's* Person, when he had him all alone in the Cave of *Engeddi*; or suffering *Abishai* to smite him, as he lay asleep in the Hill of *Hachilah*; or, at the least, in making sure of *Abner* and the Host of *Saul*, who lay sleeping by him. But *David* was not so well tutored in the Art of Rebellion, as to secure himself this Way, and wanted some of our new Masters to instruct him in it. If, from the Practice of a pious and religious *Jew*, we will look down upon the Precept of a grave, wise, and learned *Gentile*, we shall find this Rule laid down in *Aristotle*: Εἰ ἀρχὴν ἰσχὼν ἀπάταξεν οὐ δεῖ ἀντιπληγῆναι, That, if the Magistrate assault the Person of a private Subject, the Subject may not strike again, nor lift Hand against him. Finally, that you may perceive how much all Sorts of Men do oppose your Doctrines, *Calvin* himself, although no Friend to Monarchy, doth affirm thus much, *Qui privatus manum intulerit, &c.* That any private Person, of what Sort soever, who shall lift up his Hand against his Sovereign, though a very Tyrant, is, for the same, condemned by the Voice of God.

21. *Q.* Perhaps we may so far agree with you, as to disable private Persons from bearing Arms, and lifting up their Hands against Kings, and Princes, of their own Authority: But think you, that inferior Magistrates are not inabled, by their Offices, to protect the People, and arm them, if Occasion be, in their own Defence?

A. It is true, that some Divines of the Reformed Churches, who either lived in popular States, or had their Breeding at *Geneva*, or thought the Discipline, by them defended, could not be otherwise obtruded upon Christian Princes, than by putting the Sword into the Hands of the People, have spared no Pains to spread Abroad this dangerous Doctrine; in which they have not wanted Followers in most Parts of *Christendom*. But St. *Paul* knew of no such Matter, when he commanded every Soul to yield Obedience and Subjection to the higher Powers, and, upon no Occasion, to resist those Powers to which the Lord had made them subject. So that, although inferiour Magistrates may expect Obedience from the Hands of those, over whom, and for whose Weal and Governance, they are advanced and placed by the Prince in Chief; yet God expects that they should yield Obedience to the Powers above them, especially to the Highest of all, than which there is not any higher. There is a golden Chain in Politicks, and every Link thereof hath some Relation and Dependence upon that before; so far forth as inferior Magistrates do command the People, according to that Power, and those Instruments which are communicated to them by the supreme Prince, the Subject is obliged to submit to them, without any Manner of Resistance. Men of no publick Office must obey the Constable; the Constable is bound to speed such Warrants, as the next Justice of the Peace shall direct unto him; the Justices receive the Exposition of the Law from the Mouth of the Judges;

Judges; the Judges have no more Authority, but what is given them by the King: And thereupon it needs muſt follow, that though the Judges direct the Juſtices, and the Juſtices command the Conſtables, and the Conſtables may call the People to their Aid, if Occaſion be; yet all muſt yield a free Obedience, without Reluctancy or Reſiſtance, to the King himſelf. The Reaſon is, becauſe as Kings, or ſupreme Magiſtrates, are called God's Miniſters by St. *Paul*, ſo the inferior, or ſubordinate Magiſtrates, are called the King's Miniſters by St. *Peter*: Submit yourſelves to the King, as unto the Supreme; next to ſuch Governors as are ſent, or authoriſed, by him, for the Puniſhment of Evil-doers. Beſides, there is no inferior Magiſtrate, of what Sort ſoever, but, as he is a publick Perſon, in Reſpect of thoſe that are beneath him, ſo is he but a private Man, in Reference to the Powers above him; and therefore, as a private Perſon, diſabled utterly, by your own Rules, from having any more Authority to reſiſt his Sovereign, or bear Defenſive Arms againſt him, as well as any other of the common People. The Government of States may be compared, moſt properly, unto *Porphyry*'s Tree, in which there is one *Genus ſummum*, and many *Genera ſubalterna*. Now it is well known to every young Logician, who hath learnt his *Prædicabiles*, that *Genus ſubalternum* is a Species only, as it looks up to thoſe above it, a Genus in Relation unto theſe below it. If you have ſo much Logick in you, as to make Application of this Note to the preſent Caſe, you will perceive inferior Magiſtrates to be no Magiſtrates at all, as they relate unto the King, the *Genus ſummum* in the Scale of Government, and therefore of no more Authority to reſiſt the King, or call the People unto Arms, than the meaneſt Subject.

22. *Q.* If ſo, then were the Chriſtian Subject of all Men moſt miſerable, in being utterly deprived of all Ways and Means, by which to free his Country from Oppreſſion, and himſelf from Tyranny. And therefore tell me, if you can, what you would have the Subject do in theſe Extremities, in which you have deprived him of all Means to relieve himſelf?

A. That which the Lord himſelf preſcribed, and the Saints have practiſed. When firſt the Lord acquainted thoſe of the Houſe of *Iſrael*, how heavy a Yoke their Violence and Importunity, in asking for a King, had pulled upon them; he told them of no other Remedy for ſo much Affliction, but that They ſhould cry out in that Day, becauſe of the King whom they had choſen. No Caſting off the Yoke, when we find it grievous, nor any Way to make it lighter and more pleaſing to us, than either by addreſſing our Complaints to the Lord our God, or tendering our Petitions to our Lord the King. Kings are accountable to none but God, if they abuſe the Power which he gives unto them: Nor can we ſue them for a Treſpaſs in any other Court, than the Court of Heaven. Therefore, when *David* had defiled the Wife, and deſtroyed the Husband, he thought himſelf reſponſible for it unto none but God, againſt whom only he had ſinned, as he ſaith himſelf. And thereupon St. *Ambroſe* gives this Gloſs on thoſe Words of *David*, *Homini ergo non peccavit, cui non tenebatur obnoxius. David*, ſaith he, confeſſeth no Offence to Man, by whom he could not be impleaded; but only unto God, who had Power to judge him. St. *Gregory* of *Tours* underſtood this rightly, when he did thus addreſs himſelf to a King of *France*, *Si quis de nobis*, &c. 'If any of us, O King, do tranſ-'greſs the Laws, thou haſt Power to puniſh 'him; but, if thou goeſt beyond thy Limits, 'who can puniſh thee? We tell thee of thy 'Faults, as Occaſion ſerves, and; when thou 'liſteſt to give Ear, thou doſt hearken to us: 'Which, if thou ſhouldeſt refuſe to do, Who 'ſhall judge thee for it, but he that calls him-'ſelf by the Name of *Juſtice*?' And, that you may be ſure, that it is no otherwiſe in *England* than in *France* and *Jewry*, *Bracton*, a great and famous Lawyer of this Kingdom, doth affirm expreſly, that, if the King proceed not in his Government according unto Law and Right, there is no legal Remedy to be had againſt him. What then is to be done by the injured Subject? *Locus erit ſupplicationi quòd factum ſuum corrigat & emendet; quod ſi non fecerit, ſatis ei ſufficit ad pœnam, quòd Dominum expectet ultorem.* All that he hath to do, ſaith he, is, that he doth petition him for Relief and Remedy; which, if the King refuſe to conſent unto, it will be Puniſhment enough unto him, that he muſt look for Vengeance from the Hands of God. Which ſaid, he gives this Reaſon for it, Becauſe that no Man is to call the King's Acts in Queſtion, *Multo fortius contra factum ſuum venire*, Much leſs, to go

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about to annul and void them by Force and Violence.

23. *Q.* We grant it to be true which you cite from *Bracton*, as it relates to private and particular Men; But think you that it doth concern or oblige the Parliament, which is the Repreſentative Body of the Kingdom?

A. Hoc ſumus congregati quod & diſperſi, as *Tertullian* tells us of the Chriſtians in another Caſe. We ſhewed before, that Subjects were in no Caſe to reſiſt their Sovereigns, in the Way of Arms, either as private Perſons or inferior Magiſtrates: And thereupon we may conclude, that the People of this Realm, in the diffuſive Body of it, having no Power of levying War, or raiſing Forces to reſiſt the King, without being puniſhable for the ſame, as in Caſe of Treaſon, cannot inable the two Houſes of Parliament, which are the Repreſentative Body of it, to do thoſe Acts, which they want Power to do themſelves; for no Man can conſer a Power upon any other which is not firſt veſted in himſelf, according to that good old Rule, *Nemo dat quod non habet*. And therefore, if it be Rebellion in the *Engliſh* Subject, out of Times of Parliament, to levy War againſt the King in his Realm, or to adhere unto his Enemies, and be aiding to them; I know not how it can excuſe the Members of the two Houſes of Parliament from coming within the Compaſs of that Condemnation, if they commit ſuch Acts, in Time of Parliament, and under the Pretence of the Power thereof, which are judged Treaſon and Rebellion by the Laws of *England*.

24. *Q.* But Mr. *Prynne* hath learnedly removed that Rub, who tells you, that the Statute of 25 *Edward* III. runs (only) in the ſingular Number, If a Man ſhall levy War againſt the King, and therefore cannot be extended to the Houſes, who are many, and publick Perſons; What can you anſwer unto that?

A. That Mr. *Prynne*, having ſo often ſhewn Malice, may have a little Leave ſometimes to ſhew his Folly, and make ſome Sport unto the Kingdom, in theſe uſeful Times; for, if his learned Obſervation will hold good in Law, it is not poſſible that any Rebellion ſhould be puniſhed in a legal Way; becauſe ſo many (and ſome of them perhaps may be publick Perſons) are commonly engaged in Actions of that wicked Nature. And I ſuppoſe that Mr. *Prynne*, with all his Learning, did never read of a Rebellion, that is to ſay, of a War levied by the Subject againſt his Sovereign, plotted and executed by one Man only, in the ſingular Number. Had Mr. *Prynne* affirmed on his Word and Credit, that the Members of the two Houſes were not Men but Gods, he had then ſaid ſomewhat which would have freed them from the Guilt and Danger of that dreadful Statute. If he admit them to be Men, and grant them to have levied War againſt his Majeſty, or to be aiding to the Rebels now in Arms againſt him; he doth conclude them to be guilty of this great Rebellion, with which this miſerable Kingdom is almoſt laid deſolate. His Sophiſtry, and trim Diſtinctions, touching their Quality and Numbers, will but little help them.

25. *Q.* We have another Plaiſter which will ſalve that Sore, *viz.* The Difference that is made between the King's Perſon and his Power, by which it is made viſible to diſcerning Eyes, that though the Parliament have levied War againſt the Perſon of the King, yet they do not fight againſt his Power, but defend it rather. And it is not a Reſiſtance of the Perſon but the Power of Princes, which is forbidden by St. *Paul*. How do you like of that Diſtinction?

A. As ill, or worſe than of the other, as being, of the two, the more ſerious Folly; and coming from an Author no leſs factious (but far more learned I confeſs) than your other was. For if I do remember right, *Buchanan* was the firſt that broached this Doctrine in his Book, *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*; in which he tells us, that St. *Paul*, in the Place aforeſaid, doth not ſpeak of Magiſtrates, *ſed de functione & officio eorum qui aliis præſunt*, but of the Magiſtracy itſelf, the Function or Office of the Magiſtrate, which muſt not be reſiſted, though his Perſon may. Which fooliſh Fancy ſerving fitly for a Cloke or Vizard, wherewith to palliate and diſguiſe Rebellions, hath ſince been often uſed by thoſe who purſue his Principles (though never worn ſo threadbare as of late, in your treacherous Pamphlets) but draweth after it as many, and as groſs Abſurdities as the other did. For by this ſtrange Diviſion of the King from himſelf, or of his Perſon from his Power, a Traitor may kill *Charles*, and not hurt the King; deſtroy the Man, and ſave the Magiſtrate; the Power of the King in one of the Armies may fight againſt his Perſon in the other Army, his own Authority may be uſed to his own Deſtruction, and one may lawfully ſet upon him, both

beat, aſſault, and wound him, in Order to his Preſervation. So that you make the King like *Soſia*, in the ancient Comedy, who being well beaten, and demanded who it was that did it, made Anſwer, *Egomet, memet, qui nunc ſunt domi:* That *Soſia*, who was at Home in his Maſter's Houſe, did beat that *Soſia*, which was Abroad in his Maſter's Buſineſs. But queſtionleſs St. *Paul* did better underſtand himſelf, than either *Buchanan*, or any of his Followers, ſince his Time, have done: Who doth interpret the Word, *Power*, which he uſeth in the firſt and ſecond Verſes, by that of *Principes & Miniſtri*, Rulers and Miniſters, which he uſeth in the Third and Fourth: Which as it plainly ſhews that he meaneth the Magiſtrate, and not the Function or the Office, as your Maſters tell you; ſo doth it leave you liable to the Wrath of God, if you endeavour to defend theſe wicked and rebellious Courſes, by ſuch wretched Shifts.

26. *Q.* What ſay you then, if it appear that the two Houſes of Parliament (for I uſe your Terms) are not ſubordinate to the King, but co-ordinate with him? I hope then you will yield ſo far, that the two Houſes have a Power, if they cannot otherwiſe provide for the common Safety, to arm the People of the Realm againſt him, as againſt an Equal.

A. We grant indeed, that People which have no Superior, but ſtand on equal Terms with one another, if injured by their Neighbours, and not receiving Satisfaction, when they do deſire it, may remedy themſelves by Force, and for ſo Doing, by the Law of Nations, are eſteemed juſt Enemies; but ſo it is not in the Point, which is now in Queſtion, 'The Realm of *England* (as it is declared by Act of Parliament) being an Empire, governed by one ſupreme Head and King, having the Dignity and Royal Eſtate of the Imperial Crown of the ſame, unto whom a Body Politick, compact of all Sorts and Degrees of People, divided in Terms and by Names of Spirituality and Temporality, be bounden and ought to bear, next to God, a natural and humble Obedience.' Aſſuredly, had the Lords and Commons, then aſſembled, conceived themſelves co-ordinate with the King, in the publick Government, they would not have ſo wronged themſelves and their Poſterity, as to have made this Declaration and Acknowledgment ſo prejudicial thereunto, not only in a Parliament Time, but by Act of Parliament. Beſides, if this Co-ordination, which you dream of, could be once admitted, it muſt needs follow thereupon, that though the King hath no Superior, he hath many Equals, and where there is Equality, there is no Subjection. But *Bracton* tells you in plain Terms, not only that the King hath no Superior in his Realm, except God alone, but that he hath no Equal, neither: *Parem autem non habet in regno ſuo*, as his Words there are. And then he gives this Reaſon of it, *Quia ſic amitteret præceptum, cum par in parem non habet imperium*; Becauſe he could not have an Equal but with the Loſs of his Authority and regal Dignity, conſidering, that an Equal hath no Power to command another. Now, leſt you ſhould object, That is ſpoken of the King, out of Times of Parliament, but that, when once the Lords and Commons are convened in Parliament, the Caſe is otherwiſe: *Firſt*, You muſt think that, had this Doctrine been on Foot in the Times preceding, it would have been a great Impediment unto frequent Parliaments; and that our Kings (as others) being very jealous even of the ſmalleſt Points of Sovereignty, would not admit of Partners in the Crown Imperial, by the Aſſembling of a Parliament, having been uſed to reign alone without any Rivals. And, *Secondly*, You may call to Mind, that even *ſedente Parliamento*, during the Sitting of the Court, the Lords and Commons call themſelves, his Majeſties moſt humble and obedient Subjects, which is not only uſed as a Stile of Courſe in ſuch Petitions, as they uſe to preſent unto him (and by the Way, it is not the Uſe for Men of equal Power to ſend Petitions unto one another) but it is the very Phraſe in ſome Acts of Parliament, for which I do refer you to the Book at large. And if they be his Subjects, as they ſay they be, they cannot be his Equals, as you ſay they are; and therefore not co-ordinate with him, but ſubordinate to him; by Conſequence the Levying War againſt the King is no more excuſable in them, than the meaneſt Subject.

27. *Q.* You take great Pains to make the Parliament, or the *two Houſes*, as you call them, to be guilty of Rebellion againſt his Majeſty, without Ground or Reaſon: For, tell me ſeriouſly, Think you the Parliament hath not Power to arm the People, and put them into a Poſture of Defence againſt the Enemies of the Kingdom, if they ſee Occaſion?

A. Yes, if the King do give Conſent, and there be ſuch Enemies, againſt whom to arm them;

them; for, properly, according to the ordinary Rules of Politicks, there is no Power of raiſing Forces, and putting the People into Arms, but only in the Prince, or ſupreme Magiſtrate. The Civil Laws have ſo reſolved it: *Nulli prorſus, nobis inſciis & inconſultis, quorumlibet armorum movendorum copia tribuatur:* Let none preſume to levy Forces, whatſoever the Pretence or Occaſion be, without our Privity or Conſent, ſaith the Conſtitution. If you conſult with the Divines, St. *Auſtin*, a moſt learned Father, will inform you thus: That the natural Courſe and Arts of Government, accommodated to the Peace and Welfare of us mortal Men, do require thus much, *Ut ſuſcipiendi belli auctoritas atque conſilium penes principes ſit:* That all Authority of making War, and levying Forces, appertain only to the Prince. And, if you pleaſe to look on *Bracton*, or any of the Lawyers of your native Country, they will tell you this: That the material Sword is put into the Hands of the King by Almighty God; that, by the *material* Sword, is meant a Power and Right to look to the Defence and Preſervation of the Kingdom; and that it is no leſs than Treaſon to enter into any Aſſociation, or to raiſe a War, without the King's Conſent, or againſt his Will. And this the Houſes, as it ſeems, underſtood full well, when, purpoſing to levy Forces to begin the War, they took the King's Authority along with them for Company, and raiſed them in the Name of the King and Parliament, the better to ſeduce the People to a blinded Rebellion. As for the Enemies of the Kingdom, againſt whom the Subjects were to arm themſelves by Appointment of the Houſes, I can tell of none; no, nor they neither, as I take it, unleſs they ſaw them in their Dreams. And, for your *Poſture of Defence*, as you pleaſe to phraſe it (beſides what I have proved before, That even Defenſive Arms are abſolutely unlawful on the Subjects Part) the War hath been Offenſive, plainly, on the Part of the Houſes; which as it was contrived and followed without the leaſt Colour of Neceſſity to induce them to it, ſo did it aim at nothing elſe, than the Deſtruction of the King, and the Alteration of the Government; which are the Purpoſe and Deſign of all Rebellions, as before was told you.

28. *Q.* How prove you, that the Parliament did begin the War; that, on their Parts, it was Offenſive, not Defenſive only; or that they had a Purpoſe to deſtroy the King? If you can make this good, you ſhall gain me to you.

A. This Point hath been ſo agitated and diſcourſed already, that it were but Labour loſt to ſpeak further in it. The Votes and Orders of the Houſes for putting the Kingdom into a Poſture of War; the Taking into their own Hands the whole Militia of the Kingdom; Raiſing of Money, Men, and Horſes in all the Quarters of the Land; Muſtering their new-raiſed Horſe and Foot in *Finsbury-fields* and *Tothill-fields*; Seizing upon the Arms and Ammunition, which the King had bought with his own Money, and laid up in his own Magazines, before the King had either Money enough to pay a Soldier, Powder enough to kill a Bird, or Men enough about him to guard his Perſon from any ordinary Force and Violence: What was all this, but a Beginning of the War? And who did this, but ſome prevailing Men in the two Houſes of Parliament, under the Name and Stile of the *Lords* and *Commons*? Then, for the Managing of the War, if it had been Defenſive only, as you ſay it was, What needed a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex* to kill and ſlay all ſuch as oppoſed theſe Doings? What needed they to have ſent ſome Part of their Forces into *Hampſhire*, to pluck the Town of *Portſmouth* out of the King's Hands, which, by Reaſon of the Diſtance of it, could not do them Hurt; another into *Dorſetſhire*, to beat the Marquis of *Hertford* out of *Sherbourn*-Caſtle; a third, and that the greateſt Part, as far as *Worceſter*, and beyond it, to find the King, and give him Battle, before he was within an hundred Miles of them? What needed they have ſent their Emiſſaries into all the Counties of the Kingdom, to put the People into Arms, in which the King had neither Power nor Party that appeared for him? Or to exhauſt the Blood and Treaſure of this Nation, under Pretence of ſettling their own Privileges, and the Subjects Liberties, when the King offered more, by his frequent Meſſages, than they had Reaſon to expect? Doubtleſs, they could pretend no Danger, as the Caſe then ſtood, which might neceſſitate them to take Arms in their own Defence; and therefore, now of late, they have changed their Terms, and do not make the War Defenſive merely, but in Part Preventive. It ſeems, their Conſciences told them what they had deſerved; and ſo, for Fear the King might right himſelf

himſelf upon them, when he ſhould be in Power, they thought it beſt to ſtrike the firſt Blow, and begin the Quarrel, in Hope to make ſuch ſure Work of it, that he ſhould never ſtrike the ſecond. But, to ſay Truth, the War was not Preventive neither, on the Houſes Part, but a Deſign that had been plotted long before, and was made ripe for Execution, when there was neither Ground nor Colour to poſſeſs the People with the Fancy, That the King intended Force againſt them. For what Purpoſe elſe did Sir *Arthur Hoſlerigge* and Mr. *Pym* ſojourn two Years together with Mr. *Knightly*, ſo near the Habitation of the good Lord *Say*? To what End held the Correſpondence with the diſcontented Party in that Country, and took ſuch Pains in Canvaſſing for Knights and Burgeſſes (when this preſent Parliament was called) in moſt Counties, *&c.*? Or to what End and Purpoſe had the zealous Citizens ſo uſed themſelves unto their Weapons, frequented the Artillery-Garden, and ſtored themſelves with Arms in ſo large a Meaſure, but that they were reſolved to be in Readineſs, when the Time ſhould come? This, if it were not a Deſign, muſt be done by Prophecy, not in the Way of a Prevention.

29. *Q.* But to the other Point you ſpoke of, touching the Purpoſe, which you ſay, they had to deſtroy the King; Can you make any Proof of that?

A. I have already told you, from the Mouths of our greateſt Lawyers, that all Rebellions aim at no other End, than the Deſtruction of the King, and the Change of Government; and that this End was aimed at, more eſpecially in this particular Rebellion. I ſhall tell you now, you cannot chuſe but call to Mind, with what Heat and Violence, Multitudes of the raſcally People, as they flocked towards *Weſtminſter*, clamoured againſt his Sacred Majeſty, even at *Whitehall* Gates; and how ſeditiouſly they expreſſed the Secrets of their traiterous Hearts: Some ſaying openly, as they paſſed along, That the King was the Traitor; ſome That the young Prince would govern better; and others, of a more tranſcendent Wickedneſs, That the King was not fit to live. Next look upon theſe very Men, for, out of them, the Body of their Army was, at firſt compounded, trained to the Wars, well-armed, and marching furiouſly to find out the King, againſt whoſe Sacred Perſon, and moſt precious Life, they had before expreſſed ſuch a dangerous Malice. Then add to this, that, when they came unto *Edge-Hill*, they bent their Cannon more eſpecially, and ſpent the hotteſt Part of their Shot and Fury, towards that Part of the Battle, in which, according unto that Advertiſement, which the Villain *Bloque* had given their General, a Man as full of Diſcontent and Malice, as the worſt amongſt them, the King in Perſon and the two young Princes meant to be. Put this together, and compare it with ſome ſubſequent Paſſages, which have been deſperately vented in the Houſe of Commons, touching the Depoſition of the King, without Check or Cenſure; and tho Inviting of a foreign Nation, to invade this Kingdom, the better to effect their Buſineſs; and tell me, if you can, what is aimed at elſe, than the Deſtruction of the King, and his Royal Iſſue?

30. *Q.* I muſt confeſs, you put me to it, but I muſt take ſome Time to conſider of it, before I tell you what I think. In the mean Seaſon, I have one more Doubt to propoſe unto you, which if you can remove, I am wholly yours. The Name of Parliament is ſacred to me, and I am loth to ſcruple any of thoſe Actions, which receive Countenance and Authority from that awful Body. Can you make Proof, that the Party, which remains at *Weſtminſter*, have not the full Authority of the two Houſes of Parliament? If you could make that clear, then the Work were done.

A. I dare not take that Taſk upon me, it is too invidious: But I ſhall offer theſe few Things to your Conſideration: *Firſt*, It ſhould ſeriouſly be conſidered, Whether the King, whoſe Preſence, as the Head of that awful Body, gives Life and Motion to the Acts and Reſults thereof, do purpoſely abſent himſelf to make their Conſultations fruſtrate, and their Meeting fruitleſs; or that he hath been driven from them, by Force and Violence? *Secondly*, Whether ſuch conſiderable Numbers of the Lords and Commons, as are now abſent from the Houſes, have left the Houſes and the Service, for no other Reaſon than for Compliance with the King, and to ſerve his Ends, in Hope of getting Honours and Preferments by him, or on the Motion made by the raſcally Multitude, to have the Names of theſe given up, who voted not with *Say* and *Pym*, and other the good Members of both Houſes? *Thirdly*, What Miſchief would enſue both to the Church of Chriſt, and the States of *Chriſtendom*, if, when the greater and ſounder Part of Parliaments

ments and general Councils, ſhall be driven away, either by the Threats and Practices of the leſſer, and the worſe affected; the leſs and the worſe affected Part may have the Reputation of the whole Body, and their Actions countenanced by the Name thereof? *Fourthly*, Whether it be not one of the greateſt Prejudices, which the Proteſtants have againſt the Council of *Trent*, that it was held in an unſafe Place, which they could not come to, without Danger; and that the Prelates, there aſſembled, were ſo prelimited by the Pope's Inſtructions, or awed with an *Italian* Guard, which was ſet upon them, under Pretence of Safety to their Perſons from Affronts and Injuries, that they had neither Freedom to debate the Points which were there propounded, nor Liberty of Suffrage to determine of them? *Fifthly*, Whether, the King calling the expulſed Party of the Lords and Commons, to ſome other Place, and ſummoning all the reſt alſo, to aſſemble there, may, not with greater Reaſon, take unto themſelves the Name, the Power, and Reputation of a Parliament, than the remaining Party now at *Weſtminſter*, conſiſting ſeldom of above an hundred Commons, and ſometimes not above three Lords, have challenged and uſurped the Name of the two Houſes? *Sixthly*, and *Laſtly*,

31. *Q.* Hold, I muſt interrupt you there. The King, by Writ, appoints his Parliament to be held at *Weſtminſter*; and, by a ſubſequent Act, or Statute, hath ſo bound himſelf, that he can neither diſſolve nor adjourn it, without their Conſent; How can he then remove it to another Place, than that which was at firſt appointed?

A. No Doubt, but he may do it with as good Authority, as the two Houſes, or either of them, may adjourn to *London*, which you cannot chooſe but know hath been often done, ſince the Beginning of this Seſſion. For though they ſit not there as Houſes, but by Turning either of the Houſes into a Committee of the whole Houſe: Yet this is but an Artifice to elude the Writ, and act their Buſineſs in a Place of more Advantage. The Change is only in the Name, but the Power the ſame. Witneſs thoſe Votes and Declarations which they have paſſed and publiſhed in the ſaid Committees, as binding and effectual to their Ends and Purpoſes, as any Thing tranſacted in their ſeveral Houſes. Nor is the Place ſo neceſſary and eſſential unto the Being of Parliament, but that the major Part, with the King's Conſent, may change it, if they think it profitable for the Commonwealth. Otherwiſe, we might ſay of Parliaments, as once *Victorinus* did of Chriſtians, *Ergone parietes faciunt Chriſtianum?* Is it the Place, and not the Perſons, which do make a Parliament? Or grant we, that of common Courſe, the Houſes cannot regularly be adjourned to another Place, but the Adjournment muſt be made in the Houſe itſelf; yet this is but a Circumſtance, or at moſt a Ceremony, not of the Subſtance of the Work. And if that Speech of *Cæſar* carried any Weight (as all wiſe Men conceive it doth) *Legem neceſſitati cedere oportere*, That even the ſtricteſt Laws muſt yield to the Neceſſities and Uſes of the Commonwealth: No Queſtion, but ſo ſlight a Circumſtance, as that of Place, muſt needs be thought in the preſent Buſineſs, is to give Way unto the Peace and Preſervation of this wretched Kingdom.

32. *Q.* Theſe Points I ſhall conſider of, as you have adviſed; only, at preſent, I ſhall tell you, that I am very well reſolved of the Unlawfulneſs of this War againſt his Majeſty, and think them guilty of Rebellion, who either laid the Plot thereof, or have ſince purſued it. Tell me now, for the Cloſe of all, what Puniſhment the Laws do inflict on thoſe who are convicted of ſo capital and abhorred a Crime?

A. You cannot be ſo ignorant of the Laws of *England*, as not to know, That a convicted Rebel is condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, his Belly to be ripped up, and his Bowels to be taken out, whilſt he is yet living, his Head and Limbs to be advanced on ſome eminent Places, for a terrible Example unto others, his Blood attainted, his Eſtate confiſcate, his Poſſeſſions forfeited. The Civil Laws go ſomewhat further, and execute them after Death in their Coats of Arms, which are to be defaced and razed, in what Place ſoever they are found: *Rebellium arma & inſignia delenda ſunt, ubicunque inveniuntur*, as *Bartolus* hath it. I end, as I began, with the Book of *Homilies*; 'Turn over and read 'the Hiſtories of all Nations, look over the 'Chronicles of our own Country, call to 'Mind ſo many Rebellions of old Time, and 'ſome yet freſh in Memory; you ſhall not find 'that God ever proſpered any Rebellion a-'gainſt the natural and lawful Prince, but,

'contrariwise, that the Rebels were overthrown and ſlain, and ſuch, as were taken Priſoners, dreadfully executed. Conſider the great and noble Houſes of Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, and other Lords, whoſe Names you ſhall read in our Chronicles, now clear extinguiſhed and gone, and ſeek out the Cauſes of the Decay, you ſhall find, that not Lack of Iſſue, and Heirs Male, hath ſo much wrought that Decay, and Waſte of noble Bloods and Houſes, as hath Rebellion.

Who can ſtretch forth his Hand againſt the Lord's anointed, and be guiltleſs? 1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change; for their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them both? Prov. xxiv. 21, 22.

Articles and Ordinances of War, for the preſent Expedition of the Army of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. By the Committee of Eſtates, and his Excellency, the Lord General of the Army. *Edinburgh*, printed by *Evan Tyler*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, 1643. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

THAT no Man pretend Ignorance, and that every one may know the Duty of his Place, that he may do it: The Articles and Ordinances following are to be publiſhed at the general Rendezvous in every Regiment apart, by the Majors of the ſeveral Regiments, and in the Preſence of all the Officers. The ſame ſhall afterwards be openly read to every Company of Horſe and Foot, and at ſuch Times as ſhall be thought moſt convenient by the Lord General; and in like Manner ſhall be made known to ſo many as join themſelves to be profeſſed Soldiers in the Army. For this End, every Colonel and Captain ſhall provide one of thoſe Books, that he may have it in Readineſs at all Occaſions, and every Soldier ſhall ſolemnly ſwear the following Oath:

'I *N. N.* promiſe and ſwear to be true and faithful in this Service, according to the Heads ſworn by me in the ſolemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms: To honour and obey my Lord General, and all my ſuperior Officers and Commanders, and by all Means to hinder their Diſhonour and Hurt: To obſerve carefully all the Articles of War and Camp Diſcipline; never to leave the Defence of this Cauſe, nor flee from my Colours ſo long as I can follow them: To be ready to Watching, Warding, and Working, ſo far as I have Strength: To endure and ſuffer all Diſtreſſes, and to fight manfully to the uttermoſt, as I ſhall anſwer to God, and as God ſhall help me.

I.

Kirk-Diſcipline ſhall be exerciſed, and the Sick cared for in every Regiment, by the particular Elderſhip, or Kirk-Seſſion to be appointed, even as uſeth to be done in every Pariſh in the Time of Peace: And that there may be an Uniformity throughout the whole Army, in all Matters Eccleſiaſtical, there ſhall be a general Elderſhip, or common Eccleſiaſtick Judicatory, made up of all the Miniſters of the Camp, and of one Elder direct from every particular Regiment, who ſhall alſo judge of Appellations made unto them from the particular Seſſions or Elderſhips.

II.

For Deciding of all Queſtions, Debates, and Quarrellings that ſhall ariſe betwixt Captains and their Soldiers, or any others of the Army, and for the better Obſerving of Camp-Diſcipline, two Courts of Juſtice, the one higher, and the other lower, are appointed, wherein all Judges are ſworn to do Juſtice equally: The Higher alſo to judge of Appellations to be made from the lower Court. And, if any Man

ſhall,

ſhall, by Word or Geſture, ſhew his Contempt or Miſregard, or ſhall fall out in Boaſting or Braving, while Courts are ſitting, he ſhall be puniſhed by Death. And both theſe Judicatories, as well of the Kirk Matters, as of War, ſhall be ſubject to the General Aſſembly, and Committee of Eſtates reſpective.

III.

Whoſoever ſhall wilfully or careleſly abſent himſelf from Morning and Evening Prayers, or from Preaching before and after Noon on the Lord's Day, or other extraordinary Times appointed for the Worſhip of God, when the Sign is given by Sound of Trumpet or Drum, he ſhall be cenſured and puniſhed for his Neglect or Contempt, by Penalty, Impriſonment, or other Puniſhment, as his Fault deſerveth.

After the Warning given, there ſhall be no Market, nor Selling of any Commodities whatſoever, till the Prayers or Preaching be ended, upon the Pain of Forfeiting the Things ſo ſold, and of the Impriſoning of the Offenders.

IV.

Common and ordinary Swearing and Curſing, open Profaning of the Lord's Day, Wronging of his Miniſters, and other *Acts* of that Kind, ſhall not only be puniſhed with Loſs of Pay and Impriſonment, but the Tranſgreſſors ſhall make their publick Repentance in the Midſt of the Congregation; and, if they will not be reclaimed, they ſhall, with Diſgrace, be openly caſhiered and diſcharged, as unworthy of the meaneſt Place in the Army.

V.

If any ſhall ſpeak irreverently againſt the King's Majeſty and his Authority, or ſhall preſume to offer Violence to his Majeſty's Perſon, he ſhall be puniſhed as a Traitor. He that ſhall ſpeak Evil of the Cauſe which we defend, or of the Kingdoms, the Parliaments, Convention of the Eſtates, or their Committees in the Defence thereof, or ſhall uſe any Words to the Diſhonour of the Lord General, he ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

No Man ſhall, at his own Hand, without Warrant of the Committee, or of my Lord General, have, or keep Intelligence with the Enemy, by Speech, Letters, Signs, or any other Way, under the Pain to be puniſhed as a Traitor. No Man ſhall give over any Strength, Magazine, Victuals, &c. Or make any ſuch Motion, but upon Extremity, under the ſame Pain. No Man ſhall give Supply, or furniſh Money, Victuals, or any Commodities to the Enemy, upon Pain of Death.

Whoſoever ſhall be found to do Violence againſt the Lord General, his Safeguard, or Safe-conduct, ſhall die for it.

Whoſoever ſhall be found Guilty of Careleſneſs and Negligence in his Service, although he be free of Treachery and Double-dealing, ſhall bear his own Puniſhment.

VI.

All Commanders and Officers ſhall be careful, both by their Authority and Example, that all under their Charge live in Godlineſs, Sobernes, and Righteouſneſs; and, if they themſelves ſhall be common Swearers, Curſers, Drunkards, or any of them at any Time ſhall come drunk to his Guard, or by Quarrelling, or any other Way, ſhall commit any notable Diſorder in his Quarter, Loſs of Place ſhall be his Puniſhment: And further, according to the Sentence of the Court of War.

The Captains that ſhall be negligent in Training their Companies, or that ſhall be found to withhold from their Soldiers any Part of their Pay, ſhall be diſcharged of their Place, and further cenſured by the Court of War.

No Commander or Officer ſhall conceal dangerous and diſcontented Humours, inclined to Mutinies, or Grudging at the Orders given them, but ſhall make them known to the prime Leaders of the Army, upon the Pain to be accounted Guilty of Mutiny.

No Commander or Officer ſhall authoriſe, or wittingly permit any Soldier to go forth to a ſingular Combate, under Pain of Death; but, on the Contrary, all Officers ſhall be careful by all Means to part Quarrellings amongſt Soldiers, although they be of other Regiments or Companies, and ſhall have Power to command them to Priſon, which, if the Soldiers ſhall diſobey, or reſiſt, by uſing any Weapon, they ſhall die for it.

No Captain ſhall preſume at his own Hand, without Warrant of the Lord General, to caſhier, or give a Paſs to any inrolled Soldier or Officer, who hath appeared at the Place of the General Rendezvous; nor ſhall any Commander, Officer, or Soldier, depart without a Paſs, or ſtay behind the Time appointed him in his Paſs; and whoſoever tranſgreſſeth, the one Way or the other, ſhall be puniſhed at the Diſcretion of the Court of War.

VII. All

VII.

All Soldiers shall remember, that it is their Part to honour and obey their Commanders, and therefore shall receive their Commands with Reverence, and shall make no Noise, but be silent, when the Officers are commanding or giving their Directions, that they may be heard by all, and the better obeyed; he, that faileth against this, shall be imprisoned.

No Soldier shall leave his Captain, nor Servant forsake his Master, whether he abide in the Army or not, but upon License granted, and in an orderly Way.

Whosoever shall presume to discredit any of the great Officers of the Army, by Writ, Word, or any other Way, and be not able to make it good, and whosoever shall lift his Weapon against any of them, shall be punished by Death; and whosoever shall lift his Hand against any of them, shall lose his Hand.

No Soldier, nor inferior Officer, shall quarrel with, or offer any Injury to his Superior, nor refuse any Duty commanded him, upon Pain of Cashiering, and to be further censured by the Court of War. And, if any shall presume to strike his Superior, he shall be punished with Death. But if it shall happen, that any Officer shall command any Thing to the evident and known Prejudice of the Publick, then shall he, who is commanded, modestly refuse to obey, and presently give Notice thereof to the Lord General.

If any Man shall use any Words or Ways, tending to Mutiny or Sedition, whether for Demanding his Pay, or upon any other Cause; or, if any Man shall be privy to such mutinous Speeches or Ways, and shall conceal them; both shall be punished with Death.

All must shew their Valour against the Enemy, and not by revenging private Injuries, which, upon their Complaints to their superior Officers, shall be repaired to the full. And if any Man presume to take his own Satisfaction, or challenge a Combate, he shall be imprisoned, and have his Punishment decerned by the Martial Court.

The Provost-Marshal must not be resisted or hindered, in apprehending or putting Delinquents in Prison, and all Officers must assist him to this End; and if any Man shall resist, or break Prison, he shall be censured by the Court of War.

VIII.

Murder is no less unlawful and intolerable in the Time of War, than in Time of Peace, and is to be punished with Death.

Whosoever shall be found to have forced any Woman, whether he be Commander or Soldier, shall die for it without Mercy. And whosoever shall be found guilty of Adultery, or Fornication, shall be no less severely censured and punished than in the Time of Peace.

If any common Whores shall be found following the Army, if they be married Women, and run away from their Husbands, they shall be put to Death without Mercy; and, if they be unmarried, they shall be first marked by the Hangman, and thereafter by him scourged out of the Army.

Thieves and Robbers shall be punished with the like Severity. If any shall spoil, or take any Part of their Goods that die in the Army, or are killed in Service, he shall restore the double, and be further punished at Discretion. It is provided, that all their Goods be forthcoming, and be disposed of according to their Testament and Will, declared by Word or Writ before Witnesses; or, if they have made no Testament, to their Wives, Children, or neerest Kindred, according to the Laws of the Kingdom.

All shall live together as Friends and Brethren, abstaining from Words of Disgrace, Contempt, Reproach, Giving of Lyes, and all Provocation by Word or Gesture: He that faileth shall be imprisoned, for the first Fault, and, if he be incorrigible, he shall be with Shame punished, and put out of the Army.

IX.

All Soldiers shall come to their Colours, to watch, to be exercised, or to muster, with their own Arms; and, if any Soldier shall come with another Man's Arms, he shall be punished with Rigour, and the Lender shall lose his Arms. All shall come also with compleat and tight Arms, in a decent Manner, otherwise to be severely punished.

If any Man shall sell or give in Pawn his Horse, his Arms, or any Part of the Ammunition committed to him, or any Instruments, as Spades, Shovels, Picks, used in the Field, he shall for the first and second Time be beaten through the Quarter, and for the third Time be punished as for other Theft: And he that buyeth

buyeth them, or taketh them to pawn, be he Soldier or Victualler, ſhall pay the Double of the Money, beſides the Want of the Things bought or impawned, and be further puniſhed at Diſcretion.

Whoſoever, in a debauched and lewd Manner, by Cards or Dice, or by Sloth and inexcuſable Neglect, ſhall loſe his Horſe and Arms, in Whole, or in Part, to the Hinderance of the Service; and whoſoever ſhall wilfully ſpoil, or break his Arms, or any Inſtrument of War committed to him, by Cutting down of Trees, or any other Way, he ſhall ſerve as a Pioneer, till the Loſs be made up, and he furniſhed upon his own Charges.

X.

No Man on his March, or at his Lodgings, within or without the Country, upon whatſoever Pretext, ſhall take, by Violence, either Horſe, Cattle, Goods, Money, or any other Thing, leſs or more; but ſhall pay the uſual Prices for his Meat and Drink, or be furniſhed in an orderly Way upon Account, at the Sight of the Commiſſary, according to the Order given by the Committee, upon Pain of Death, without Mercy.

If any Man ſhall preſume to pull down, or ſet on Fire, any Dwelling-houſe, though a Cottage, or hew down any Fruit-trees, or to waſte or deface any Part of the Beauty of the Country, he ſhall be puniſhed moſt ſeverely, according to the Importance of the Fault.

In Marching, no Man ſhall ſtay behind without Leave: No Man ſhall ſtraggle from his Troop or Company: No Man ſhall march out of his Rank, and put others out of Order, under all higheſt Pains.

XI.

If any Colonel of Horſe or Foot ſhall keep back his Soldiers from the appointed Muſters, or ſhall lend his Soldiers to make a falſe Muſter; upon Trial in a Court-martial, he ſhall be puniſhed as a Deceiver. And if any Muſter-maſter ſhall uſe any falſe Rolls, ſhall have any Hand in falſe Muſters, or by Connivance, or any other Way be tried to be acceſſary to them, he ſhall ſuffer the like Puniſhment.

XII.

No Man ſhall preſume to do the ſmalleſt Injury to any that bring Neceſſaries to the Leager, whether by ſtealing from them, or deceiving them, or by Violence in taking their Horſe or Goods, under the Pain to be accounted and puniſhed as Enemies. No Victuallers ſhall ſell rotten Victuals, upon Pain of Impriſonment and Confiſcation, and further as they ſhall be judged to deſerve.

No Soldier ſhall provide and ſell Victuals, unleſs he be authoriſed, nor ſhall any, that ſelleth Victuals, keep in his Tent or Hutt any Soldier at unſeaſonable Hours, and forbidden Times, under Pain at Diſcretion: Likewiſe, all the Prices thereof ſhall be ſet down by the General Commiſſer, and be given to the Quarter-maſter of the ſeveral Regiments.

XIII.

No Man enrolled, profeſſing himſelf, or pretending to be a Soldier, ſhall abide in the Army, unleſs he enter in ſome Company; nor ſhall he, that hath entered, depart without Licenſe, upon Pain of Death. No Man, having Licenſe, ſhall ſtay beyond the Time appointed him, upon Pain of Loſs of his Pay during the Time of his Abſence, and further Puniſhment, at Diſcretion. If any Man, in a mutinous Way, ſhew himſelf diſcontented with the Quarter aſſigned him, he ſhall be puniſhed as a Mutineer. And, if any Man ſhall ſtay out of his Quarter, or go without Shot of Cannon, being intrenched, but one Night, without Leave of his ſuperior Officer, he ſhall be caſhiered.

All that are abſent from the Watch, after the Sign is given for the Setting thereof, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. He that revealeth or falſifieth the Watch-word given by the Officer, within the Trenches, or before the Colours: He that is taken ſleeping or drunk upon his Watch: He that cometh off the Watch before the Time, every one of thoſe ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

Whoſoever ſhall aſſemble themſelves together for Taking mutinous Counſel upon whatſoever Pretext; they all, whether Officers or Soldiers, ſhall ſuffer Death.

XIV.

Every Man, when the Alarm is given, ſhall repair ſpeedily to his Colours; no Man ſhall forſake or flee from his Colours.

No Man, in the Country, ſhall reſet them that flee.

No Man, in the Battle, ſhall throw away his Muſket, Pike, or Bandelier, all under the Pain of Death.

Whatſoever Regiment of Horſe or Foot, having charged the Enemy, ſhall draw back or flee, before they come to Stroke of Sword, ſhall anſwer for it before a Council of War; and

and whoſoever, Officer or Soldier, ſhall be found to be in the Default, they ſhall be puniſhed by Death, or ſome ſhameful Puniſhment, as the Council of War ſhall find their Cowardice to deſerve.

XV.

If it ſhall come to paſs, that the Enemy ſhall force us to Battle, and the Lord ſhall give us Victory, none ſhall kill a yielding Enemy, nor ſave him that ſtill purſueth, upon Pain of Death. Neither ſhall there be any Ranſoming of Perſons, Spoiling, Pillaging, Parting of Prey, or Waſting or Burning by Fire, or Diſbanding from their Charges, or Officers, but as the Lord General ſhall give Order upon the ſame Pain of Death.

XVI.

Every Man's Carriage ſhall be diligently obſerved, and he, according to his Merit, rewarded or puniſhed: And whatſoever Officer or Soldier ſhall take Commanders, or the Colours of the Enemy, or in the Siege of Towns, ſhall firſt enter a Breach, or ſcale the Walls, and ſhall carry himſelf dutifully in his Station, and doth his Part valiantly, in Skirmiſh or Battle, ſhall, after the laudable Example of the wiſeſt and worthieſt Kingdoms and Eſtates, have his Honour and Reward, according to his Worth and Deſerving, whether hereafter we have Peace or War.

Matters, that are clear by the Light and Law of Nature, are preſuppoſed: Things unneceſſary are paſſed over in Silence: And other Things may be judged by the common Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of War; or may, upon new Emergents, be expreſſed afterward.

Magnalia Naturæ: Or, the Philoſophers-Stone, lately expoſed to publick Sight and Sale. Being a true and exact Account of the Manner how *Wenceſlaus Seilerus*, the late famous Projection-Maker, at the Emperor's Court at *Vienna*, came by, and made away with a very great Quantity of Powder of Projection, by projecting with it before the Emperor, and a great many Witneſſes, ſelling it, &c. for ſome Years paſt. Publiſhed at the Requeſt, and for the Satisfaction of ſeveral Curious, eſpecially of Mr. *Boyle*, &c. By *John Joachim Becher*, one of the Council of the Emperor, and a Commiſſioner for the *Examen* of this Affair.

Quid igitur ingrati ſumus? Cur invidemus etſi veritas divinitatis (quæ per ea quæ ſat intelligi poteſt, Rom. i. 20.) *noſtri temporis ætate maturuit.* Minut. Felix.

London, printed by *Tho. Dawks*, his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Printer, living in *Black-Friars*. Sold alſo by *La Curtiſs*, in *Goat-Court* on *Ludgate-Hill*. 1680. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages.

The

The Tranſlator to the Reader.

THERE is no ingenious Man, that is not unacquainted with the Curioſities to be met with in the World, who hath not either ſeen ſome Tranſmutation of Metals, *or, at leaſt, heard ſo many witneſs that they have ſeen it, as to be perſuaded that there is ſuch a Thing as the* Philoſophers-Stone, *or* Powder of Projection. *Only there be ſome great Men (as his Highneſs Prince* Rupert, *who hath ſeen the Projection at* Frankfort, *in* Germany) *who ſeem to queſtion, Whether ſuch Powder or Tincture is prepared with Profit? But this Doubt is hereby now fully cleared and reſolved, from the great Quantity of this Tincture left buried by the Abbot Founder of the Church it was found in (as this Relation informs you:) For it is not credible, that the Abbot was Maſter, before he had done the Work; of ſuch immenſe Treaſure, as he muſt needs have had to draw ſo much Tincture from; which could not be extracted (if the Preparation thereof is without Profit) from a leſſer Quantity of Gold, than it gives or yields again in the Projection: So that the ſame Quantity of Gold, that it yields again, muſt have been ſpoiled to make it; which, it is not credible, an Abbot of* Germany *was Maſter of, as is ſaid. And, for the Truth of this Relation, beſides that it is atteſted by many Men of great Quality, good Parts, Probity, and Modeſty; by the Emperor himſelf; by Count* Walleſtein, *who was Reſident here, a Year ago; and, by Dr.* Becher, *at preſent, in this City: It is ſo publickly known through all Parts of* Germany, *chiefly about* Vienna, *where this was tranſacted, that to doubt, or deny it, were as abſurd, as if one denied that the* Weſt-Indies *have been found out of late Years, or that there are Ships at Sea, becauſe he hath ſeen neither.*

But, among the many remarkable Paſſages in this Relation, one Thing is moſt worthy of Obſervation, viz. *the Honeſty of Friar* Francis Preyhauſen, *who deſerves to be chronicled for his Faithfulneſs and Truth to Friar* Wenceſlaus, *the Finder of this Powder: For he wanted neither frequent Opportunities, nor ſpacious Pretences, to effect what ſome Princes could not forbear to attempt* (i. e. *to rob* Wenceſlaus *of his Powder) though without a Certainty of Succeſs; and, though he was himſelf ſure of Succeſs, for he was thrice, for a good While each Time, entruſted with the Box, and might find Excuſes enough for it, yet he not only did not yield to the Temptation of getting all, as they did; but did not ſo much as deny, purloin, or withhold the leaſt Part of the Powder from Friar* Wenceſlaus, *even when (ſeeing how he ſquandered it away) he had a good Pretence to keep back ſome for his Uſe: And might juſtly have claimed and reſerved ſome for his own Uſe alſo, not only for his Services, but for the great Dangers he had expoſed himſelf to for his Sake; thus keeping true to the End, even againſt his own Right, and ſo great a Temptation.* A faithful Man who can find? Prov. xx. 6. *But here ſuch a one is found, and that among the Friars! Whence I am glad to obſerve, That all the Friars are not quite ſo black as ſome make them; and to ſee, that among them, as well as among other Sects, ſome good Men are to be found, who make Conſcience of an Oath, and keep it, though to their Loſs. Thanks be to Friar* Francis's *Honeſty, for ſo much as we know of this whole Concern. I am ſure, that, if he had what his Honeſty deſerves, what the Emperor hath done for* Wenceſlaus, *had been beſtowed upon him; and that* Wenceſlaus *himſelf, whilſt in the Dungeon, would have ſaid, with all his Heart, that, if he ſhould do for him what he hath done, he would deſerve what he hath not had, I mean, the whole Powder: But Honeſty meets ſeldom with what it deſerves.*

THE Place where *Wenceſlaus Scilerus* (who is the main Subject of this following Diſcourſe) was born, I am not certain, whether it was at *Vienna*, yes, or no: But ſure I am he was of the *Auſtrian* Country; and his Brother did wait upon the Count of *Weiſſenwolf* the Younger. As for *Scilerus* himſelf, when he was about the twentieth Year of his Age, he was caſt into a Monaſtery of the *Auguſtine* Friars, at *Bruna* in *Moravia*; where, after his Year of Probation, he took the Habit upon him, and was admitted into the Number of Friars, though it were againſt his Will, as he afterwards confeſſed, and as the Event did make appear; for, having once made Profeſſion of the Order, he did continually ſtrive and ſtudy, how he might free himſelf from the Monaſtery; and ſeeing that could not be done without Money, and Money, in his Circumſtances, could not lawfully be obtained, he began to ſtudy an indirect Way for the Obtaining thereof; for, his Fellow Friars having often muttered to him of ſome great Treaſure hid in their Monaſtery, he had a great Deſire to find it out.

And, in Order thereunto, he did not ſcruple to learn the Magick Art, if any one had been ready to inform him therein, wherein Fortune ſeemed to favour his Deſires; for there was an old Woman, a Cow-keeper's Wife, living before the Gate of the Town and Fortreſs, who was ſkilful therein, and he came to be acquainted with her, upon this Occaſion:

The younger Monks and Students, as they were called, are allowed ſome ſet Days, every Week, to walk out of the Gates of the City, to enjoy the open Air, and to refreſh their Minds, ſuppoſed to be wearied with Study; in theſe Relaxations, one Company diſperſes itſelf here, another there, as they think fit for their Divertiſement. But Friar *Wenceſlaus*, for ſo I ſhall hereafter call him, made Uſe of this Occaſion, always to viſit the ſaid old Woman, and, upon the Pretence of drinking new Milk, to interrogate her concerning her Art. And, in a ſhort Time, he got ſo much into her Favour, as to obtain from her a ſmall Wax-ball, marked with certain Figures or Characters, which was of that Vertue, That, if it was laid upon the Ground, it would preſently run to the Place, where any Treaſure was hid: This Ball I afterwards ſaw often in his Cuſtody, and handled it with my Hands.

It happened afterwards, That, as the Cuſtom is for the old Fathers, when they grow weak, to have ſome young Friars to aſſiſt them, ſo, Friar *Wenceſlaus* was aſſigned to attend an ancient Father, who was a Cabaliſt, and a Lover of Magick, in which Studies, at any Vacancies, he ſpent his Time. He often told Friar *Wenceſlaus*, That there was a vaſt Treaſure hid in the Church of their Monaſtery; to whom, *Wenceſlaus* replied, That he had got a Ball, which, he was aſſured, had the Vertue to diſcover hidden Treaſures; and, thereupon, he ſhewed him the Ball, and the Characters impreſſed thereon, which the old Father did ſeriouſly conſider, and much valued them.

A While after, as they two were walking alone, in the Church, before Day, after Mattins, they tried the Ball, by laying it down in ſeveral Places, but found no Effect; at laſt, placing it near a certain Pillow, old and ruinous, it began to ſhew its Efficacy and Vertue, by its often running thereto: This they interpreted for a certain Indication, that the Treaſure was there hid; but, how to come at it, was the Queſtion. They had neither Leave, Means, nor Opportunity, to break down this ſtony Structure, neither did they certainly know, at what Heighth or Depth thereof, the Treaſure was laid in it. So that, upon theſe Diſcouragements, they were forced to let it alone.

But it happened afterwards, That, a great Tempeſt ariſing, the whole Church, and eſpecially this decayed Pillar, was ſo ſhaken and ſpoiled, that, to prevent its Falling down, the Abbot was neceſſitated to order it to be demoliſhed. And, in Regard the old Father, whom Friar *Wenceſlaus* attended, had Skill in Architecture, and by Reaſon of his Infirmities could not be otherwiſe ſerviceable to the Monaſtery, he was therefore appointed to overſee the Maſons; which Office he and his Aſſiſtant Friar *Wenceſlaus* did willingly undertake, and were very ſedulous in their Attendance, and Diſcharge thereof. When the Pillar was almoſt all pulled down, they found therein a Copper Box, of a reaſonable Bigneſs, which the old Father preſently ſnatched up and carried it into his Cloyſter, and immediately opened it; where, at the Top, he found a Piece of Parchment, on which, there was ſome Inſcription and Writing;

Writing; I once had a Copy of it, but I loſt it amongſt my other Letters: But this I remember, it contained the Number of the Years wherein the Church was built, and the Name of the Abbot, the Founder thereof, who had been an Envoy at *Ratiſbon*; I do alſo remember, that, amongſt other Writings, there was this Motto:

AMICE, TIBI SOLI,

Which I *Engliſh* thus:

Friend, to thyſelf alone.

Under this Parchment, there were other Letters laid, marked with Characters, which contained Directions how to multiply the Powder, as the Inſcription ſhewed; and, under them, there were four Boxes full of a red Powder.

When the Boxes were opened, Friar *Wenceſlaus* was quite out of Heart, having loſt his preconceived Hope of ſome great Treaſure therein; for he verily believed, That, if there were not old Pieces of Gold, yet ſome Diamonds, or other precious Stones, muſt have been lodged there. And finding no ſuch Thing, but four Boxes of darkiſh coloured Powder, he was ſo impatient at the Diſappointment, that, if he had been the ſole Manager of the Buſineſs, he had thrown away Boxes, Powder, and all: For, at that Time, he was ſo little acquainted with Chymiſtry, that ſo much as the Name was not known to him, and he had ſcarce heard of the Word *Tincture*.

But the old Father was not ſo tranſported, but told him, That perhaps ſome Medicinal Vertue was contained in the Powder, and that the Characters, in the annexed Papers, might poſſibly diſcover its Uſe, and therefore he was reſolved to ſtudy ſome Books, to find out what thoſe Characters meant: In the mean Time, he would carefully keep the Box.

Not long after, the old Father ſent Friar *Wenceſlaus* into the Kitchen of the Monaſtery, to ſee, if he could find an old Pewter-diſh or Plate, which was no longer fit for Uſe, and, if he could, to bring it to him; which he accordingly did, who thereupon cauſed a Coal-fire to be made, and put a Crucible into Friar *Wenceſlaus*'s Hand, to place therein: This was the firſt Chymical Operation, that ever Friar *Wenceſlaus* performed in all his Life, and for which he was ſo unfit, that he placed the Crucible upſide down, ſo that the old Father himſelf was forced to ſet it in its right Poſture. They put the Pewter-plate broken and folded together into the Crucible, which being preſently melted, the Father took out ſome of the Powder, ſo much as would lie upon the Point of a Knife, which was in one of the four Boxes, and, wrapping it in a little Wax, he caſt it into the Crucible, upon the Pewter, and commanded his Aſſiſtant Friar *Wenceſlaus* to blow up the Fire, adding theſe Words, Now I ſhall ſee, whether I have well decyphered the Characters, and whether I have found out the Uſe of this Powder.

As ſoon as ever the Powder was caſt in, the Pewter ſtood ſtill, and came to a ſudden Congelation. Then, the Fire was ſuffered to go out, and the Crucible to wax cold, which being broken, there was found a ponderous Maſs of Metal, very yellow and variegated with red Lines: Upon which, the Father made Friar *Wenceſlaus* to go out into the Town, upon Pretence of getting a Book to be bound, and wiſhed him to go to ſome Goldſmith, and ſhew him this Maſs of Metal, alledging to him, That he had ſome ancient *Roman* Coins of Gold, which he had melted down, but for Want of a ſufficient Fire, and other Defects, he had not done it exactly; and therefore he deſired the Goldſmith to melt it over again, and caſt it in an Ingot: The Goldſmith gratified him therein, and Friar *Wenceſlaus*, at the Command of the Father, took off a ſmall Piece, which he preſerved; and then aſked the Goldſmith, What the reſt was worth? Who, after he had weighed and tried it on the Touch-ſtone, did value it at twenty Ducats, which are worth two Crowns a-piece, at which Rate, Friar *Wenceſlaus* ſold it to him, and, receiving the Money, returned joyfully Home. The old Father did only deſire the remaining Portion of the Gold, which he had reſerved, but ſuffered Friar *Wenceſlaus* to enjoy the Ducats, yet, with this Advice, That he ſhould diſcover it to none in the Monaſtery.

But Friar *Wenceſlaus*, though he had not been Maſter of ſo much Money, a long Time, was not ſatisfied therewith, but entertained various Thoughts in his Mind, Whether he ſhould, by Flight, free himſelf from that Bondage and Slavery he was in, whilſt he had the Advantage of ſo much Caſh? Or elſe, Whether he ſhould ſtay ſo long there, till either, by Flattery or Craft, he had got the Copper Boxes, from the old Father? To the firſt of

theſe Cogitations, he was edged on, by the Eagerneſs of that Deſire he had, to leave the Monaſtery: But then the great Heap of Gold, which he might make with the Powder, as he well conjectured, if he could get it into his Hands, did ſomewhat abate his Fervor, and perſuade him to ſtay. For, though he was yet altogether ignorant of Chymiſtry, yet the precedent Trials had given him ſo much Light, that he was fully perſuaded, the Box contained and was worth a vaſt Treaſure; and, though at that Time, the Rareneſs of the Powder, and the Multiplication of it, had very ſmall Influence upon his Thoughts; yet, becauſe he had a Share in finding of it out, by Means of his Ball, he therefore thought that Half of it, at leaſt, did belong to him.

But there was another Thing, which more perplexed his Mind, and that was the Fear, That the old Father, either out of a Principle of Devotion, or of Vain glory, ſhould diſcover the whole Story of the Buſineſs to the Abbot, and, by that Means, ſhould make away all the Powder; and he was rather inclined to theſe Cogitations, becauſe he had obſerved, That the Father, who before had been more remiſs in Hiding the Box, now of late was ſo ſollicitous to preſerve it, that he kept it continually, in his Deſk, and ſcarce ever ſtirred from it, except when he was to go to Church with Friar *Wenceſlaus*.

Being moved with theſe Conſiderations, he was induced to demand boldly ſome Quantity of this Powder of the old Man. The Anſwer, he received, was, That he was yet too young to know how to diſpoſe of, and to keep well this Powder; beſides, he wanted no Money, whilſt he was in the Monaſtery, and, if he ſhould procure a Sum by Means of this Powder, in his preſent Condition, it would be very prejudicial both to his Soul and Body, and he might become thereby, of all Men, moſt miſerable. Moreover (proceeds the Father) this Powder may have many other Vertues and Operations, which are yet unknown both to you and me; and therefore I will farther ſtudy the Writings annexed to it, and hereafter I will be mindful of you; but at preſent I will not part with any of the Powder, only you ſhall have every Week two Crowns allowed for your Divertiſements. Thus the Father. But this fair Story ſounded not well in the Friar's Ears, who had a private Deſign, unknown to the old Father, to leave the Monaſtery.

In the Interim it happened, that, as they two were returning from Mattins, early in the Morning, the old Father complained of a Cold he had got, and a great Rheum in his Head, and deſired Friar *Wenceſlaus* to go to the Cellar, and fetch him a Cup of Sack. He did ſo, and, upon his Return, he found the Father taken with a Fit of an Apoplexy, and ſpeechleſs; whereupon, the firſt Thing he did was to find out the Key of his Deſk, and, taking from thence the Copper Box, he carried it to his own Cell, and hid it there. This being done, he rang the Bell in the Father's Cell to call up the Monks, who came flying with all Diligence to bring him ſome Remedies; but they were all too late, the Father being quite dead. Hereupon his Deſk was preſently ſealed up, and ſolemn Ceremonies, according to the Occaſion, were performed over his dead Body: But who more inwardly joyful than Friar *Wenceſlaus!* From whom Death had removed his Rival, and made him to be Maſter of the whole Treaſure.

Hereupon he began to deliberate with himſelf, how he might make his Eſcape out of the Monaſtery with moſt Safety and leaſt Suſpicion. But herein many Difficulties did accrue: He was grown a little deboiſt and prodigal by the Opportunity of the twenty Ducats abovementioned, which he had to ſpend; and, by that Means, he had incurred the Emulation of his Fellow Friars, who did urge the Prior and Superior, that, the old Father being now dead, and ſo Friar *Wenceſlaus* diſcharged from his Attendance on him, he ſhould, for the future, be bound to a ſtricter Diſcipline, both in Reference to his Studies, and alſo to his Frequenting the Church. Moreover, his Ducats were all ſpent, and no Opportunity offered to make another Trial; or, if he had, he could not have ſold the Product of it.

In this Anxiety he reſolved to open his Mind to another Monk, a Comrade of his, one Friar *Francis Preyhauſen*, that ſo they might mutually conſult together, what was beſt to be done; for, you muſt know, this Friar was intimate with Friar *Wenceſlaus*, as having entered into the College at the ſame Time, and, being alſo a young Man, was weary of a Monaſtical Life, as well as he.

Whilſt theſe Things were in Conſult, there happened a ſolemn Diſputation in the School of the Monaſtery; where among other *Theſes*, Friar *Francis*, under a Moderator, was obliged

to

to maintain, That Metals cannot be transmuted: And it chanced to be the Turn of Friar *Wenceſlaus* to be the then Opponent; but, as he had made no great Proficiency in his Studies, ſo Friar *Francis* eaſily baffled him, and expoſed him to the Laughter of the Auditory, ſo that, in a great Paſſion, he broke out into theſe Words; 'Why do you laugh? I can 'practically demonſtrate the Thing to be true.' To whom the Moderator with great Indignation anſwered, 'Hold thy Peace, thou Aſs; 'Wilt thou alſo be an Alchymiſt? I ſhall 'ſooner be able to turn thee into an Ox, than 'thou to tranſmute the Metals.' Herewith Friar *Wenceſlaus*'s Mouth was ſtopped.

When the Diſputation was over, Friar *Wenceſlaus* took Occaſion to confer with Friar *Francis*; when they two were alone together, in the Garden belonging to the Monaſtery, Friar *Francis* thus accoſted him: 'You have 'this Day publickly affirmed, in the Diſputation, That you were able to tranſmute Metals. It was unadviſedly ſpoken of you, whether it be true, or falſe: If it be true, and it 'come to the Abbot's Ear, you will not enjoy your Liberty very long. Beſides, there 'is a great Muttering in the Monaſtery, That 'the old Father and yourſelf found a Treaſure 'in the Church; and that the Maſons ſaw a 'Copper Box; and that a Monk of the *Auguſtine* Order ſold ſome Gold to a Goldſmith; and that you did take from the 'Kitchen a Pewter Plate. Moreover, the 'ſudden Death of the old Father is not without ſome Suſpicion; and, although you may 'alledge, That the Money was ſent you by 'your Friends, and it were true, that they 'did ſend you ſome, yet, it being probable, 'that ſome came another Way (for which and 'other Reflexions you will never eſcape *Scot*-'free out of the Monaſtery) it was well the 'Moderator took you for a Buffle-head. But, 'if what you have affirmed be falſe, you do ill 'again that Way, by aſſerting that which you 'are not able to demonſtrate. I do therefore 'earneſtly deſire you to declare unto me, as 'to your intimate Friend, the whole Truth 'of this Matter.'

Whereupon, Friar *Wenceſlaus* fell down at his Feet, humbly beſeeching him to ſwear not to diſcover what he ſhould reveal to him, but to afford him his Help and Aſſiſtance; and then he would diſcloſe that to him, which, upon their Stealing away from the Monaſtery, would procure great Wealth to them both, and advance them to high Dignities; and that they would equally ſhare the Happineſs between them, and run a like Hazard in all Things. In a Word, the Bargain was ſoon made, and they, without Loſs of Time, went into Friar *Francis*'s Cell, where they took their mutual Oaths one to another. And then Friar *Wenceſlaus* declared the whole Intrigue, and the Procedure thereof, to Friar *Francis*, withal deſiring him, upon the firſt Occaſion, to go into the City to buy there a Pound of Lead; which being brought to him, he changed it into Gold, obſerving the Method the old Father had obſerved before. The tranſmuted Gold was carried back by Friar *Francis* into the City, and there ſold to a *Jew* for an hundred Ducats, though it were worth more; his Pretence was, as the former, That it was melted down out of ancient Coin and Medals. Having received this Money, and thus made a ſtrict League and Friendſhip with Friar *Francis*, and the Art being now found true for the ſecond Time, they were more intent upon their Deſign of eſcaping out of the Monaſtery.

But that, which retarded their Reſolution, was the Seaſon of the Year, it being then Winter, and a very hard one too, for they well underſtood, that they could not then ſafely take ſo long a Journey, as they were to undergo, if they could by their Flight elude the Search, which would be made without Doubt, with all Diligence poſſible after them, and avoid the Puniſhment uſually inflicted upon ſuch an Occaſion. Hereupon they thought it more convenient to defer their intended Flight till the Spring following, and they were the rather induced thereunto, becauſe they found Means to paſs their Time merrily, by getting now and then a Cup of Wine, and a Couple of roaſted Pullets, which Friar *Francis*, who was well verſed in that Trade, knew well how to get, and to convey into their Chamber. But becauſe Friar *Wenceſlaus* had as great a Mind to taſte of Women's Fleſh, as of that of Poultry; and had lighted on a certain *Auſtrian* Drab, fit for his Purpoſe; he cauſed therefore ſome Man's Apparel, with a Peruke, and ſuitable Accoutrements to be made ready for her.

Having thus diſguiſed her Sex, they gave her the Name of Seignior *Anaſtaſio*, and ſhe came often to the Monaſtery, on Pretence, that ſhe came from *Vienna*, to viſit her Couſin Friar *Wenceſlaus*, pretending he was her Kinſman; this laſted

lasted a While; but the Visits of this Seignior *Anastasio* were so frequent, that at last, he was observed to come into the Monastery sometimes, and not to go out again, by Reason of his staying all Night in the Cell of Friar *Wenceslaus*, who did thus live for some Weeks in dishonest Love with him; and when he went either to the School, or to the Church, he always carefully carried his Key with him.

But a Matter of that Nature could be kept close no longer; some Rumour of it came to the Ear of the Abbot or Prior, so that one Morning, as Friar *Wenceslaus* was at Mattins before Day, the Abbot demanded of him the Key of his Cell, which he was forced to deliver, but how willingly, any one may guess. The Abbot immediately, with the Prior, and some other Monks, went to his Cell, and there found Seignior *Anastasio* naked in the Bed.

At this Sight there was a general Consternation on all Sides, none knew what Course to take; Friar *Wenceslaus*'s Mind was more in his Chamber, than in the Chapel canting out his Mattins; as for Seignior *Anastasio*, she was doubtless as much at a Loss; for to run without her Cloaths out of the Bed, before such venerable Company, was no Ways thought convenient; and as for the good Prelates, they were also uncertain how to steer. Some advised to declare to the Magistrate, that so *Anastasio* might be thrust out of the House by the secular Power; others feared that, if they took that Course, they should derogate from their Rights and Privileges; and if Seignior *Anastasio* should chance to be whipped, and to be put into the Stocks, for Dissembling her Sex, the Noise of such a Thing would affix an indelible Character of Infamy upon their Monastery.

After some Deliberation, they concluded, that presently *Anastasio* should put on her Cloaths, and after a severe Reprehension, should be ejected out of the House, in the Morning before Day. And, as for Friar *Wenceslaus*, he was called from Mattins, and shut up in his Cell, the Doors being well bolted and barred on the Outside, until four Walls were prepared to inclose him, which were already built, only something was defective in the Door, which was supplied the next Day.

Whilst this was a doing, Friar *Wenceslaus* found Opportunity to secure his Copper Box, and to gather together the Powder, and by Means of a Rope to let them both down at a Window to Friar *Francis*, who staid there on Purpose to receive them; and withal he conveyed down a Letter to him, the Contents whereof was, to desire the said Friar *Francis*, not to forsake him in his Distress, but to use his utmost Endeavour to contrive a Way for his Deliverance, withal minding him not to violate his Oath about the Powder, but to keep it safe, for as yet, to his great Comfort, it was intire.

The next Day, Friar *Wenceslaus* was kept fasting, and in the Evening, his Back was scourged with many cruel Lashes, and afterwards he was shut up close within four Walls, and for a Month fed with nothing but Bread and Water; during which Time, the Severity of the Stripes he underwent, the Disaster of of Seignior *Anastasio*, and the Hazard of the Loss of his Powder did so afflict him, that he was even ready to despair; but this did somewhat relieve him, that he carried a String with him into the Dungeon, and casting it out at the Hole, received sometimes both Letters and Victuals from his Comrade Friar *Francis*; and indeed, the desperate Condition of Friar *Wenceslaus* did so affect his Heart, that he bent all his Endeavours to excogitate Ways how to free him; at last an happy Opportunity offered itself upon this Occasion:

Prince *Charles* of *Litchtenstein* was a great Favourer of Chymistry, and he had a Steward of his House at *Bruna*, to whose Friendship Friar *Francis* had insinuated himself, and by him sent a Letter, and some of the foresaid Powder to the Prince, in which he related the lamentable Condition of Friar *Wenceslaus*, and implored his Aid for his Deliverance.

The Steward, having sent the Letter, and going to *Felisburgh* the Prince's Seat, was scarce arrived, but that the Prince bestowed upon him a more profitable Office than that which he had before, and this Message concerning Friar *Wenceslaus* was so favourably received, that he strictly injoined him to return speedily to *Bruna*, and to assist Friar *Francis* to the utmost, in Order to the Deliverance of Friar *Wenceslaus*. And to that Purpose he committed his own Seal to his Custody, to be made Use of for that End, if there were Occasion.

Thus the Steward, returning Home, did presently consult with Friar *Francis*, to deliver Friar *Wenceslaus*; and being delivered from his Prison and Cloyster, to hide and shelter him a While in the House of his Master the said Prince of *Lichtenstein*, until some convenient

Opportunity

Opportunity could be found for his Paſſage out of the Town, and for his Conveyance to the Prince of *Felisburgh*. In Order thereto Friar *Francis* took Care to provide a falſe Key, fit to open the Dungeon, which he more eaſily did, becauſe the Padlock was on the Outſide of the Door; and on a certain Day, when Mattins were ended, he brought his Project to its deſired Effect, for he opened the Door, and took out Friar *Wenceſlaus*, locking the Door again, and diſguiſing him with a Cloke, Coat, and Peruke, which he had prepared for that Purpoſe, he conveyed him, through a by Gate in the Garden of the Monaſtery, to *Liechtenſtein*'s Houſe, where he ſhut him up in a Chamber, locked the Door, and ſealed it up in two Places, with the Prince's own Seal, and a Label appendant.

The next Day when the Monaſtery's Porter, according to his Cuſtom, was carrying his Bread and Water, about Noon, to Friar *Wenceſlaus*, lo, he was not to be found! whereupon a great Tumult was raiſed in the Monaſtery, and from thence the News flew to Count *de Collebrat*, Governor of that Precinct, who preſently commanded the Gates to be ſhut, and Search to be made in all Houſes, not excepting *Liechtenſtein*'s Houſe itſelf. When they had diligently ſearched every Corner of this latter Houſe, at laſt they came to the Chamber that was ſealed up: Here the Steward of the Houſe interpoſed, and told them, that that Room was the Cloſet of the Prince, which he had ſealed up himſelf with his own Seal, and therefore it could not be opened without great Danger and Hazard of incurring his high Diſpleaſure.

Whereupon they deſiſted, and Friar *Wenceſlaus* remained hid there for ſome Weeks, until at length he found Means in a Diſguiſe to eſcape out of the Town in the Morning early, at the very firſt Opening of the Gates, and ſo was conveyed, with other Officers, in the Prince's own Coach, to *Felisburgh*. Being arrived there, he was courteouſly received and well treated by the Prince, before whom he made a notable Demonſtration of his Art.

But the Prince ſoon found, that a Man, in his Circumſtances and of his Abilities, could not be long concealed in his Court, becauſe the Abbot of *Bruna*, having ſent Spies after him, would certainly find him out, and would alſo obtain a Mandate from the ſupreme Conſiſtory at *Vienna* concerning him. Whereupon, tho', as ſome think, the Prince's Intent was to gain the whole Tincture from him, he adviſed him to go to *Rome*, and there obtain a full Diſcharge from his Monaſtical Life, and to ſecure himſelf from the Abbot, which Favour he proferred to obtain for him by Means of his Agent there: And to accommodate him for his Journey, he gave him a Bill of Exchange for 1000 Ducats, and withal provided an *Italian* his Chamberlain, to bear him Company on his Way.

But you muſt know, Friar *Wenceſlaus* had ſent away his Comrade, Friar *Francis*, who privately had made an Eſcape, to *Vienna* with the Tincture, injoining him to get him a private Lodging there, to abſcond himſelf for a While, till he could commodiouſly contrive his Journey to *Rome*.

Soon after, the *Italian* Chamberlain and he began their Journey, and, when they were about Half a Day's Journey from *Vienna*, the Chamberlain on a Sudden picked a Quarrel with him, and, holding a Piſtol to his Breaſt, threatened to kill him, unleſs he would deliver him the Tincture.

Friar *Wenceſlaus*, being thus unexpectedly aſſaulted, was much abaſhed, and, calling God to witneſs, proteſted, That the Tincture was not, for the Preſent, in his Hands, but that he had ſent it before, by his Companion, Friar *Francis*, to *Vienna*, whom the ſaid Chamberlain had himſelf ſeen to undertake that Journey a few Days before.

The Chamberlain was the rather induced to believe his Aſſeveration, becauſe, upon Search both of him and his Portmanteau, he found nothing at all of the Tincture therein. Hereupon they came to Terms between them: Friar *Wenceſlaus* was to give the Chamberlain one-hundred Ducats, and an Amneſty to be for their ſudden Falling out, and ſo they agreed, and bid one another Farewel.

The Chamberlain, being a covetous *Italian*, was glad of the Money, and Friar *Wenceſlaus* was glad to be rid of him, having eſcaped ſuch an Hazard, and being now likely to attain *Vienna*, where he arrived in the Evening of the ſame Day, and told his Companion, Friar *Francis*, what had happened to him, in every Circumſtance, upon the Way. He, being a ſubtle Man, did eaſily perceive, by his Relation, what was the Myſtery of his deſigned Journey to *Rome*, and that his Bill of Exchange was but a mere Colluſion; whereupon, they both reſolved to take another Courſe for their Safety; in Order whereto, by

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Means of a *Saxon*, whose Name was *Goritz*, a crafty Fellow, and a Clerk in the Chancery of *Bohemia*, they came acquainted with one Count *Schlick*, a Person of great Sagacity, then living at *Vienna*, a great Favourer of Chymistry, but had lately received some Affronts from the Court; he was very glad of their Acquaintance, and presently took Friar *Wenceslaus* into his Protection, and brought him to his House, where he made some Trials, and withal gave him some of the Tincture, that he himself might make one.

But, as for Friar *Francis*, he always lodged Abroad. After some Weeks, Count *Schlick* told Friar *Wenceslaus*, that he could no longer secure him after that Rate at *Vienna*, for both the Clergy, and also the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, had an ill Eye upon him, for his Sake; and, being already disfavoured at Court, he should run a further Hazard, by concealing of him; nevertheless, he would shew him what Courtesy he could, and, if he pleased, he would send him to one of his own Country-Houses and Castles in *Bohemia*, where he might remain in greater Security, and accordingly he prepared all Things for the Journey. Friar *Wenceslaus* did easily perceive the Intention of the Count, for before he had observed, that the Count's Footmen did observe him as narrowly, as the Monks had done in the Monastery, and therefore, perceiving what was to be done with him, he made his Escape through an Arch in the Wine-Cellar, built after the *Italian* Fashion, the Day before he was to go to *Bohemia* (a Place designed for his perpetual Imprisonment) and retired to the Lodging of his Friend, Friar *Francis*, to whom having related what had happened to him again, upon Deliberation, they both agreed to extricate themselves out of all these Hazards, and to acquaint the Emperor with the whole Matter.

And, to introduce them into his Presence, they knew none more fit, than a *Spanish* Count, called *de Paar* (whose Brother, named *Peter*, was hereditary Postmaster, in the Emperor's hereditary Country) he was a great Alchymist, a factious and seditious Man, and one much troubled with the Gout, yet he had found Means to creep into the Emperors's Favour; therefore this Gain, unlooked for, was no less acceptable to him, than to the others before, for he had heard, a great While before, of Friar *Wenceslaus*, and had an extreme Passion to be acquainted with him, and fancied that he should see strange Things in him, as King *Herod* did of Christ, who, first, acted the Part cunningly enough, as you shall presently hear. They agreed together, that Friar *Wenceslaus* should abide *Incognito* at his House, where he was as much observed, as at the House of Count *Schlick*.

Here he made another small Trial; whereupon Count *Paar* went to the Emperor, and discovered to him the whole Business. But his Imperial Majesty, who, by Reason of the great and weighty Concerns of the Empire, doth not only not much regard, or value Learning, as his Father did, except what contributes to his Recreation, as Plays, Musick, and the like, but also had a particular Averseness from Alchymy; holding that, for a mere Imposture, which did cost his royal Father, and his Uncle, the Archduke *Leopold*, so much Expence, both of Money and Time) gave no great Heed to the Proposition made by Count *Paar*, especially it having been related to him, that this Friar *Wenceslaus* was a fugitive Monk, and had led a dissolute Life; and moreover, by Report, was accused of Magick.

The *Spanish* Count, *Paar*, having heard this Repartee of the Emperor, being a subtle Man, and easily foreseeing those Objections would be made, had armed himself against them; upon which, he thus replied to his Imperial Majesty: 'That he did confess, that 'there was a great Weight in all the Objecti- 'ons made by his Majesty, yet, without pre- 'suming, being so mean a Person, to impose 'upon his Imperial Majesty, it seemed to him, 'that, though the Case were extraordinary, 'yet, nevertheless, the Dictates of common 'Reason were to be obeyed, which doth ad- 'vise, sometimes, to consider of Things ab- 'stracted from the Persons they concern, it 'being evident, that some Men, though ill 'in themselves, yet have been the Authors of 'useful Inventions; of which Truth, Instances 'might be given near at Hand, in Regard his 'Imperial Majesty had many notable Inventi- 'ons in his Archives, which owed their O- 'riginals to bad Men, yea, some of them ac- 'cused of the same Miscarriages, as Friar 'Wenceslaus; and since it is true, that some 'good Things are done by some bad Men, it 'being no less true, that all Men are Sinners, 'Must we therefore reject all their laudable 'Inventions, and all the good Works they do?

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'A notable Example whereof *(proceeded he)* 'lies as yet freſh before your Majeſty; *Joſeph* 'Burrhi was accuſed of Hereſy, and, being 'taken at *Vienna*, was ſent to *Rome*, but, af- 'ter Penance, he was pardoned upon the 'Score of his Knowledge, rather than of his 'Perſon, and the *Germans*, his Accuſers, were, 'by this Means, deceived; of which, I my- 'ſelf *(ſays he)* at that Time being *Burrhi*'s 'Commiſſary at *Vienna*, did forewarn them, 'but in vain. Your Majeſty *(ſaid he farther)* 'is a Perſon, with whom God ſeems to deal 'after a peculiar Manner, having wonderfully 'delivered you from many imminent Dangers, 'and now, in theſe neceſſitous and indigent 'Times, cruel Wars being alſo in Proſpect, 'your hereditary Countries being alſo ex- 'hauſted, the Divine Bounty ſeems to offer 'you a Mean and Way how you may moſt 'pity and ſpare your Subjects: It is the Devil's 'Policy to caſt Suſpicion upon all extraordi- 'nary Aſſiſtances, that ſo he may make them 'uſeleſs; but *(ſays he)* it is as great a Sin, 'not to accept of Things, when offered, as to 'abuſe them, when they are accepted. As 'for myſelf *(ſaith he)* I have no great Reaſon 'to be a Friend to Chymiſtry, having ſuf- 'fered ſo much Loſs by it, as your Imperial 'Majeſty well knows; neither did I ever find 'any Truth in the Art, ſave only in this Pow- 'der of Friar *Wenceſlaus*, and the Tranſmu- 'tation made thereby. But, as in Reference 'to that Trial, he dare pawn his Credit it 'would ſucceed, and, if his Majeſty would 'not believe his Word, yet he might depute 'ſome Perſons to ſee a Trial made; for his 'Part, he thought he was bound in Conſci- 'ence to diſcover the whole Buſineſs to his 'Majeſty, referring it wholly to him, whe- 'ther he would graciouſly accept the Propo- 'ſal, and protect the Perſon that made it, or 'elſe diſcard them both; ſtill hoping, never- 'theleſs, that his Majeſty would not take his 'good Intention in ill Part, nor exclude him 'from his Favour; wiſhing for a Concluſion, 'That he would cauſe one Trial to be made, 'under the Inſpection of ſome Perſons, un- 'prejudiced, that ſo his Imperial Majeſty 'might be ſatisfied, at leaſt, in this one 'Thing, that he had not made the Propoſi- 'tion to him without ſufficient Reaſon.' Thus he concluded his Harangue. The Emperor, as he is gracious to all Suitors, ſo he gave favourable Attention to the Count's Diſcourſe, and commended him for it: 'Only *(ſays he* 'to the Count) Alchymy is a ſubtle Impoſture, 'and, though you yourſelf may mean honeſt- 'ly, yet, perhaps, you alſo may be deceived 'thereby; otherwiſe I do not *(adds he)* at all 'deſpiſe the wonderful Works of God, but do 'highly value them, and accept of his Gift 'with all hearty Thankfulneſs; and I do well 'know how long my Father took very great 'Pains in that Art, and how highly he prized 'that little which was ſhewed him by the Ba- 'ron *Chaos*, and rewarded him for it; beſides, 'I know full well how to make a Diſtinction 'between the Art, and the Life of its Profeſ- 'ſors.' Only, leſt he ſhould expoſe him- ſelf, and ſhew himſelf too eaſy, he gave the Count Order to make another Trial, and to procure the Preſence of other ſkilful Perſons, both of the Clergy and Laity, that ſo he might make him a more exact Relation of the Mat- ter, with all the Circumſtances, and receive further Order of his Majeſty concerning it.

Count *Paar*, being returned Home from his Audience, the very ſame Day he ſent to Fa- ther *Spies* and Dr. *Becher*, to invite them to dine with him the next Day, adding theſe Words in his Meſſage, That he had a Buſi- neſs to communicate to them from the Em- peror. The next Day, they all accordingly met: Friar *Wenceſlaus* being preſent, where, after Dinner, Count *Paar* made known his Commiſſion, and forthwith cauſed an Ounce of *Schlachenwald* Tin, and a new Crucible to be bought; which Materials being prepared, and tried, and for Fear of Inchantment, *ex a- bundanti cauteta*, ſprinkled with Holy Water, the Trial began, and was finiſhed within a Quarter of an Hour; one Part tinged ten-thou- ſand Parts into Gold, which was ſo graduated by the Tincture, that it was almoſt friable, and was ſtriated and diſtinguiſhed with red Veins interſperſed; of which, as likewiſe of the Tin before it was tinged, both the Count *de Paar*, and alſo Father *Spies*, and Dr. *Be- cher*, each of them took a little Piece, for a perpetual Memorial of the Thing. The reſt was ſealed up with their three Seals, and the ſame Quantity of the Powder, this Projection was made with, was incloſed with it, and the Thing was by all three ſubſcribed to.

The next Day, Count *Paar* went to his Im- perial Majeſty, and delivered it to him, ma- king

king alſo a full Relation of all the particular Circumſtances in the Trial.

Hereupon, the Emperor injoined him to treat Friar *Wenceſlaus* kindly, and to aſſure him of his Favour; moreover, adviſing him to refrain his ill and ſcandalous Life, and to ſatisfy the Clergy, that he would reaſſume the Monaſtical Habit, and for the reſt he would take Care; and, till he had inquired further into the Thing, he would, for his Security, ſend him into ſome private Place.

The Count returned Home very joyful with this Commiſſion, and, the very ſame Evening, he cauſed Friar *Wenceſlaus* to be reveſted with his Monk's Habit by two *Engliſh* Fathers of the *Auguſtine* Order, Father *Dunoll*, and Father *Veſtaller*. A Letter was alſo writ to his Abbot at *Bruna*, informing him, that he might ſet his Mind at Reſt concerning him, becauſe he had laid aſide his Monk's Habit, and cloathed himſelf with other Apparel, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe he would free himſelf from the Hardſhip of a Priſon, and make a Journey to *Vienna*, to diſcover a great Secret, which he had, to his Imperial Majeſty; which being now done, he had again reſumed his Monk's Habit.

All this was done to perſuade him, that they meant him nothing but Good, to make him call again for all the Tincture from his Comrade, and to keep him from converſing any longer with thoſe which before were his moſt intimate Acquaintance, as counting himſelf ſufficiently ſecured againſt all Violence, by the Emperor's Protection, and his Monk's Habit: So that Count *Paar* was as a Father to him, and he, on the other Side, as his adopted Son. Theſe two new Friends undertook a Voyage together, to a Country-houſe of the Count's, adjoining to a certain Lake, which he had in *Hungary*, diſtant about a Day's Journey from *Vienna*.

Being come thither, the very ſame Night, they two being alone in a Chamber, the Count plucked out a Decree of the Emperor's, as he pretended, which was ſealed up, adding theſe Words, 'My Son, Into what 'Gulf of Miſery art thou caſt? Here I have 'a Command in Writing from the Emperor, 'to demand the Tincture of thee; and, if 'thou refuſeſt to deliver it, then, to my great 'Grief, I muſt execute upon thee the Sen-'tence contained in this ſealed Decree.'

Friar *Wenceſlaus* deſired to read the Decree; but the Count replied, 'If it be open-'ed, it muſt be immediately executed!' and, withal, plucking a Piſtol out of his Pocket, he directed it to his Breaſt, ſighing, and breaking forth in theſe Words, 'Into what Miſe-'ries are we both caſt! Yet, notwithſtand-'ing, if thou wilt hearken to my Counſel '(from whence thou mayeſt gather my Love, 'and fatherly Care, and free both of us from 'this great Misfortune, and make our Con-'dition very happy) I will give it to thee.'

Nothing was more grateful to Friar *Wenceſlaus*, than to hear this Condition; and, having given him his Hand that he would follow it,

The Count began thus: 'It is certain, 'ſaid he, that you and I do both ſtand in Need 'of the Emperor's Protection, and it is as 'certain, that we ſhall be forced to deliver 'the Tincture to him. My Advice then is, 'which I refer to you for your Approbation 'and Conſent: I will pretend, that being in-'joined to make a ſtricter Examination of 'this tinging Powder, I have employed it 'all, in order to its Multiplication, to try 'whether it might be augmented, for the 'greater Benefit and Advantage of his Ma-'jeſty. However, we may both be ſheltered 'under the Continuance of the Emperor's 'Protection, and yet we may keep the Tinc-'ture; and, after the Time deſigned for its 'Augmentation is elapſed, we will eaſily de-'viſe ſome colourable Excuſe, to evade it; 'as, that the Glaſs was broken, or ſome Er-'ror committed in the Operation. For, the 'Truth is, ſaid he, the Emperor's Court is 'not worthy ſo great a Treaſure; it will be 'proſtituted there, and made common: But, 'to engage thyſelf to me in a greater Degree 'of Faithfulneſs, thou muſt not refuſe to give 'me Half the Tincture; and we will take a 'mutual Oath to be faithful one to the other, 'as long as we live; and for what now hath 'paſſed between us, it ſhall be buried in per-'petual Oblivion. The Emperor ſhall never 'know any Thing of it, neither ſhall he e-'ver have any of the Tincture.'

Friar *Wenceſlaus* was fain to make an Agreement on thoſe Terms, which were drawn up in Writing, ſubſcribed with both their Hands, and confirmed by their mutual Oaths; and ſo the Tincture was divided betwixt them.

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The Count made a Trial by himſelf alone the next Day, with ſome of his Proportion thereof, to try whether he had not been deceived therein: But he found it right and good.

Having ſtaid a While at his Country Houſe, he was about to return to *Vienna*; but he was taken ſo grievouſly ſick of the Gout, that, out of the intolerable Torment which he felt, he drank ſome *Aurum Potabile*, which *Burrhi* had given him heretofore; but with this Caution, that it was not yet perfect. Having taſted a few Drops thereof, he preſently felt a moſt grievous and vehement Pain in his Joints, ſo that he could hardly perform his Journey with Friar *Wenceſlaus*, to *Vienna*. But, the firſt Night after his Coming, he was ſo afflicted with Heat, that all his Intrails ſeemed to be on a Flame, as he complained himſelf. The Day following, his Phyſician, the Son of Dr. *Sorbat*, whoſe Name was *Kreiſſet*, who was alſo Phyſician to the Emperor's Army, was ſent for, who, conſidering his preſent Condition, applied the propereſt Remedies he could, which availed him nothing; but bad Symptoms did ſo grow upon him, that, the third Day, his Caſe was judged deſperate.

The Count himſelf, alſo, being ſenſible of his Death approaching, cauſed his Brother, the Maſter of the Poſt-Office to the Emperor, Count *Peter de Paar*, his only Heir, for the ſick Brother was a Batchelor, to be ſent for about Night: To whom he ſpoke in theſe Words:

'It was foretold to me, heretofore, in *Italy*, that I ſhould obtain the Tincture, and 'that ſoon after, I ſhould die! The firſt Part 'of the Prophecy is fulfilled, and the latter 'is near at Hand to be accompliſhed; I 'know, that you have beſtowed as much 'Time and Expence in this Art, as myſelf: 'I have nothing more valuable to leave 'you, and nothing can be more acceptable 'to you, than a notable Portion of Tincture, 'which I have ſealed up in this Deſk, and 'ſhall entruſt it in the Hand of my Confeſſor, who, upon my Deceaſe, ſhall deliver 'it to you.'

After which Words, he delivered the Deſk to his Confeſſor, who was preſent, and heard him ſpeak them. Count *Peter*, not imagining his Brother was ſo near his End, took his Leave of him for that Night, and rode Home, becauſe it was very late. And, his Brother ſoon after departing this Life, his Confeſſor alſo took Coach, and went Home to the Monaſtery of St. *Francis*, not far diſtant from the Imperial Poſt-Office at *Vienna*: The Death of the deceaſed Count being ſignified to his Brother, by his Footmen, who had accompanied the Confeſſor Home.

The Count immediately roſe out of his Bed, being but newly entered thereinto, and, cloathing himſelf, galloped, at Two o'Clock in the Morning, to the Monaſtery of the *Franciſcans*; and, after he had knocked fiercely at the Gate for Admittance, the drowſy Porter aroſe, and let him in; the Count deſired to be admitted to the Speech of the Confeſſor of his newly deceaſed Brother; but it was replied, It was an unſeaſonable Time for ſuch a Viſit, in regard the old Man was weak, and weary, and being newly returned Home, was laid down to Reſt. The Count was not ſatisfied with this Anſwer; but was very earneſt with the Porter, to accompany him, and ſome of his Attendants, to the old Father's Cell: He making Excuſes, the Count ruſhed in preſently himſelf, and awaked him, demanding the Deſk which his Brother had depoſited in his Hands, as now rightfully belonging unto him.

The Father was much ſurpriſed at his ſudden Irruption and Demand; which he did the more ſuſpect, becauſe it was made at ſuch an unſeaſonable Time of the Night: Whereupon he deſired the Count to hold himſelf contented till the Morning, and then he ſhould have the Deſk delivered unto him without Fail; only he deſired to deliver it in before the Father Guardian, and that he would then give him his Acquittance for the Receipt thereof. The Count, not content with this Anſwer, by the Help of his Attendants and Servants, endeavoured to get it from him by Force:

Whereupon a Tumult aroſe; the Watch was ſent for, the Monks were alſo gathered together, and a *Spaniſh* Biſhop of the ſame Order, the Confeſſor of the Empreſs *Margaret*, then lodging in the Monaſtery, was alſo rouſed out of his Sleep, who hearing ſuch a tumultuous Noiſe in the Monaſtery, a privileged Place, was ſo much concerned thereat, that he enquired into the Occaſion, whilſt the Count was yet preſent; and underſtanding that it aroſe, upon the Score of a ſealed Deſk, he demanded it of the Father, who had it in

Keeping; which having received from him, the next Morning he carried it with him to the Emperor, and complained grievously againſt the Count, as being the Occaſion of that Night's Uproar: In the mean Time, as ſoon as it was Day, the Noiſe hereof was ſpread all over the City, and, among the reſt, it reached the Ears of Friar *Wenceſlaus*, who preſently went to Court, and, by Means of the Empreſs's Confeſſor, obtained Audience; he related to the Emperor the whole Story, how the Count had uſed him in *Hungary*; how he had extorted from him Half the Tincture; how he was neceſſitated, by a forced Agreement, not to diſcover any Thing thereof, whilſt he was living, but was now free from the Obligation of his Oath, by the Count's Death; that he was very glad that the Tincture was at length come into the Hands of the right Owner, his Imperial Majeſty, for whom he had long before deſigned it; he did therefore now implore nothing more of his Imperial Majeſty, but that he would afford him his Protection, againſt the Violence of Count *Peter Paar*, his Poſt-maſter, and his Adherents.

The Emperor, perceiving the wonderful Series of this Affair, preſently entertained Friar *Winceſlaus* at his Court, and committed him to the Care and Inſpection of Count *Walleſtein*, the Imperial Governor of *Hatſchirr*.

About this Time, the Poſt-maſter abovementioned died alſo. Friar *Wenceſlaus*, being thus received into the Emperor's Protection, had his Lodgings aſſigned him by the Imperial *Bowling-green*, where he made ſome Trials before the Emperor and Count *Auſtin* of *Walleſtein*, his Guardian; and, in the Palace of the *Johannites* in the *Corinthian-ſtreet*, he made one of fifteen Marks, as they ſay, out of which Tranſmutations the Count *Walleſtein* made him a Gold Chain, to keep in perpetual Memory of the Thing. Moreover, he had depoſited ſome of his Tincture in the Court, for Augmentation, and, as far as I can judge, by the Proceſs delivered to me, he had a great Deſire to get the Mercury of Silver; how far he proceeded in it, I do not certainly know, but ſome affirm, that he had made ſome Progreſs therein.

In the mean Time, he both deſired to be acquainted with ſome noted Chymiſts and eminent Artiſts, and ſeveral Impoſtors and Sophiſters intruded themſelves into his Acquaintance; ſo that from thence reſulted very frequent Junketings, Drinkings, and merry Meetings, and many fooliſh trifling Proceſſes wrought by him, from whence Friar *Wenceſlaus* learned rather ſeveral cunning and ſubtle Impoſtures, than any real Augmentation of his Powder: But, the Noiſe and Multitude of ſo many importunate Viſitants being cumberſome at Court, where Friar *Wenceſlaus* had his Diet, under the ſevere Inſpection of Count *Walleſtein*, he thereupon pretended, that he had Occaſion to make ſome Sorts of *Aqua Fortis* and other *Menſtruums*, which would be dangerous to the whole Court, and cauſe ſuch noiſome Fumes and odious Smell, that they could not ſafely be prepared in that Place; therefore a Laboratory was built for him in the *Carinthian* Fort, where the Emperor's chief Engineer did dwell; his Name was *Fiſcher*, a great Lover of Alchymy, and who ſhewed himſelf very officious to him, aſſiſting him to build ſtrange and moſt nonſenſical Furnaces which can ever be ſeen; and beſides, being not a little pleaſed with his good Fortune of the Neighbourhood and Acquaintance of the Owner of ſo rich a Tincture; but this Intimacy laſted not long, as the Event ſoon made appear; for, when Friar *Wenceſlaus* had ſcarcely well fixed his Habitation, and ſettled his Things in Order, the Engineer was forced to leave the ſplendid Dwelling there aſſigned him by the Emperor, and to go to *Javarin* in *Hungary*, to dwell there, his Wife alſo, as ſome give out, being vitiated into the Bargain: Friar *Wenceſlaus* alſo fell very ſick, and he, that waited upon him in his Chamber, died ſuddenly, not without ſome Suſpicion of Poiſon, and he himſelf alſo lay without any Hopes of Recovery: In this Caſe, *J. A. C. P. C. L. de S.* who before had bought ſome of the Tincture of him, and had paid him for it a thouſand Ducats, deſigning to take this Opportunity of his Illneſs, and Deceaſe ſo apparent, and ſo to get and enjoy his Tincture without Money, ſent to him one *Billot*, a *French* Phyſician, to ſteal from him, under Pretence of a Viſit, both the ſaid thouſand Ducats, and the reſt of the Tincture: Fortune did favour him, as to the firſt Part of his Deſign, but in the latter ſhe did fail and diſappoint him, for Friar *Wenceſlaus* had hid his Tincture more carefully than his thouſand Ducats: At laſt, the ſick Man, contrary to all Men's Expectation, began to recover, and Friar *Francis*, who was ſent to *Rome* to obtain a Diſpenſation for him, to abſolve him

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from his Vow, having obtained the ſame, returned Home; whereupon, preſently Friar *Wenceſlaus*, laying aſide his Monk's Habit, took a Wife and was married publickly to one named *Angerlee*, who had miniſtered to him in his Sickneſs, and had otherwiſe been very aſſiſtant to him when he wanted her; ſhe was a very ſubtle and crafty Woman, yet accounted at *Vienna* but little better than a common Harlot; and ſhe was the worſe thought on, becauſe her Siſter had been naught with *B. D. L.* and, by his Advice and Aſſiſtance, had cauſed her Huſband to be made away, for which Fact, he the ſaid *B. D. L.* was ſentenced to Death; but, though afterwards pardoned by the Emperor, yet was deprived of all his Dignities, degraded of his Nobility, and caſt into perpetual Priſon in the Citadel of *Gratz*, where he died miſerably; and his Whore, Friar *Wenceſlaus*'s Wife's Siſter, was the ſame Day to be beheaded in open Court, before the *Judgment-Hall*, the Scaffold, and all the reſt, being already prepared, but, by the Interceſſion of the Wife of *Caſtell Rodrigo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, ſhe was ſet free; yet, afterwards, upon the Account of her lewd Life, and diſhoneſt Practices, ſhe was killed with a Piſtol-ſhot.

Friar *Wenceſlaus*, being linked by Marriage into ſuch a Family, did then fancy for a Time, That all the Elements did conſpire together to make him happy: For why? He was viſited by Perſons of the higheſt Rank, and withal was mightily reſpected by the moſt eminent Ladies, Counteſſes, and Princeſſes. As for me, as Spectator of this Scene, I conſidered him in this Fool's Paradiſe; whilſt it put me in Mind of *Cornelius Agrippa*, who, in his Book of the *Vanity of Sciences*, under the Title of *Alchymy*, ſays, *That, if he ſhould be Maſter of the Tincture, he would ſpend it all in Whoring; for, Women being naturally covetous, he could thereby eaſily make them to proſtitute themſelves, and to yield unto his Luſt.*

And it ſeems, that not only Friar *Wenceſlaus* was ſo mighty a Proficient, and ſo ſtout a Soldier in the School of *Venus*, that he was brought very low by the *French* Diſeaſe, but alſo that his Wife *Angerlee* died of it. After whoſe Deceaſe, Friar *Wenceſlaus* exceeded all Bounds of honeſt Modeſty, and daily let looſe the Reins to all ſinful and voluptuous Exceſſes; for, from that Time he obtained the Tincture, he ſpent in two or three Years Time more than ten Myriads of Crowns, in all Manner of Luxury; and he ſaw well enough, that it could not laſt and ſubſiſt long at that Rate; for the Tincture would not maintain him: And to turn it into Gold, or ſell it for a ſmall Price, would turn to no Account, as he had always hoped it would by Augmentation, and thereby to gain an inexhauſtible Treaſure.

But, on the one Hand, his Want and Neceſſity was ſuch, and, on the other, the Sollicitings of thoſe, who would buy of his Powder, were ſo importunate, that he could not reſiſt ſo great Temptations: And therefore, between both, he reſolved upon a diſhoneſt Shift, which was, to ſell for great Rates powdered Cinnabar, Red Lead, and the *Caput Mortuum* of *Aqua Fortis* boiled, and ſuch other Ingredients, inſtead of the true Powder, mixing alſo therewith ſome few Filings of Copper, that fooliſh ignorant People might miſtake the ſame for a Gold-making Powder; to ſome he ſold it without any ſuch cozening Addition as Copper: And, if they were not able to tinge with it, he would lay the Blame on their Impatience and Unſkilfulneſs in making the Projection. To others, he pawned ſome of his counterfeit Tincture for a great Sum of Money, which he pretended, he had a preſent Uſe for; but he was loath to ſpend his Tincture in Projecting, becauſe he hoped to augment it with a thouſand Fold Advantage: And, that they might ſee the Tincture was genuine and true, he took ſome of it and wrapped it up in a little Wax, with which he mingled a little of his right Tincture, which he called his *Crocus*, or Powder of Reduction, and ſo tinged therewith.

By this Means, he got very many Thouſands of Crowns, and, over and above, he got *P. C. de L.* and *C. L.* to be his Aſſiſtants and Partners in theſe Myſteries. But the imprudent Sort, amongſt which, *A. C. P.* and his Couſin *C. B.* are to be reckoned, he gave them whole Ingots which he had caſt, conſiſting of equal Parts of Gold and Silver; then filing ſome of them, and diſſolving it into common *Aqua Fortis*, which he brought with him, he affirmed, that now his Tincture was exalted into a *Menſtruum*, which would preſently change Silver into Gold; and that, as ſoon as ever the Price or Value, which was to be paid for its Purchaſe, ſhould be put thereto, it would be converted into Gold.

It hath been alſo further related to me, that he grew to that Degree of Impudence, as to tinge ſome Sort of Coins, after this Manner, into Gold, before the Empreſs Dowager and the

the Emperor himſelf. Yea, this Fellow was ſo arrogant, as to cauſe his own Effigies to be drawn on ſome of thoſe falſe Coins which he did attempt deceitfully to put off.

Yet this Matter could not be kept ſo ſecret, but the more prudent began to ſmell the Cheat, and to mutter ſomething about it; which was very ill taken in the Emperor's Court. For he was in ſuch Credit there, that it was not ſafe to impeach him, as being received into the Emperor's Protection, both againſt the Clergy and the Secular Power, and even againſt the ſkilful in the ſame Art. For great Men are loth to acknowledge their Error, but think themſelves, though under a Miſtake, to be as infallible as the Pope himſelf.

Thoſe, who were not much concerned in the Matter, ſuffered it ſo to paſs, as taking little Notice of it; but ſome true Philoſophers were very much aggrieved, that ſo infamous an Impoſtor, after ſo many Vows and Proteſtations made by him to the contrary, and after ſuch evident Proofs of his former debauched Life; after ſo many villainous Crimes committed, and his baſe Proſtitution openly of ſo noble an Art of Chymiſtry; ſhould yet, notwithſtanding that he ranted it up and down in his Coach in Maſquerades, before the Emperor's Court, be maintained and protected by him. But others, who had been couſened by him of great Sums of Money, even to many thouſand Ducats, with his adulterate Tincture, could not ſo reſt ſatisfied, but brought in their Actions againſt him at Common Law: Where, after ſome Time and much Expence, they obtained Judgment againſt him, but it never was put in Execution, though all other Means were tried.

Now the Emperor, unleſs he would have left his Favourite *Wenceſlaus* to the Juriſdiction and Power of his Judges, and Rigour of the Law, muſt needs interpoſe; for the Complaints, made againſt him for his inſolent and abuſive Practices, were ſo many, and the Fame of them was ſpread ſo far abroad in the World, that his Imperial Majeſty thought it more convenient to have the Noiſe of it altogether ſuppreſſed.

To be ſhort, the Emperor paid all his Debts, and, that he might prevent his farther Opportunity of Couſenage, he got from him the reſt of his Tincture, and then advanced him to the moſt ancient Order of Barony in *Bohemia*, by the Title of Baron *Seyler* of *Seylerburgh*, and afterwards made him Hereditary Maſter of the Mint of *Bohemia*: And, having thus preferred him, he ſent him away from his Court to *Prague*, where he now lives very gallantly, and hath made Friar *Francis* the Steward of his Houſe: Having married a ſecond Wife, called *Waldes Kircheriana*, a handſome Woman, and of a noble Family.

In the mean Time, a Rumour was ſpread all over *Germany*, That the Devil had carried him away Soul and Body. Which Report, though it might have ſome good Grounds, yet, for this Time, it was not true: But he hath very great Reaſon to fear that it may prove true, at laſt, if he doth not amend his Life; and the Event thereof we muſt expect.

I have deſcribed the Series of this Story, both to vindicate the Truth, and alſo to ſatisfy ſo many Curious, who have deſpicable Thoughts of Chymiſtry. If I have miſtaken in any Paſſage, Friar *Wenceſlaus* is yet alive, and I earneſtly deſire him to amend and rectify my Miſtakes, and to vindicate himſelf, by giving the World a more exact Account thereof, that he may no longer lie under any unjuſt Reflexion.

For a Concluſion; I heartily wiſh, that, if God ſhould bleſs any Lover of this noble Art, with ſuch-like Treaſure, he would uſe it better than *Wenceſlaus* hath done; for the Glory of God, the Benefit and Advantage of his Neighbour, and the Furtherance of his own everlaſting Salvation.

Ovatio Carolina, The Triumph of King *Charles*: Or, the triumphant Manner and Order of receiving his Majeſty into his City of *London*, on *Thurſday* the Twenty-fifth Day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1641, upon his ſafe and happy Return from *Scotland*. With Mr. Recorder's Speech to his Majeſty; and his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer. *London*, printed by *A. N.* 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages.

Cives Londinenſes, *Illuſtriſſimi Regis* Caroli *è* Scotia *Reditum, ſic gratulantur.*

PRincipis Adventus *Caroli*, vel gratior Urbi
Quis dicat; *Carolus* vel mage gratus erat?
Gratia grata mage eſt, veniens e Principis ore:
Noſtra ſoluta facit Debita, grata minus.
Nec tamen ingratos nos reddit: Vota ſuperſunt,
Ut creſcat *Caroli* Gratia, noſter Amor.

London, *To the King.*

THanks, *mighty Sir, that you would gracious be,*
To accept the poor great Zeal, of mine, and me.
I entertain'd you not: Where e'er you go,
All elſe are but Spectators, not the Show.
I do not envy now the Empreſs Rome,
When her great Cæſars *rode triumphant Home:*
Nor wiſh her Hills, but when you abſent are
To ſee your long'd for Coming from afar.
But go no more, leave me no more, with Fears,
And loyal Grief, to ſpend my Thames *in Tears.*
Your next Return may ſome due Honour miſs,
I ſhall not then have done my Joy for this.

London, To the Queen.

WHEN *you were pleas'd, great Queen, my Streets to view,*
I then myſelf the Queen of Cities grew:
And did exceed all other Towns as far
Almoſt, as you above all Women are.

So

So full and boundleſs was the Pleaſure here,
To ſee my King your Husband but appear,
That nothing elſe had Power, but your bleſs'd Sight,
To add one Joy beſides, to the Delight.
Methinks, when ſuch a glorious Pair I ſee,
Some Gods are come, to make a Heav'n of me.
Only your Womb can greater Wonders do,
That, after Death, will ſhew you both a-new.

THAT Princes have been oftentimes received in a Triumphant Manner, by their Subjects, either after the Subduing of a Nation by Force of Arms, or the quiet Pacification of a People, without Blood-ſhed, is a Thing not novel; none but they that are not verſed at all, in the ancient Monuments of Time, are ignorant of it.

The *Roman* Stories, to omit others, tell us, that they had two Sorts of Triumphs, in Uſe among them; one for thoſe of the firſt Kind, wherein they led their principal Enemies captived in Chains, and theſe Conquerors were received by the People, with Muſical Inſtruments of War, they themſelves being crowned with Laurel, and ſacrificing *Taurum*, a Bull, the Emblem of Blood, together with ſome of the Chief Captives: The other Sort were entertained with Muſical Inſtruments of Peace and Feaſting, being crowned with Myrtle, and Sacrificing *(Ovem)* a Sheep, the Hieroglyphick of Peace, whence this Triumph was called *Ovatio:* And though with them, being Heathen, this was called *Triumphus minor*, the leſſer Triumph, and ſo by them reputed; yet, with us Chriſtians, who ſerve and worſhip the Prince of Peace, it is, and ought to be, accounted *Major*, the greater and more honourable.

Our own Stories can report unto us, that this Triumphant Reception of our Princes hath been frequent in Uſe amongſt us. And our own Memories may inform us, that upon ordinary Occaſions, even upon their Removal from one Houſe of theirs to another, and that annually, ſolemn Attendance upon them, by the Citizens of *London*, hath been in Practice, to expreſs their Love, and hearty Affections to them.

No Marvel then, if upon ſo happy an Expedition, and ſafe Return of our Royal King, the City of *London*, his Majeſty's Royal Chamber, ſhould expreſs its Joy in ſo ſolemn and dutiful a Manner, as lately it hath done. Were it only in Regard of his Majeſty's great Wiſdom and Moderation, in compoſing an unnatural War, and ſettling a Peace between two of his own Kingdoms without Expence of Blood, it had been Warrant ſufficient, for the Erecting of Trophies to his Majeſty's perpetual Memory, and to have received him, with all the Honour could be deviſed: But if we ſhall add to this the Removal of their juſt Fears, and the Reviving of their dejected Spirits, by his ſafe and happy Return; no Man, but will conclude, That the Citizens of *London* have done Nothing more, if not far leſs, than by Duty they were bound; and if they had not performed what they did, the very Stones in the Streets would have proclaimed to the World their Ingratitude to God, and his Majeſty.

For, certainly, much dejected we have been, yea, altogether heartleſs, ſince the Rays of his Majeſty, our great Luminary, were overclouded by his Abſence from us. To uſe one Prophet's Words, in another Caſe: Did not our Hearts go along with him? Yes, and tarried with him too; inſomuch that we have remained, as it were, without them, ever ſince his Majeſty's Departure, and have ſeemed like dead Men.

And indeed, how could we be in better Caſe? For, if another Prophet could ſay, in the Caſe of King *Joſias*, *Spiritus Oris, the Breath of our Noſtrils, is departed from us*; How could we, during the Time of his Majeſty's Abſence, but ſay the like? And, if breathleſs, we could not be but lifeleſs, ſure.

But the now joyful, happy, and comfortable Return of the Sun into our Horizon hath reſtored our Hearts, and revived us: And, if this Return had Nothing concomitant with it, yet had it been ſufficient of itſelf to reduce us to our priſtine Eſtate; but that it entered, and that into our particular Orb, accompanied with that other Luminary, which by the Interpoſition of the Earth, between the other great

Light

Light and her, hath, if it may not be ſaid, been eclipſed, yet not vouchſafed that Splendor, we had in former Times by her, in our Hemiſphere, we are not only fully recovered, but much more Strength and Vigour is added to us, than formerly we had.

This Grace and Favour of their Majeſties to us, in particular, and this great Bleſſing of God, upon all good Subjects in general, for this happy Peace, and ſafe Return, is not to be paralleled in any Hiſtory; it is *Exemplar ſine exemplo*, a Sampler not to be patterned: And, therefore, no Praiſe to God, nor Thanks nor obedient Service to his Majeſty, can be ſufficient to expreſs it.

By this little, though much more might be ſaid, it may be hoped, that the Mouths of all Paſquillers may be ſtopped. For, if the Heathen could honour their Princes, ſometimes upon ridiculous Expeditions, only becauſe they were their Princes, as we read of that for *Caligula*, who returned to *Rome* in Triumph, having only gathered Cockle-ſhells, near our Coaſt, How much more ſtand we bound to manifeſt our Affections, in Honour of our gracious Sovereign, not only for this great and Princely Work of his, in Settling Peace and Unity between his People, by Manſuetude and Mildneſs, but for Vouchſafing this ſeaſonable and timely Viſit in his Return, to this his dejected City.

What remaineth then? But that this mutual Act of Love between his Majeſty and the City, occaſioned as aforeſaid, be kept in perpetual Memory? Had not Things of this Nature been formerly recorded for Poſterity, we might have wanted a Precedent, and this might have been accounted, as ſome Things in theſe Times are, an Innovation.

That, therefore, we may do no leſs for ſucceeding Times, than former have done for us, we ſhall deſcribe the Particulars of this Day's great Work: That is, the bounden Duty and Service to his Majeſty, by his loyal Subjects the Citizens of *London*, and the Honour returned by his Majeſty for it.

Which, for the more clear Apprehenſion of thoſe which were not Spectators of it, we ſhall ſet down in this Method:

1. The Preparation before the Day.
2. The Day's Work, or Entertainment in itſelf.
3. What occurred after, yet having Relation to the Work of the Day.

The Preparation.

THE Orator, long ſince, hath told us, that *in rebus magnis, memoriaque dignis, conſilia primum, deinde acta ſpectantur*; In great Matters, worthy of perpetual Memory, we are to conſult, before we act. And the Reaſon for this is given by another, *Quicquid diligenter prævidetur, cum ad rem agendam perventum fuerit, facilius ſuperatur*; Whatſoever is carefully thought upon, before-hand, is with more Eaſe effected, when it comes to Execution. And therefore, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and the reſt of the grave Senate of the City of *London*, the Aldermen his Brethren, being advertiſed, That his Majeſty, in his happy Return from *Scotland*, would graciouſly condeſcend to paſs through the City, with his Royal Conſort the Queen, the Prince, and others of the Princely Iſſue, at a Court among themſelves, took into their Conſideration, how to give Entertainment, fit for his Majeſty's gracious Acceptance. And, thereupon, they ſelected a Committee of ſix Aldermen, and twelve Commoners, who ſhould meet, conſult, and order, what they in their Diſcretions ſhould think fit, to conduce to the Honour of the City, and the Acceptance of his Majeſty; yet, before theſe Committees ſhould effect any Thing herein, it was thought requiſite to aſſemble a Common Council, as well to underſtand the Affections of the Commons, as to confirm thoſe Committees, choſen by the Lord Mayor and Court, as aforeſaid.

The Matter, being propounded there, was entertained with an unanimous Conſent, and general Approbation, and the before-mentioned Committees were by the Court confirmed; who, thereupon, met daily, bending all their Thoughts, how to ſatisfy the Truſt impoſed on them; and, calling before them the Officers of the City, directed them, what they ſhould do, charging them to leave Nothing undone, which either Art, Labour, or Coſt, in ſo ſhort a Time, could compaſs.

More particularly, in the firſt Place, their eſpecial Care was, to give Order, as well to the Steward, Cook, Butler, and Confectioner, to make ſpeedy Proviſion of all Things, fit for the Royal Feaſting of their Majeſties, and their

Princely Train; as to the Officers of the City Works, that the *Guildhall* might be prepared, and made ready, for the due and reſpective Receiving of them.

The next was, That Precepts might be ſpeedily directed to the ſeveral Societies and Companies of the City, that, againſt the Day their Majeſties ſhould come, there ſhould be ſome of the prime Men choſen out of their Liveries, that ſhould be in Readineſs, to attend the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their beſt Array, either Velvet, Pluſh, or Sattin, and Chains of Gold, upon good Horſes, well appointed, and each Rider to have a Footman, to attend him, to meet their Majeſties, and conduct them, firſt to *Guildhall*, and afterwards to his Majeſty's Royal Palace of *Whitehall*. As alſo, that, out of the Reſidue of their Companies, ſome ſhould be appointed to wait in their ſeveral Standings in their Liveries, from their Majeſties Entrance into the City, to *Temple-Bar*, to which Purpoſe, the Committee gave Order and Directions, where every ſeveral Company's Standings ſhould be ſet up. And laſtly, that others ſhould be nominated, to attend in the *Guildhall* upon their Majeſties, in their Liveries and Foins likewiſe, from the Time of their Coming thither, to their Departure thence.

Another Care of the Committee was, that, the Way, from *Kingſland* to *Shoreditch*, being impaſſable for their Majeſties, in Regard of the Depth and Foulneſs of it, a Way might be prepared from thence, to that Place of the City, where their Majeſties ſhould enter, as might not be only fair and clean, but as pleaſant alſo and delightful, as the Seaſon of the Year would permit; and that the Streets, all the Way they ſhould paſs, might be paved, where Need was, and made ſweet and clean.

And, becauſe ſome ſeditious Libels were at that Time diſperſed, which bred a Panick Fear in ſome, Order was likewiſe taken, that there ſhould be two Companies of the City's trained Bands, placed in ſeveral Parts of the City upon that Day; as alſo, that at every Door a Man ſhould be placed, ſufficiently appointed, to be ready upon all Occaſions, to appeaſe any Diſorders.

Laſtly, Out of the ſaid Committee, two of the City Captains were deſigned as Chief Marſhals for the Day, to have the Command over the other three Marſhals, that were Officers of the Chamber, and to order, direct, and marſhal the Horſemen. As alſo four others of the Committee were appointed as Comptrollers of the Houſe, to whom all inferior Officers ſhould have Recourſe upon any Occaſion, and to direct and order the Liveries, which were to attend upon their Majeſties Service, and generally to diſpoſe all other Things, conducing to the Entertainment in *Guildhall*.

And thus much briefly for the Preparation.

Now for the Entertainment itſelf.

UPON *Thurſday*, being the five and twentieth of *November*, 1641, the Knights of the Grey Cloke, Maſter Recorder, the reſt of the Aldermen, City Council, and chief Officers, as Town-Clerk, Common Serjeant, and Remembrancer, attended the Lord Mayor, at his Lordſhip's Houſe in the *Old Jury*, by Eight of the Clock in the Morning; from whence, they advanced through the City, to *Moor-Gate*, in this Manner: The Lord Mayor (having the Sword-bearer and two Mace-bearers before him on Horſeback, and on Foot-cloths, and two Footmen in black Velvet Coats, on each Side one; his Lordſhip wearing a Gown of Crimſon Velvet, and a Collar of S's) rode in the Front; the Knights aforenamed, Maſter Recorder, and the Aldermen following, according to their Seniority, two by two, in Scarlet Gowns, attended by two Footmen a-piece, ſuited in the City Colours, each of which Footmen being appointed to carry a Truncheon in his Hand for the Forenoon, and two Torches for the Afternoon. Next to them, followed the City Council, and Chief Officers in black Gowns, upon Foot-cloths, each of them having a Footman going by them ſuited, and fitted as aforeſaid.

In this Equipage they paſſed through the City, from his Lordſhip's Houſe to *Moorfields*, where there waited in a Readineſs to attend his Lordſhip, and the Service, about five-hundred Horſemen, ſelected out of the Liveries of the ſeveral Companies of the City, being the Maſters, Wardens, and prime Men of each Company, in Velvet or Pluſh Coats and Suits, with Chains of Gold, and being well horſed, and gallantly furniſhed: Every Company having a Horſeman in the Front, carrying a Pendant with that Company's Arms to which he did belong, for Diſtinction's Sake, and a Footman to attend each Horſeman of the Livery, with

Truncheons

Truncheons and Torches, as before: Both Horſemen, with Pendants, and Footmen, being ſuited *Cap-a-pe* with the Company's Colours on which they waited. There were alſo fourteen Trumpeters, with Trumpets, Banners, and Scarfs, who were placed two between every Hundred of the Horſe, and four at the Head of the Troop.

The Lord Mayor, being thus attended, rode on with the Knights, Maſter Recorder, the Aldermen, City Council, and chief Officers, as before, and after them the five-hundred Horſemen, according to the ſeveral Ranks of the Companies; the Lord Mayor's Company, the Clothworkers, being foremoſt, then the Mercers, and the reſt according to their Order.

They all advanced in comely Manner, through the Fields (the Banks being caſt down, and Bridges, of fourteen Feet wide, being made over the Ditches, for better and more ſecure Paſſage) till they came beyond *Balmes*, a Retiring-houſe of Sir *George Whitmore's*, in the Fields next adjoining to *Kingſland*. The Night before being rainy, and the Morning gloomy and cloudy, the Lord Mayor commanded his Tent to be pitched in the Field, where his Lordſhip, the Knights, Maſter Recorder, and the Aldermen, were to attend their Majeſties. In the Tent were Seats and Forms, where his Lordſhip and ſome of the Nobility repoſed themſelves, till their Majeſties came.

In the mean Time, the two Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, attended by ſeventy-two Men in Scarlet Clokes trimmed with Silver Lace (the Colours of the City) with Javelins and Feathers, and four Trumpeters, rode as far as *Stamford-Hill*, between *Newington* and *Tottenham*; where they ſtayed, while their Majeſties came from *Theobalds*, where they lay the Night before, who (after they had done their reſpective Duties, and kiſſed their Majeſties Hands) conducted them to the Field where the Lord Mayor, the Nobility, and Aldermen, waited for them.

His Majeſty came into the Field about Ten of the Clock, in a Coach, he ſitting on the right Side of it, and her Majeſty on his Right-Hand, the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and the Princeſs *Mary*, being within the Coach, and the Prince Elector *Palatine*, and the Ducheſs of *Richmond*, ſitting on the other Side, their Majeſties being attended by divers Honourable Lords and Ladies. When the Coach came againſt the Lord Mayor's Tent, his Majeſty cauſed it to ſtay, where divers of the Nobility, that had attended his Coming there, preſented themſelves to his Majeſty, and, joying in his ſafe Return, kiſſed both their Majeſties Hands.

After which, the Lord Mayor, Knights, Maſter Recorder, and Aldermen, preſented themſelves likewiſe, in an humble Manner, to his Majeſty. The Lord Mayor tendered the City Sword and Scepter to him, who re-delivered them to his Lordſhip, where kneeling, together with Maſter Recorder, by the Coach-ſide, Maſter Recorder made a grave, pithy, and ſhort Speech to his Majeſty, as followeth:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THIS is a Day of exceeding great Joy to your Citizens of *London*, Joy exalted to the higheſt Degree, to ſee you return in Safety, after a long Abſence; and to ſee this happy Meeting with your deareſt Conſort, our good and gracious Queen, and with theſe bleſſed Children, that are the Fruits of your Loves, and Pledges to us of a fruitful and hopeful Succeſſion.

I can truly ſay this from the Repreſentative Body of your City, from whence I have my Warrant, they meet your Majeſty with as much Love and Affection, as ever Citizens of *London* met with any of your Royal Progenitors, King or Queen of this Kingdom, and with as hearty a Deſire to ſhew itſelf fully. Pardon their Failures, where you meet with any.

We tender unto you no formal Preſent, it would but leſſen us: I am ſure, whatever it were, it would be far ſhort of our Meaning.

We preſent unto you our Hearts and Affections; Hearts of true Subjects, full of Loyalty to you our King and Sovereign.

It is true, in this we offer your Majeſty but your own, they were by juſt Right yours before: But, upon this new Enlivening and Expreſſion, be pleaſed to take them as a new Gift; we offer them chearfully, vouchſafe to accept them graciouſly; and, with the Influence of thoſe excellent and princely Virtues, which we know, by great Aſſurance, to be eminent in your Royal Perſon, the Defence of our eſtabliſhed Religion, and the clear Current of your Juſtice from the Fountain through the Streams, be pleaſed to cheriſh them.

Vouchſafe, likewiſe, to uphold and countenance that ancient Form and Frame of Government, which hath been long eſtabliſhed in the City; that Power and Authority of yours, which you have committed to your Lord-Mayor, your true and faithful Subject and Servant, and the fit Reverence and Reſpect, due to the Aldermen his Brethren, who are to aſſiſt him in his Government; we ſhall be thereby the better inabled to ſerve your Majeſty, and conſtantly to render to you the Fruits of a true Obedience, and, as our Duty binds us, we ſhall never ceaſe to bleſs you, and pray for you, and your deareſt Conſort, our gracious Queen, and for this your royal and princely Off-ſpring; for your Majeſty's long Life, and proſperous Reign over us, in Peace and Glory, and with full Contentment; and, I doubt not, but every true Subject will join with us in this, and ſay *Amen*.

Theſe Expreſſions of Joy, of Love, of Loyalty, and theſe hearty Wiſhes and Deſires, which I have mentioned, I meet with every where from your Citizens of *London*. They are the ſoft and ſtill Muſick prepared for your Majeſty's Welcome and Entertainment, this Day; the joyful Acclamations of your People, upon the Sight of your royal Perſon, will make it louder, and all, chearfully bearing their agreeing Parts together, ſhall, I hope, this Day, make up to your Majeſty a full and pleaſing Harmony.

To which, his Majeſty made this gracious Anſwer:

Maſter Recorder,

I Muſt deſire you (becauſe my Voice cannot reach to all thoſe that I deſire ſhould hear me) to give moſt hearty Thanks to all the good Citizens of *London*, for their hearty Expreſſions of their Love this Day to me. And, indeed, I cannot expreſs the Contentment I have received therein; for now I ſee, that all theſe former Tumults, and Diſorders, have only riſen from the meaner Sort of People; and that the Affections of the better and main Part of the City have ever been loyal and affectionate to my Perſon and Government.

And, likewiſe, it comforts me to ſee, that all thoſe Miſreports, that have been made of me in my Abſence, have not the leaſt Power to do me Prejudice in your Opinions, as may be eaſily ſeen, by this Day's Expreſſion of Joy.

And now I think it fit for me to aſſure you, that I am returned with as hearty and kind Affection to my People in general, and to this City in particular, as can be deſired by loving Subjects. The firſt I ſhall expreſs by governing you all, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, and in maintaining you in your full Liberties, but chiefly in maintaining and protecting the true Proteſtant Religion, according as it hath been eſtabliſhed in my two famous Predeceſſors Times, Queen *Eliſabeth* and my Father; and this I will do, if Need be, to the Hazard of my Life, and all that is dear to me.

As for the City in particular, I ſhall ſtudy, by all Means, their Proſperity; and, I aſſure you, I willingly grant thoſe few reaſonable Demands you have now made unto me, in the Name of the City: Likewiſe, I ſhall ſtudy to re-eſtabliſh that flouriſhing Trade, which now is in ſome Diſorder amongſt you, which I doubt not to effect, with the good Aſſiſtance of the Parliament.

One Thing I have thought of, as a particular Teſtimony of my Affection to you, which is to give back unto you freely that Part of *Londonderry*, which heretofore was evicted from you. This, I confeſs, as that Kingdom is now, is no great Gift; but I intend firſt to recover it, and then to give it to you whole and intirely. And, for the legal Part of this, I command you, Maſter Recorder, to wait upon me, to ſee it punctually performed.

I will end as I began, to deſire you, Maſter Recorder, to give all the City Thanks, in better Expreſſions than I can make; though, I muſt tell you, it will be far ſhort of that real Contentment I find in my Heart, for this real and ſeaſonable Demonſtration of their Affections to me.

His Majeſty, having ended this gracious Speech, was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon the Lord-Mayor, and Maſter Recorder, with the City-ſword; both their Majeſties graciouſly giving their Hands to kiſs, to them, as alſo to the Knights, Aldermen, City Council, and Officers.

After theſe Things done, his Majeſty and the Prince alighted from the Coach, and took their Horſes; the Queen, Duke of *York*, Princeſs

ceſs *Mary*, Prince Elector, and the Ducheſs of *Richmond*, remaining ſtill in the Coach.

In the mean Time, by the Care and Pains of the two Captains of the Committee, and of the three Marſhals, that were appointed for this Day's Service, the five-hundred Horſemen of the Liveries, and their Attendants, were brought into a Body, and ſet in Order as before; and, facing about, the whole Company ſet forward, to conduct their Majeſties into *London*, the Sheriffs Men being placed in the Front, and the inferior Companies following them, and the reſt of the Companies after them, the Lord-Mayor's Company being next to the Aldermen; and, advancing in a ſeemly Order, they made ſuch a gallant Shew, that their Majeſties, and the Princes, took great Delight and Content to behold them.

The Nobility, and others of his Majeſty's Train, were marſhaled by the Officers of Arms; ſo that the whole Order was in this Manner:

The City Marſhal.
The Sheriffs Trumpeters.
The Sheriffs Men.
Citizens, in Velvet Coats and Chains.
The City Council and Officers.
The Aldermen.
The Prince's Trumpeters.
Meſſengers of the Chamber.

[*In Placing of the Meſſengers, an Error was committed, for they ſhould have followed the Sheriffs Men.*]

The King's Trumpeters.
Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.
Knight Marſhal.
Purſuivants at Arms.
The Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, being a Knight of the Privy-Council.

BARONS.

Lord *Goring*.	Lord *Digby*.
Lord *Fielding*.	Lord *Mowbray*.
Lord *Coventry*.	Viſcount *Conway*.

HERALDS.

EARLS.

Earl *Rivers*.	Chamberlain of the
Earl of *Cumberland*.	King's Houſe.
Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord	Earl of *Bath*.

Duke of *Richmond*.
Clarenceaux and *Norroy*.
Lord Keeper.
Lord Privy-Seal.
Serjeants at Arms, among whom one for the City.

Equerries and Footmen. { The Prince's Highneſs. } Equerries and Footmen.

Garter, { The Lord Mayor carrying the City's Sword, by his Majeſty's ſpecial Appointment, as a Grace and Favour at this Time. } A Gentleman Uſher, Daily-waiter.

Lord Great Chamberlain. { Marquis of *Hertford* bearing the Sword of State. } Earl Marſhal.

The King's Majeſty.
The Queen's Majeſty, in her Coach richly embroidered, and, with her, the Duke of *York*, the Princeſs *Mary*, and the Prince Elector.
Marquis of *Hamilton*, Maſter of the Horſe, leading the Horſe of State.
The Earl of *Saliſbury*, Captain of the Penſioners.
The Gentlemen Penſioners, with their Poleaxes, all mounted, with Piſtols at their Saddles.
The Earl of *Holland*, Lord General beyond *Trent*; and, after him, Viſcount *Grandiſon*, with many other principal Commanders in the late Northern Expedition.
After them, divers Ladies, and other great Perſonages of Note.
The Yeomen of the Guard.

They all entered the City at *Moorgate*, where their Majeſties were welcomed with a Noiſe of Trumpets, appointed to attend there to that Purpoſe; from which Place to *Biſhopſgate*, and ſo, through *Cornhill*, to St. *Laurence*'s Lane End, in *Cheapſide*, the Companies, in Liveries, ſtood on the left Hand, as their Majeſties paſſed by; the Rails of the Standings being covered with blue Cloth, and the Standings themſelves being richly adorned with Banners, Enſigns, and Pendants of the Arms of each Company reſpectively; nine Companies,

Companies of the twelve ſtanding in the Morning, the Lord Mayor's Company beginning againſt St. *Laurence*'s Lane End, and the other eight in their Order, towards *Biſhopſgate*, the reſt of the Way where they left, to *Moorgate*, being ſupplied by ſome of the inferior Companies; the Outſide of the Houſes, all the Way their Majeſties paſſed, being beautified with rich Tapeſtry.

On the North-ſide of the Street, four Feet diſtant from the Houſes, were Rails placed, to regulate and keep the People in good Order, from *Biſhopſgate* to *Cornhill*, and ſo to *Temple-Bar*. At the Beginning of which Rails (*viz.* at *Biſhopſgate*, by the Direction of the two Captains and three Marſhals) the firſt Horſemen of the Liveries began to make a Stand; the firſt Rank of them, placing themſelves ſingle, faced the Liveries that were in the Standings, and the reſt, paſſing along, placed themſelves in the ſame Order, the Trumpets and Pendants of each Company ſtanding in the Front, and then the Companies themſelves; the Youngeſt being next to the Pendant, and ſo upwards by Seniority, to the Maſter of the Company, who took his Place laſt; then began the Pendant, and youngeſt of the next Company, to make their Stand as the former, till they came to St. *Laurence*'s Lane End; there being five Feet diſtant from one Horſe to another, in which Space ſtood each Horſeman's Footman, with a Truncheon in his Hand, making, by this Means, a Guard for their Majeſties, and the reſt of the Train. And it fell out, that moſt of the Companies of Horſe were placed right againſt their own Companies in the Standings; the People, that were Spectators in the Streets, were beſtowed, Part behind the Horſe, and Part behind the Liveries, and, by this good Order, their Majeſties, and the Train, paſſed quiet, without Interruption.

Their Majeſties coming along *Cornhill*, ſeven Trumpeters, that were placed in the Clock-houſe of the *Exchange*, gave them their ſecond Welcome into the City; and, as they went, the Conduit in *Cornhill*, and the great Conduit in *Cheapſide*, ran with Claret-wine, to expreſs the Freedom of the City for the Joy of that Day.

All the Way that their Majeſties paſſed, the People, with loud and joyful Acclamations, cried, *God bleſs*, and, *Long live King* Charles *and Queen* Mary! And their Majeſties reciprocally and heartily bleſſed and thanked t People, with as great Expreſſions of Joy.

Being come to St. *Laurence*'s Lane End, the Paſſage being very ſtreight, neither Horſe nor Foot could be planted there; ſo that only the Sheriffs Officers, the City Council and Officers, the Sheriffs, Aldermen, and the Lord Mayor, conducted their Majeſties and their Train to *Guildhall*.

At their Entrance there, divers honourable Lords and Ladies, that had not given their Attendance Abroad, preſented themſelves to his Majeſty, and conducted him and the Queen up to the new and old Council-chambers, being appointed for their Repoſe, till Dinner might be ſerved to the Table: The four Comptrollers for the Day, and about eighty comely and grave Citizens, in Foins and Liveries, ſtanding and making a Lane on both Sides their Paſſage; to whom their Majeſties ſhewed gracious Reſpects, the Muſick of the City giving them their next Welcome.

Their Majeſties were no ſooner repoſed, but Word was given for Serving up of Dinner to their Table; the Place appointed for it was the *Huſtings*, at the Eaſt-end of the Hall, which was raiſed almoſt two Yards from the Ground, the Floor being covered with *Turkey* Carpets; and all the Hall, as all the other Rooms of the *Guildhall*, was hanged and adorned with rich Tapeſtry. In the Middle of the Place, where their Majeſties dined, was hung up a Cloth of State, and two Chairs of State were ſet under it, before which was placed a Table ſix Yards long; at the South-end whereof, two Yards Diſtance from the Table, was a Table of Garniſh three Yards ſquare; and, at the North-end, was a Room erected for Muſick of all Sorts, for the better Entertainment and Delight of their Majeſties, while they ſhould be at Dinner.

And, four or five Steps under the Place where their Majeſties dined, was a Frame of Timber erected, and floored with Deals, a Yard from the Ground, which extended almoſt to the Hall Door; upon each Side whereof was a Table ſet, from the upper to the lower End of it; at which two Tables the Lords and Ladies, that attended their Majeſties, were to dine; between which was a ſpacious Way left, covered with green Baiz, whereon their Majeſties were to paſs to the Place where they ſhould dine.

And,

And, in the Weſt-part of the Hall, below the Gate, on the South-ſide, was a long Table placed for his Majeſty's Penſioners; and in all other Rooms, that were not for their Majeſties Privacy, were likewiſe Tables prepared for ſeveral Sorts of their Majeſties Attendants.

The Dinner was ſerved up in this Manner: From their Majeſties Table, to the Dreſſer (which was at the Weſt-end of the Hall) ſtood the eighty Liverymen beforementioned, in two Ranks, about two Yards diſtant from each other, Face to Face, one Rank of them receiving from the Dreſſer the King's Meat, and the other the Prince's, at one and the ſame Time; they never ſtirred or removed from their Places but delivered Diſh after Diſh, from one to another, till it came to the Sewers, who placed it upon the Table.

Their Majeſties Meat was proportioned into four Services: The firſt conſiſted of fifty Diſhes of cold Meats, as, Brawn, Fiſh, and cold baked Meats, planted upon the Garniſh or Side-table; the other three Services were of all Sorts of hot Fleſh and Fiſh, boiled, roſt, and baked, to the Number of an hundred and twenty Diſhes; after which was ſerved up a curious and well-ordered Banquet.

At the high Table dined his Majeſty, his Royal Conſort the Queen, the Prince, the Duke of *York*, the Princeſs *Mary*, and the Prince Elector *Palatine*, in this Order: The King ſat under the Cloth of State, and her Majeſty cloſe to him, on his Left-hand; on his Majeſty's Right-hand, about a Yard diſtant, ſat the Prince; and, about the ſame Diſtance from his Highneſs, ſat the Prince Elector: At her Majeſty's Left-hand, about a Yard's Space from her, was placed the Princeſs *Mary*, and, not far from her, the Duke of *York*.

The Service for the Tables of the Lords and Ladies was thus ordered: The Liveries beforementioned, after the Meat was placed on the high Table, ſerved up the Dinner to thoſe Tables, but in another Poſture; for, whereas before they ſtood in two Ranks, Face to Face, they now turned Back to Back: The Reaſon was, That, the Meat being ſerved up to both Tables together, the one Rank of them might face to one Table, and the other to the other: To theſe two Tables were appointed ten Meſſes, conſiſting of five-hundred Diſhes.

Theſe two Tables being likewiſe furniſhed, Care was taken for the reſt of the Train, that were thought fit to be entertained within the Hall, who were all ſerved ſo plentifully, that not a Man was heard to go diſcontented away.

And, becauſe it was conceived beforehand, by the Committees, that there might come more Company with their Majeſties, than could be conveniently provided for within the Hall, large Proviſion was made Abroad for the Guards, Footmen, Coachmen, and the like; where there dined about an hundred and fifty Perſons of all Sorts.

His Majeſty received ſuch Content, as well in the Freedom of the Entertainment, as in the Well-ordering thereof, that he was pleaſed by Words to expreſs his Royal Thoughts, as well at Dinner as afterwards (ſo did the Queen, Princes, and Nobility) how great Content and Satisfaction he received from the City by it.

His Majeſty alſo, after Dinner, ſent for Mr. *John Pettus*, a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Suffolk* (who had married the Lord Mayor's Daughter) and beſtowed the Honour of Knighthood upon him, knowing, that whatſoever in this Kind he ſhould do to his Lordſhip, or his, muſt neceſſarily reſult to the Honour of the City, and be an Expreſſion of his Grace and Favour to it.

Their Majeſties having repoſed themſelves a While after Dinner, the Days being ſhort, the Word was given for their Departure; and, by this Time, the three Companies of the twelve, and the reſt of the inferior Companies, that had not waited in the Morning, had taken their Standings from St. *Laurence*'s Lane End, Weſtward, towards *Temple-Bar*. The two Captains alſo, with the three Marſhals, had ordered the Horſemen in this Manner: They firſt drew up the Sheriffs Men in the Front, by two and two; then they cauſed the Rear of the Horſemen, that had made the firſt Stand at *Biſhopſgate* in the Morning, to paſs through the reſt of the Companies after the Sheriffs Men; and ſo the reſt, according to their former Order, till the whole Number of Five-hundred were ranked again by two and two, as in the Morning, and ſo paſſed through *Cheapſide*, till the Rear of the firſt Company, which was the Lord Mayor's, came even with St. *Laurence*'s Lane End; and in this Order they ſtaid, till their Majeſties were ready to come out of *Guildhall*; which was about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The

The Lord Mayor carrying the Sword before his Majeſty, as in the Morning, and the reſt that conducted him from *Cheapſide* to *Guildhall*, led his Majeſty thither again, where the Word was given, for the Horſe to advance, which they did, and every one fell into the ſame Order, which they had in the Morning: The greateſt Difference being, that whereas, in the Forenoon, the Footmen carried Truncheons in their Hands, they now went with lighted Torches, which gave ſo great a Light, as that the Night ſeemed to be turned to Day.

As their Majeſties paſſed along, the Trumpets and City Muſick were placed in ſeveral Parts, ſounding and playing, which, together with the ſeveral, continual, and joyful Acclamations of the People, gave great Content to both their Majeſties; the little Conduit in *Cheapſide*, and the Conduit in *Fleetſtreet*, running with Wine, as the other two Conduits had done in the Morning. And in their Paſſage by the South Door of St. *Paul*'s Church, the Choir, with Sackbuts and Cornets joining with them, ſung an Anthem of Praiſe to God, and Prayers for their Majeſties long Lives, which pleaſed his Majeſty ſo well, that he gave them an extraordinary Reſpect; and in their Paſſage to *Temple-Bar*, he made ſuch Expreſſions of his gracious Acceptance of the City's Love, that the People could not ſufficiently make manifeſt the Joy they conceived at it. So that, by this Time, the whole Day ſeemed to be ſpent in a Kind of Emulation, with Reverence be it ſpoken, between their Majeſties and the City: The Citizens bleſſing and praying for their Majeſties and their princely Iſſue, and their Majeſties returning the ſame Bleſſings upon the Heads of the Citizens, with innumerable Thanks, added thereunto. Inſomuch that it is hard to reſolve, whether the Citizens were more joyed, with the gracious Acceptance of their weak, though hearty and loyal Endeavours, or their Majeſties, with the Performance of the Day's ſeaſonable Service; both their Majeſties, and the Citizens, ſeeming, as it were, not well ſatisfied, to whom the Thanks of this Day's Work were properly due.

But to proceed, when the Sheriff's Men, who were in the Front, were come as far as the *May*-pole in the *Strand*, they began to make a Stand, and ſingled themſelves, by falling off at the Right-hand of the Street, their Company extending in Length, as far as *Exeter* Houſe; and after them, the Horſemen did the like, in the ſame Order and Poſture, as they had done in the Morning, and ſo continued to the *Tilt-yard*, over-againſt his Majeſty's Palace of *Whitehall*, to which Place the Lord Mayor, Knights, and Aldermen, conducted their Majeſties.

After the Entertainment.

AND now by this Time it might be conceived, that a Period might be ſet to this Relation, and that his Majeſty had given Teſtimony, ample and ſufficient, of his gracious Acceptation of the City's Love, and loyal Affection, towards him. But *manet alta mente repoſtum*, in a better Senſe than the Poet ſpoke it; his Majeſty had taken ſo deep Impreſſion of his poor Subjects Love, that he thought he had not ſufficiently expreſſed himſelf, by all that he had already ſo graciouſly been pleaſed to demonſtrate: And therefore, when the Lord Mayor had brought their Majeſties into *Whitehall*, and was taking his Leave in humble Manner, his Majeſty moſt graciouſly embraced and thanked him, and withal gave him in Charge, that in his Name, the whole City might be thanked.

Whereupon, againſt *Tueſday* Morning following, being St. *Andrew*'s Day, the Lord Mayor cauſed a Common Council to be warned, where Mr. Recorder, in an eloquent and pithy Speech, related the Charge and Command, that his Majeſty, by the Lord Mayor, had impoſed upon him; and withal, as was thought fit, he read his Speech to his Majeſty, and his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer, both which are formerly ſet down; which ſo much revived, and increaſed the Joy of all the Commons, that an Act was there made, and the Lord Mayor was intreated, to appoint Mr. Recorder, and ſo many Aldermen and Commoners, as his Lordſhip ſhould think fit, to attend his Majeſty, and to return their humble Thanks, for all his great and princely Favours to the City; and to prefer to his Majeſty ſuch other Deſires of the City, as ſhould be thought neceſſary and convenient.

In the mean Time, his Majeſty, ſtudying, as it were, how to add more Honour to the Lord Mayor, and in him to the whole City, had ſent to his Lordſhip his gracious Letters Patents, whereby he created him a Baronet.

The

The Lord Mayor, according to the Power given unto him, by the Act of Common Council, called a Committee to his Houſe, where he appointed how many Aldermen, beſides thoſe of the Committee for the Entertainment, ſhould attend his Majeſty, with Mr. Recorder, in the Purſuance of the ſaid Act, where it was concluded, what Deſires they ſhould humbly repreſent to his Majeſty, on the City's Behalf.

Upon *Friday* the Third of *December*, Mr. Recorder, with theſe Aldermen, *viz.* Sir *George Whitmore*, Alderman *Cordall*, Alderman *Soam*, Alderman *Gayer*, Alderman *Garrad*, Alderman *Willeſton*, and the two Sheriffs, being Aldermen likewiſe, with Eight of the Commoners of the ſaid Committee, went, by his Lordſhip's Appointment, to *Hampton Court*, where they were received, by the Right Honorable the Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlain to her Majeſty, Sir *Peter Wiche*, Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and other Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, till they ſhould be admitted into his Majeſty's Preſence; and after ſome ſmall Stay his Majeſty, with his Royal Conſort the Queen, attended by the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Dorſet*, came into her Majeſty's Preſence-Chamber, and ſoon after Mr. Recorder, the Aldermen, and Commoners were called in; where, after their humble Duties tendered, Mr. Recorder, in an elegant Speech, preſented the loyal Affections, and humble Thanks of the City to their Majeſties, together with two humble Petitions, formerly agreed on, to be preferred to his Majeſty, in Words to this Effect:

That according to his Majeſty's Commandment given to the Lord Mayor, and himſelf, they had publiſhed that, which his Majeſty had graciouſly expreſſed at his Entry into the City, not only to particular Men thereof, but at a Common Council, which is the Repreſentative Body of the City, and there made known the moſt gracious Acceptance, by both their Majeſties, of the Endeavours of the Citizens, for their Welcome and Entertainment that Day.

That after the Publiſhing of it, they all forthwith with one Heart, and one Voice, earneſtly intreated, and preſſed the Lord Mayor, that by his Means, and in ſuch Way as he ſhould think fit, their moſt humble and hearty Thanks might be rendered, and preſented to both their Majeſties, for that ſingular Honour they had done the City, in vouchſafing their Preſence among them, and for thoſe real Teſtimonies his Majeſty had given, of his princely Favour and Affection towards them, tending ſo much to their Profit and Advantage, and eſpecially, for both their Majeſties gracious Acceptance of their poor, though hearty Endeavours, with theſe, and the like Expreſſions, which came from among them: That if they had done a thouſand Times more, it had been but their Duty; that the Memory of this Honour, and theſe Favours, ſhould ever live among them; that it ſhould be preſerved to Poſterity; that their Deſires and Studies ſhould be, as much as in them lay, that they might be thought worthy of theſe Honours and Favours, and of ſo good and gracious a King and Queen.

Thus the Lord Mayor had required us that were preſent, to attend their Majeſties with this Meſſage from the City, and to make this thankful Acknowledgment to them: Beſeeching their Majeſties, as an Addition to their former Favours, to take it in good Part from them. And this was the firſt Part of our Errand.

That we had two humble Petitions to prefer to both their Majeſties, and we had the Riſe and Encouragement to both, from that which his Majeſty was pleaſed to deliver to us.

Our firſt Petition was, That their Majeſties would vouchſafe this Honour to the City, if it might ſtand with their good Pleaſures, to make their Reſidence, at this Seaſon of the Year, at the Palace of *Whitehall*. Their Preſence was very joyful to us, and his Majeſty was pleaſed to tell us, That he would ſtudy our Proſperity, and reſtore the Trade of the City, which of late had been in ſome Diſorder. Their Reſidence there would give a good Quickening to the Retailing Trade, and, by Conſequence, to the Merchant.

Our Second was, Whereas, ſince his happy Return hither, there had been ſome late Diſorders about *Weſtminſter*, among ſome People that met there: That their Majeſties would not impute this, to the Body of the City, or to the better Sort of Citizens. We held it a Misfortune, and a Scandal upon us, that when thoſe Diſorders were mentioned, the City was named with it; and that our Deſire was, to vindicate and redeem it, by ſome publick Diſavowing of it. And we could not

not begin better, than in the Preſence of their Majeſties; and beſought their Majeſties to take it into their Conſideration, that the Skirts of the City, where the Lord Mayor, and Magiſtrates of *London*, have neither Power nor Liberty, are more populous, than the City itſelf, fuller of the meaner Sort of People: And, if any Dwellers in the City ſhould be Actors in it, as who can deny, but among Millions of People, ſome there may be, yet their Purpoſe was unknown to us. And, to give their Majeſties ſome Aſſurance herein, there were ſome preſent there among us, Men, that had lived in the City above forty Years together, that knew the City, and the better Sort of Citizens, and were at *Weſtminſter*, attending other Occaſions, when thoſe People met there, and took a heedful View of them; and they have affirmed, that they knew not the Face of one Man among them.

Mr. Recorder having ended, his Majeſty preſently and graciouſly gave Anſwer, thus in Effect:

That he was very well pleaſed with the hearty and loyal Affections of the Citizens, for which, he gave them great Thanks: And, for the firſt Petition, though he and her Majeſty had before propoſed to winter at *Hampton-Court*, yet, being now fully perſuaded, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the moſt conſiderable Part of the Citizens of *London*, had not any Hand in the Diſorders mentioned by Mr. Recorder, in his ſecond Petition, he intended, and ſo he knew her Majeſty would, to alter his Reſolution, and with all convenient Speed repair to *Whitehall*, there to keep their *Chriſtmas*, and be ready to do any Thing elſe, that might promote the Trade of the City, deſiring Mr. Recorder to join with him, in taking ſome Courſe, for Prevention of the like Diſorders for the future.

After his Majeſty had ended his Anſwer, and that Mr. Recorder, and Sir *George Whitmore*, had kiſſed his Royal Hand, the next Alderman in Seniority kneeled down, to receive the like princely Favour, when ſuddenly, and unexpectedly, his Majeſty drew a Sword, and, inſtead of giving him his Hand to kiſs, he laid his Sword upon his Shoulder, and knighted him; the like he did to the other Aldermen and two Sheriffs, being in Number ſeven.

This done, their Majeſties gave them their Hands to kiſs; the like princely Favour vouchſafed they to the Commoners of the Committee; and, after many gracious Demonſtrations of Love to them, and the whole City, his Majeſty commanded, that they ſhould dine before they left the Court.

His Majeſty's Command was fully and effectually performed: For, as ſoon as they had in moſt humble Manner taken their Leaves of their Majeſties, they were brought (by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Dorſet*, and by Mr. Comptroller, and other Officers of the Court) into a Room, where a Table was prepared for them, and no others, to dine at, where they were bountifully feaſted, being honoured with the Preſence of the Earl of *Dorſet*, who vouchſafed to dine with them, and, in their Majeſties Names, gave them exceeding great Welcome, expreſſing to them that Love, which he ever hath abundantly manifeſted to the City. Mr. Comptroller likewiſe dined with them, uſing them with very great Reſpect.

While they were at Dinner, there came two Gentlemen to them, one from his Majeſty, the other from the Queen, to let them know, that their Majeſties had remembered the Health of the Lord Mayor, and the whole City; which they all entertained with all due Reſpect, returning their humble Thanks, for that their Majeſties extraordinary Favour.

Dinner being done, they took their Leaves of the honourable Earl, and other Officers of Quality and Eminency of the Court, and departed, returning to the Lord Mayor, with great Joy and Comfort, to whom they made Relation of their Majeſties Grace and Favour to his Lordſhip, the whole City, and themſelves.

Thus have you ſeen, as briefly as we could, the Work of this Day, and in it, as well the Demonſtration of the City's Love, and dutiful Affection to his Majeſty, and his Royal Conſort, as their Majeſties gracious and loving Acceptation of it: The former being but the bounden Service of good and loyal Subjects; the other, an extraordinary Act of Favour and Grace, worthy to be engraven in Tables of Braſs, to be preſerved to all Poſterity.

Nothing

Nothing now remains, but that we, and all other his Majeſty's loving and loyal People, heartily deſire of God, to crown his Majeſty with all ſpiritual and temporal Bleſſings; that he may long and peaceably reign over us, to the Re-eſtabliſhing of pure Religion, and the Preſervation of his Church undefiled, as from Idolatry and Superſtition, ſo from Prophaneneſs and Schiſm: That we, and our Poſterity, may ever praiſe the glorious Name of God, in the great Congregation, with unanimous and uniform Conſent, for all his Bleſſings daily conferred upon us in his Majeſty, and learn true and pious Obedience to him, as ſet over us, for our Good: That his Kingdoms may flouriſh in Peace and Happineſs, to God's Glory, his Majeſty's Honour, and the Good of all his loving Subjects, who (we doubt not, but) to this will all heartily ſay, *Amen.*

A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of *Limerick*, with the Articles at large, both Civil and Military. Publiſhed by Authority. *London*, Printed for *R. Taylor*, near *Stationers*-Hall, 1692. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages.

The Publiſher to the Reader.

THE following Series, being a faithful Diary of every Day's Motions and Meaſures, throughout the Siege of Limerick, *to the laſt finiſhing Articles, both Civil and Military, paſt upon the Surrender of it, I hope this Narrative will make my Reader no unacceptable Preſent.*

The Time, I confeſs, has been, when this Treatiſe would have been a more popular Theme; the Articles of the Surrender of Limerick *being, not long ſince, the Subject of no common Longings and Curioſity. Upon Peruſal of which, the Reader, I am certain, will join with me in this one juſt Remark, That, in all the Glories of our deſervingly great Monarch, Mercy is one of his moſt ſhining Titles; his Enemies have met that both unexpected and unmerited Clemency, in his Majeſty's moſt gracious Conceſſions towards them, that plainly tells the World, the whole Buſineſs of his Arms was to reclaim, not vanquiſh; he infringes not Liberty, even where he makes Subjection.*

There is one farther Recommendation to our ſhort, but glorious Hiſtory, viz. *That what I here preſent you, is the Work of* Engliſh *Hands; and that, without Vanity, the whole Progreſs of the late* Engliſh *Arms, in* Ireland, *has as much ſignaliſed the true* Britiſh *Valour, as any of the antiquer Monuments of our remoter recorded Predeceſſors. And, indeed, to crown all theſe glorious Succeſſes, there ſeems to be a continued Chain of Providences attending that whole Expedition; for, not to inſtance his Majeſty's prodigious Victory at the* Boyne, *with which all Tongues are already filled; together with that famous Battle at* Aghrim, *where Fortune, for ſome Hours, ſtood dubious; and, indeed, the whole Conduct and Zeal of the renowned General,* Ginckle, *who challenges our no common Applauſe and Veneration: Perhaps, nothing was more remarkably ſignal, than the Siege of* Athlone, *affording, poſſibly, one of the faireſt Laurels through that whole Scene of* Britiſh *Glory. For when, after our Poſſeſſion of the hither Part of the Town, the*

Enemy, who had broken down the Bridge, had ſo often burnt our Faſcines, and ſo reſolutely oppoſed our Paſſage that Way; inſomuch that the General, deſpairing of approaching on that Side, had reſolved to draw off, and paſs the Shannon *higher above the Town, though ſo late in the Year, and the Summer ſo far advanced, to begin a new Siege on the other Side, in the Face of the* Iriſh *Army that lay incamped there: It was, I ſay, Major, now Lieutenant, General* Talmache's *Propoſal, at a Council of War (in which he very hardly prevailed) to head, as a Voluntier, a ſelect Party of* 1500, *and wade the River, to enter the Breach: Which he executed with that Celerity and Courage, that the Storming and Taking of that important Place was an Action unprecedented, and inimitable; with ſo poor a Handful, to puſh ſo bold a Sword, and carry ſo intire a Victory, againſt ſo great a Strength within, and the whole* Iriſh *Army but an Hour's March without, was an Enterpriſe ſo hardy, and that ſo purely and wholly his own, that Poſterity will read it with Wonder; and which, to his laſting Fame, will ſupply as gallant a Memorial, as ever adorned the* Engliſh *Annals.*

And as the early Conqueſt of that Gariſon was the Key, that, ſoon after, opened the Gates of Galway *and* Limerick; *and, conſequently, the expeditious Reduction of* Ireland, *ſo highly both to the* Engliſh *Glory, his Majeſty's Intereſt, and the Advantage of* Chriſtendom, *was ſo much owing to that memorable Action; I may juſtly ſay, that, whatever other Hands joined in the Accompliſhing, the only Hand, that ſhortened the great Work, was* Talmache's, *and it was by his Conduct and Gallantry, in that eminent Service, that* 1691 *ſaw that finiſhed, which, otherwiſe, had been the Subject of a longer, if not a more hazardous Diſpute.*

AUGUST, 1691, the General having reſolved on the Forming of the Siege of *Limerick*, and, in Order thereunto, having given Orders for Capt. *Coal*, with his Squadron, to ſail down the *Shannon*, and for the immediate Marching of twenty-ſix whole Cannon, Mortars, *&c.* from *Athlone*, to meet him there: On the 3d of *Auguſt*, the whole Army paſſed the *Shannon* at *Banahar-Bridge*, and came the ſame Night to *Birr*, which Place is diſtant from *Limerick* thirty Miles. The General having received an Account, by Deſerters, That Brigadier *Carral* was poſted with a Party of *Iriſh*, at a Place called *Nenagh*, which is a Paſs fourteen Miles from *Limerick*, gave Orders to Brigadier *Leviſon*, with a detached Party, to go and attack the ſaid Place, who marched from the Camp early this Morning, with five hundred Horſe and Dragoons.

4th. Brigadier *Leviſon*, with his Party, got Yeſterday in the Evening to *Nenagh*; at whoſe Approach, the Governor *Carral* ſet the Town on Fire, and then quitted it in great Haſte; but the Fire was ſoon put out by eleven of our Men, who happened to be Priſoners there, and were left behind.

5th. This Day, we marched from *Birr*, and marched to a Place called *Burraskeen*, where we incamped the ſame Night.

6th. This Evening, we reached *Nenagh*. Here we received an Account, That Brigadier *Leviſon*, with his Horſe and Dragoons, purſued *Carral*, and his Party, ſo cloſely, and ſo far, that, within four Miles of *Limerick*, he took all their Baggage, amongſt which were two rich Coats of long *Anthony Carral's*, one valued at eighty Pounds, the other at forty Guineas, and about forty Piſtoles in Gold; as alſo four hundred and fifty Head of large Black Cattle, and ſome Sheep, which the Enemy's ſudden Flight would not ſuffer them to carry off.

7th. This Morning, a Party marched from the Camp towards *Killaloo*, in Search of the Rebels, who killed Two, and took about nine Priſoners, which were all of the Enemy they could meet with, and in the Evening returned to the Camp with a great Prey of Cattle.

8th. Some Pioneers, under the Convoy of a good Party of Horſe and Dragoons, marched this Morning towards the Silver Mines, to mend the Roads for our Carriages. A Brigadier, and two of the late King *James's* Horſe-Guards, who deſerted the Enemy, came into the

the Camp with their Horſes and Accoutrements, and adviſed us, That the Enemy were intrenching themſelves near *Carrick-Inliſh*.

9th. Lieutenant-Colonel *Oxborough*, with a Lieutenant, the Servants and Accoutrements, came over to us, from the Enemy, as alſo did another Officer and eleven Muſqueteers, with their Arms. A Man and a Woman were this Day hanged in the Camp, the Man for Robbing, and the Woman for Murdering one of our Soldiers near *Galway*. Mr. *Richards*, Secretary, and Adjutant-General to *Baldarick O Donnel*, who had been with the General in the Camp four or five Days, went hence this Day for *Dublin*, to confer with the Lords Juſtices.

10th. Several conſiderable Deſerters came into our Camp, this Day, from the Enemy's Quarters; they gave us an Account, That both *French* and *Iriſh* were mightily ſurpriſed to find our Ships in the *Shannon*, having been poſſeſſed, that the *French* were Maſters at Sea, and that we durſt not adventure ſo far.

11th. This Morning we decamped from *Nenagh*, and the ſame Night we came to a Place called *Shalley*, about two Miles from the Silver Mines, a very wild Part of the Country.

12th. This Day we marched again, and came to a ſmall Village called *Tulla*; here we incamped, and lay till the 13th, on which Day we decamped, and came that Day to *Carrick-Inliſh*, which is ſituate about four Miles from *Limerick*.

14th. This Day the General went out of the Camp, at the Head of fifteen hundred detached Horſe and Dragoons, advancing with them within Sight of *Limerick*, and, having beaten in the Enemy's Outguards, took a View of their Works from the Hill, where our Artillery incamped the laſt Year: In the Evening the General returned again to the Camp.

15th. This Day ſeveral Deſerters came over to us, and confirmed an Account we had before received, That *Sarsfield*, with the Enemy's Horſe, was retired to the other Side of the *Shannon*, being incamped in the County of *Clare*, about four Miles above *Limerick*; and that their Foot were drawn in within their Retrenchments: They informed us likewiſe, That the Earl of *Tyrconnel* was very ill, and had received the Extreme Unction.

16th. This Afternoon Sir *John Hanmore*, with five Regiments of Foot, from *Cork* and the neighbouring Garriſons, joined us. Major-General *la Foreſt* marched out of the Camp this Day, with a ſtrong Detachment of Horſe and Foot, towards *Athlone*, to meet that Part of our Artillery that were coming from thence, under the Convoy of Col. *Lloyd*'s Regiment; theſe Guns conſiſt of nine Twenty-four-pounders, nine Eighteen-pounders, and four large Mortars, being an Addition to the Train of Artillery we brought with us from *Galway*.

17th. This Morning three Deſerters came into our Camp, who brought us the following Accounts: That the Earl of *Tyrconnel* died on the 14th, the ill Condition of the *Iriſh* Affairs having broke his Heart; that he was buried at *Limerick* on the 16th, and that a Commiſſion was produced from the late King, which Mr. *Plowden* (formerly one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in *Ireland*) brought lately from *France*, appointing Sir *Alexander Fitton*, Sir *Richard Neagle*, and the ſaid *Plowden*, Juſtices of *Ireland*.

18th. We had an Account this Day, that Col. *Henry Lutterel* had been lately ſeized at *Limerick*, by Order of the *French* Lieutenant-General *D'Uſſoon*, for having made ſome Propoſals for a Surrender of the Place, and that he was ſentenced, by a Court-Martial, to be ſhot; upon which the General ſent them Word by a Trumpet, That, if they put any Man to Death for having a Mind to come over to us, he would revenge it on the *Iriſh*.

19th. This Day ſeveral notorious Rapparees were brought Priſoners into our Camp. It rained very hard this Day, as it likewiſe did for ſeveral Days paſt, which very much retarded the March of the Artillery, in their Way to *Athlone*.

20th. This Afternoon two Troopers of the late Earl of *Tyrconnel*'s Regiment, and a Dragoon, deſerted the Enemy, and came over to us.

21ſt. Major *O Connor*, who was Governor of *Banahar*, and ſurrendered it on Condition of Marching out with his Men, hath ſince been in *Limerick*, and, upon View of the Condition of that Place, and Conſideration of the Wants of the *Iriſh*, and their impending Ruin, came over to us this Day; alſo Nine more of the *Iriſh* Army, well mounted and equipped, came over to us. This Day there came into our Camp twenty-nine Tin Boats, which were brought from *Athlone* to *Killaloe* by Water. Col. *Luttrell*, who had been Abroad as far as *Clarleville*, with a good Party of Horſe and Dragoons,

goons, returned again this Evening, with a Prey of two-hundred and fifty Black Cattle, three-hundred Sheep, and ſome Horſes.

22d. Our Men were employed all this Day in cutting of Faſcines, and in making other neceſſary Preparations for the Siege of *Limerick*, whither the exceſſive Rains, lately fallen, ſtill obſtructed our March, as alſo the Coming up of our Cannon and Mortars, which, we were adviſed, were laſt Night near *Birr*.

23d. One *Sheldon*, a Lieutenant in the *Iriſh* Royal Regiment, and one *Dowdal*, an *Iriſh* Counſellor, made their Eſcape from the Enemy this Day, and came over to us.

24th. To prevent the Abuſes committed by Sutlers, who had about this Time exceſſively raiſed the Rate of Bread and Drink, the General this Day publiſhed an Order, and thereby ſettled the Price of all Manner of Proviſions in the Camp, and forbidding all Perſons to exceed the Rates ſo ſettled, on Pain of forfeiting their Goods, and ſuffering a Month's Impriſonment. Two Rapparees were this Day hanged, being convicted by a Court-Martial, for Burning of Houſes. Two of Sir *John Lanier*'s Troopers, and a *North-country* Sutler, were likewiſe condemned: The two firſt for Robbing Capt. *Watts*, an Officer in the ſame Regiment, and the other for Buying the Captain's Watch, which was ſtolen, and ſold to him by the Troopers.

25th. The General having ſent out Major *Shundt* with two-hundred and fifty freſh Draught-Horſes to haſten the Coming up of our Guns, *&c.* and ordered our Ships in the *Shannon* to come nearer *Limerick*; and being himſelf, as well as the whole Army, very impatient in lying here, gave Orders laſt Night for our March; purſuant to which, about Five this Morning we decamped, and all moved towards *Limerick*, except two Regiments of Foot, and an hundred Horſes, which remained in our Camp as a Rear Guard, for the Security of our Tin Boats, and the reſt of our Artillery, *&c.* as alſo to wait for Major-General *la Foreſt*'s Coming up with our heavy Cannon, Mortars, *&c.* who laſt Night incamped within four Miles of us: By Three this Afternoon we came before two of the Enemy's out Forts; the one an old Church, the other *Cromwell*'s, or rather *Ireton*'s Fort; the latter well fortified with a very good Ditch, and Lines of Communication with the Town, and both well manned; in the former were five-hundred Muſqueteers, but neither of them gave us much Trouble, the Gariſons in both running away upon our firſt Advance. On the Left of our Army, was a very good Fort built laſt Winter, guarded by ſix-hundred Men, which was bravely attacked by eighty of our *Engliſh* Grenadiers, who, receiving a Volley of their Shot with ſmall Damage, mounted the Works, and carried the Place, and drove the Enemy into the Covered Way they had from the Fort to the Town; our Men, having received another Volley, purſued them to their next Outworks, to the Town, and in this Action killed near an Hundred, and took ſixteen Priſoners. Col. *Donep* of the *Daniſh* Horſe, who commanded our advanced Party of Horſe, was ſlain by a chance Cannon-ſhot: The General, expecting the Enemy would make a Sally, commanded the Troopers ſhould lie all Night at their Horſes Heads.

26th. This Afternoon our Cannon and Mortars, with eight-hundred Carts of Ball and Bombs, and eight-hundred Barrels of Powder, arrived here from *Athlone*. This Night we broke Ground, and began to work on our Lines of Communication, making our Approaches with very ſmall Loſs.

27th. Early this Morning, the Prince *Darmſtadt*, with his own, Col. *Tiffin*'s, and Col. *St. John*'s Regiment of Foot, and about ſeven-hundred Horſe, marched hence to reduce *Caſtle-Connel*, where the Enemy had a very good Gariſon: Another Party marched hence, with four Guns to take in two or three Caſtles, which the Enemy had gariſoned down the River. This Night, the Enemy fired ſo hard, from two Guns they had drawn below the Town, on our Left, that it obliged our Men to move a little farther off, till they could be better ſecured. This Morning, Orders were given for Fitting a thouſand Hand-Granadoes, and ſix-hundred Bombs, to be ready againſt Eight at Night. This Day, our Fleet, which were ordered from *Galway*, being about eighteen Sail, being under the Command of Capt. *Coal*, came up the *Shannon* towards the Town, firing ſo briſkly as they paſſed by the Enemy's Camp at *Crattalogue*, that they made many of them run to the adjacent Hills; our Ships came to an Anchor, about three Miles below the Town.

28th. This Morning the General went on Board the Fleet, but ſtaid not long there; the Weather, about this Time, began to be pretty good.

good. *Carrick-Gunnel* Caſtle, whoſe Gariſon was one-hundred and thirty Men, and two Captains, commanded by one *Archbold*, ſurrendered upon Mercy, and the Priſoners were immediately put into the Provoſt's Cuſtody; and this Night was ſurrendered likewiſe the Caſtle of *Ballycullare*, and another ſtrong Caſtle, on the *Shannon*; in all the ſeveral Caſtles, we took about nine-hundred Priſoners. Our Men were very buſy all this Day, on our Line of Communication. This Morning, our light Frigates came and anchored within Sight of the Town, Capt. *Coal* lying with the reſt about ſix Miles off; the *Iriſh*, upon the firſt Appearance of them, expreſſed a mighty Joy, believing them to be *French*, and were as much troubled, when they found their Miſtake.

29th. This Morning, our Ships began to unload Ammunition, *&c.* This Evening, our Line of Communication was finiſhed, the Guns and Mortars were drawn down, and mounted thereon; and this Night, about Eleven, our Mortars began to play, and threw above a hundred Bombs and Carcaſſes into the Town; which, beſides their other Execution, fired the Town in three ſeveral Places. Upwards of four-hundred Priſoners, taken in the three ſeveral Places before-mentioned, were, this Day, ſent hence to *Clonmell*, under a good Guard of Horſe and Dragoons. About Ten this Night, to encourage the Foot, and to prevent their being too much fatigued, ſix-hundred Troopers on Foot were commanded down to the Trenches, to raiſe another Battery, much nearer to the Town than the firſt.

31ſt. Early this Morning, the Troopers had finiſhed their Battery: About Two this Morning, a Body of four-hundred Horſe and Dragoons, commanded by Brigadier *Leviſon*, went hence towards the County of *Kerry*; about Eleven of the Clock, we played from our new Battery. This Night, two-hundred of the Proteſtant Inhabitants of *Limerick*, or thereabouts, moſt of them Women and Children, were brought off from an Iſland in the *Shannon*, where the *Iriſh* detained them Priſoners; the Manner of Relieving them was thus: Major *Joſeph Stroud*, who commands, in Chief, the Militia of the County of *Cork*, gariſoned at *Annaghbeg*, as he was on the Thirtieth at Night relieving his Guards, a Captain-Lieutenant, Coronet, and a Trooper, all of the *Iriſh* Army, deſerted, and came over to him; one of them propoſed a Piece of Service, which Major *Stroud* readily accepted, which was, to bring off ſome Proteſtants from an Iſland in the *Shannon*, called St. *Thomas's* Iſland; whereupon the Major, immediately taking with him ſixteen Dragoons with them, in four Cots, entered the Iſland, and brought off two-hundred Proteſtants, that were in great Miſery, being almoſt ſtarved for Want of Food, having only two ſmall Cabbins to ſhelter them from the Weather, and but a little Hay to lie on; they alſo brought off a Prey of forty-ſix Horſes. Yeſterday, and this Day, we played from our Cannon and Mortars, very briſkly, with very good Execution, as we were told by a Captain, two Lieutenants, and eleven Dragoons, who deſerted the Enemy and came over to us this Evening.

September 1. This Morning, Colonel *Wolſey* went from our Camp, with five-hundred Horſe and Dragoons towards *Killaloo*, it being reported, that *Sarsfield* was moving that Way: We ſtill continued to batter and bombard the Town very furiouſly; one-hundred and twenty of the Rebels, who were taken twenty Miles off, were, laſt Night, brought Priſoners into the Camp.

2d. This Morning an Expreſs arrived in the Camp, being ſent by Brigadier *Leviſon* to the General, dated Yeſterday, near *New Market*; which adviſes, That, having Intelligence on *Monday* Evening, where the Lord *Merrion's* and the Lord *Brittas's* Regiments of Horſe were, he marched towards them, and, by One of the Clock in the Morning, fell in with them, killed a great Number of them in the Place, cutting off ſeveral intire Troops, very few eſcaping, and had taken the Lord *Caſtle-connel's* Lady, and divers other Priſoners; as alſo, a good Prey of Cattle: In this Action, Major *Wood* had his Leg broke by a Shot from the Enemy, which was the moſt of our Loſs; our Guns and Mortars played inceſſantly, all laſt Night and this Day. A Court-Martial was this Day held, whereof the Earl of *Droghedah* was Preſident, where a Woman which pretended, ſhe came for a Protection for Cattle, was condemned for Perſuading ſome *French* Soldiers (whom ſhe took for Papiſts) to deſert, and go over to the *Iriſh*; ſeveral others were alſo found guilty of Stealing. This Day we had finiſhed two Batteries more, one of fourteen Pieces, the other of ten, all Eighteen and Twenty-four-pounders. Our Lines of Communication being finiſhed, we began this Day to work on a Line of Circumvallation.

3d. By a Dragoon of Col. *Nugent*'s, who, this Day, came over to us from the Enemy, we were adviſed, That the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons were at *Annahbeg*, about three Miles above *Limerick*, where they lay incamped; that they wanted Bread and Salt, and were very ill clad, as was alſo the Deſerter. This Evening, the General went to view their Camp, to make which look great, the Enemy had ſet up all their Sheets and Blankets, to make a Shew of Tents.

4th. This Day, the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s Regiment joined us. This Evening, three-hundred Horſe and Dragoons marched from the Camp towards *Kerry*, to reinforce Brigadier *Leviſon*, who was ordered to reduce that Country, and all the Gariſons betwixt *Limerick* and *Cork*. We were all Yeſterday, and this Day, employed in Unſhipping our Guns, Mortars, Stores, *&c.* and Joining them to the Train. This Night, we began to work on a new Battery of twenty-two Guns, the leaſt Eighteen-pounders, and eleven Mortars, from eighteen Inches, three Quarters, to ſeventy and an Half Diameter, on the Right of the Town, and within Carbine Shot of the Wall. Our Men worked ſome Time unperceived, but the Moon riſing diſcovered us to the Enemy, who played inceſſantly upon us, and killed ſeven or eight Men; however, we ſtill continued working thereon. This Day, we finiſhed our Line of Contravallation, with four Forts for the Defence of it.

Moſt of this Day, proving wet, hindered our Working on the great Battery. Deſerters, that came in this Day, informed us, That the Enemy, that were incamped at the Lower Town, were Regiments of Dragoons to guard the Fords of the River; and with the reſt, and eight Regiments of Horſe, they were reſolved to diſpute our Paſſage.

6th. The Rain, continuing to fall heavily this Day, prevented our Working at the great Battery, and Finiſhing it this Night, as we expected. By Deſerters, that came into the Camp this Day, from the Town, we were informed, That Monſieur *D'Uſſon*, the *French* General, had much ado to keep the Rapparees, that came from *Aghrim*, from Mutinying: That he had promiſed them, that, if a Supply of Money, Ammunition, and Proviſions came not from *France* in twelve Days, he would diſmiſs them.

7th. This Morning the General having received Advice, That the *Iriſh* of the County of *Kerry* were numerous, and, being armed, deſigned to oppoſe Brigadier *Leviſon*, ordered the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s, and another Regiment of Foot, to march and join the Brigadier. Soon after, we had an Account, That the Brigadier's Party had taken ſeveral Preys, in which were above a thouſand Head of Cattle, a great many Horſes, ſome of them very good; as alſo Abundance of Sheep, Goats, and Hogs. Deſerters, that came into the Camp this Day, told us, That our Bombs had fir divers Houſes on Fire, but that it was ſoon quenched, the Buildings being moſt of Stone, and very ſtrong; and that the ſecond Bomb, that was thrown, killed the Lady *Dillon*, and wounded ſome others.

8th. The General reſolved to attack *Limerick*, on the *Engliſh* Town Side; which is to our Right; in Order to which, our Approaches were carried on, with ſuch Celerity, that, in four Days Time, we run our Lines ſo near to the Enemy, that we could annoy one another with our Small-ſhot; by this Day, we had raiſed a Line compoſed of ſeveral Batteries, *viz.* One to the Left, of ten Field-pieces, to ſhoot red-hot Balls; another of thirty Guns, one Battery of eight Mortars and of Six, and another, on *Ireton*'s Fort, which much annoyed the *Iriſh* Town, of five Mortars, and eight Guns, Twelve and Eighteen pounders, and a Fort, to ſecure our Lines of Batteries. At Four this Morning, we fired a great Mortar, but the Shell, burſting in the, flung both the Mortar and Carriage two Yards off the Flooring. We ſoon diſcharged fourteen Twenty-four, and three Eighteen Pounders, which, like a Volley of Small-ſhot, for the Cloſeneſs of Firing, opened a Breach in the Wall, at which, two Coaches might enter a Breaſt, and filled the Counterſcarp with its Ruins; and, all this Day, we continued to ply the Town with Fire-balls, Carcaſſes, and Bombs, which did them much Miſchief.

9th. Our Cannon and Mortars continued to play without Intermiſſion; that of our great Battery had this Day made a Breach in the Wall of the *Engliſh* Town, of about thirty Yards wide. This Day, we finiſhed another Battery, which played upon St. *John*'s Gate, in the *Iriſh* Town; and, this Day, we began to work on two other Batteries, one of ſeven

Eighteen-

Eighteen-pounders, and the other of ſixteen Twenty four pounders. About Two, this Afternoon, a Body of the Enemy came out, and appeared, as if they intended a Sally, but deſigned only to ſecure a Ditch that lay betwixt them and our Batteries; which was no ſooner known, but our Men marched down upon them and beat them back into the Town, killing about thirty, with the Loſs only of one Grenadier. Our Guns and Mortars continued to play into the Town, all this Night, without Intermiſſion.

10th. Early this Morning, one of the Enemy's Captains came to us, out of the Town, and gave an Account, That Yeſterday, in Beating the Enemy into the Town, we killed two of their Majors, and one of our Bombs killed Monſieur *La Four*, who was Brother to the Governor; and that the Governor and Officers, to keep up the Hearts of the Town and Gariſon, aſſured them, That the *French* Fleet had totally beat the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and forced thoſe *Engliſh* Veſſels, with Capt. *Cole*, into the *Shannon*; but that this Day, or within forty-eight Hours, a Squadron of *French* would come into the River to their Relief, and wholly deſtroy the *Engliſh*, &c. All this Day, we continued Firing, and about Six, at Night, the Town appeared on Fire, in many Places; to prevent its Spreading, the Enemy blew up divers Houſes and Buildings; notwithſtanding which, ſome very conſiderable Place continued burning with great Violence, until Two the next Morning.

11th. This Morning ſome Officers of Sir *Albert Cunningham's* Regiment of Dragoons came to the Camp, with an Expreſs from their Lieutenant-Colonel *Echlin*, of the Loſs of their Colonel, and to pray the General's Favour, to have the Regiment: The ſaid Colonel of Sir *Albert Cunningham's* Regiment, being detached from the Camp, to join the Forces, for the Reducing of *Sligo*, and he ſtaying after them, did follow with ten Men only, as a Guard. In their *March*, upon the Hills near *Boyle*, they unhappily miſtook their Way in a Fog, and fell into the Hands of two or three hundred Rapparees, to whom they ſold their Lives, at the utmoſt Rate, killing about Twenty-five, but were at laſt overpowered, and cut in Pieces; whoſe Blood was ſoon revenged by *Baldarick O Donnel*, who was in Hearing of the Guns, but came too late, to ſave the brave Colonel; however, he killed many of them, and routed the reſt: We continued to batter and bomb the Town, all this Day and all Night.

12th. All laſt Night and this Day we fired furiouſly into the Town without Intermiſſion, and our Breach was widened ſeventy Paces; this Day we began to prepare our Floating-bridges, in order to paſs over the Water, but, whether to the Iſland, or above the Town, to gain the other Side, was at that Time a Secret. This Morning came to us ten Dragoons and an Officer, Deſerters; who ſaid, That, in the great Fire, that was in the Town on the Tenth at Night, the Bombs ſet Fire to three Magazines; one of Powder, which, in Blowing up, ſet Fire unto, and burnt great Part of the *Engliſh* Town, and did much other Miſchiefs; the other two of Beef, Biſcuit, Oats, Brandy, and Wine, which was all deſtroyed, and would be ſoon wanted amongſt them.

13th. All this Day we continued Firing into the Town; and the Deſerters came in this Day, and informed us, that our Ball, Bombs, Carcaſſes, *&c.* had ruined the greater Part of the *Engliſh* Town. Our Cannon now mounted were ſixty Pieces, none leſs than Twelve-pounders. This Day the General ſent an Expreſs to the Queen.

14th. This Morning the General ſent two Regiments towards *Clonmell* and *Waterford*, to reinforce the Militia, there being many Priſoners in the latter, and the *Iriſh* in thoſe Parts grew inſolent. His Excellency alſo ſent Money and Guards to ſupport them, with Orders to blow up and demoliſh Caſtle *Connel*, and the other Caſtles we had taken near *Limerick*, on the *Shannon*, and elſewhere, to prevent their being any more Neſts of Rebels, Rapparees, *&c.* This Day, near ſixty Waggons of good Wool, taken from the Enemy, were put on Board our Ships.

15th. We continued all this Day to bomb and batter the Town, and made the Breaches ſo wide, that we could plainly ſee into the Town, which looked ruinous. The Enemy made much Sod-works, and a very deep Trench, or Ditch, with Pallifadoes and Stockadoes, yet the Men continued impatient to ſtorm it. About Three this Afternoon, the Lord *Lisburne* was unfortunately killed, by a Cannon-ball from the Town, as he was coming out of his Tent, which he had placed in the Trenches. This Evening our Cannon were thrice diſcharged, and our Army made ſeveral Vollies, in Demonſtration of their Joy

for the great Defeat given to the *Turks* by the Emperor's Forces. This Night we again fired the Town, which burnt furiouſly for two Hours.

16th. The General having reſolved to paſs the *Shannon*, it was given out, to amuſe the Enemy, That we were going to raiſe the Siege; and, for the better Colouring that Pretence, a large Mortar, and two or three Guns (which, by often Firing, had been rendered unſerviceable) were drawn off, in Sight of the Town, towards the Shipping. About Ten laſt Night, Orders were given to carry our Floats and Pontoons to a Place appointed for Laying our Bridge, about a Mile above the *Engliſh* Town, to cover the Workmen, who were about Six-hundred in Number. A Detachment of an hundred Grenadiers was ſent, in four Boats, over to St. *Thomas*'s Iſland; from whence, to the other Side of the River, were two or three ſhallow Fords: They lay there undiſcovered, till it was almoſt Morning, when a Trooper, that was patrolling, firſt ſaw them, and gave Notice to four Regiments of the Enemies Dragoons, who, with ſome Foot, were poſted with two Parties under the Command of Brigadier *Clifford*, not far from thence; upon which, thoſe that lay neareſt our Bridge made ſome Shot at us. About Seven of the Clock the Bridge was finiſhed, and the General immediately ordered the Royal Regiment of Dragoons to paſs; who drew up on the Side of the River, and made Way for the Grenadiers and Fuſiliers, that followed; theſe were ſupported by four Battalions of Foot, and ſeveral Squadrons of Horſe. In the mean Time, the Enemies Dragoons came down on Foot to oppoſe us; but, as ſoon as our Men advanced, they took to their Heels, leaving their Tents and Baggage, with their Bridles and Saddles (their Horſes being at Graſs, at a Place about two Miles off) behind them; we took alſo two Pieces of braſs Cannon, and Brigadier *Maxwell*'s Standard. In this Action we had but one Man killed, and the Enemy not many; for they ran immediately, and great Numbers of them afterwards took the Advantage of that Confuſion, and deſerted: We took ſeveral Priſoners, and, among them, a *French* Lieutenant-Colonel of Dragoons, and ſome other Officers, who confirmed what we had heard before of the Burning the two Stores of Biſcuit, and one of Brandy. By this Time, the main Body of the Enemies Horſe, who were commanded in Chief by *Sarsfield*, and lay there incamped near the Town of *Killaloo*, took the Alarm, and drew out, making a Shew, as if they deſigned to fight us; but it proved only a Stratagem to get Time to ſecure their Tents and Baggage in Decamping; which they did, but in great Confuſion, marching away immediately towards the Mountains. Our Horſe returned to the Camp, and the Foot were poſted at the Head of the Bridge; a Detachment being firſt ſent to ſummon a Caſtle, which is very advantageouſly ſituated in the Middle of the *Shannon*; upon our Party's Coming before it, they immediately capitulated, but were allowed no other Terms, than to be made Priſoners of War: The Gariſon conſiſted of about ſixty Men; ſoon after, we took in another Poſt; both of which proved of great Uſe to us.

17th. This Day, one *Taaf*, a very ſenſible Man, and a Captain of the *Iriſh* Royal Regiment of Foot, came over to us, and informed us, that our Bombs and Cannon had killed great Numbers of their Gariſon, and left few Houſes ſtanding in the Town. Notwithſtanding our being buſied in Paſſing the *Shannon*, we fired plentifully the laſt Night into the Town, and continued to do the like all this Day. This Day, eleven of the Enemies Troops came over to us, with their Horſes, Arms, and Accoutrements, and, for their better Encouragement, were immediately received into our Troops. This Evening, the Standard and two fine braſs Field-pieces, taken from the Enemy at our Paſſing the *Shannon*, were brought into the Camp.

18th. Orders were this Day ſent, by the General, to Capt. *Coat*, to land ſome Men out of his Frigates, to deſtroy all the Forrage in thoſe Parts of the County of *Clare* near the Water-ſide.

19th. Theſe two Days, we were buſied in Lengthening our Bridge of Boats, which, proving too ſhort at firſt Laying over the River, was bravely ſupplied by the Forwardneſs of our Soldiers, who marched through the Water, where the Bridge proved deficient. This Day, ſome of our Militia brought into the Camp three notorious Rapparees, whom they took about twelve Miles off.

20th. This Day was chiefly ſpent in removing our Float-Bridge nearer the Town, and in raiſing a Battery for the Security of it; we alſo ſecured a Paſs to the Town, as likewiſe

wiſe the Paſs of *Annabeg*, where we went over the laſt Year. This Afternoon the General received an Account from Brigadier *Leviſon*, that, putting himſelf at the Head of two-hundred and fifty Horſe and Dragoons, he had again fallen upon the Enemy in the County of *Kerry*, who were three-thouſand ſtrong, and had with them two intire Regiments of Dragoons; killed a great many of them, took divers Officers Priſoners, and quite diſperſed the whole Party; ſo that we were now intire Maſters of that County, which did not a little ſtrengthen the Enemy. The Weather was now very bad, and much Rain for theſe three Days paſt; but this Afternoon it cleared up, and began to be very fair again.

21ſt. All laſt Night and this Morning our Guns continued to play furiouſly into the Town. This Afternoon, by an Expreſs to the General, we had Advice in the Camp, of the Surrender of *Sligo*; the Manner as followeth: On the 10th Inſtant, Col. *Michelbourn* marched with a Detachment of his Regiment, and five-hundred of the Militia of the Province of *Sligo*, two Troops of Dragoons of the Army, and ſix Field-Pieces, and incamped at *Drumcheſte*, about three Miles from *Sligo*, of which he gave an Account to the Earl of *Granard*, by a Party of Horſe under the Command of Capt. *Vaughan*. The 11th he advanced within half a Mile of the Town, but, the Weather being wet, he could make no farther Progreſs that Day. On the 12th he drew out his Men to attack the Enemy, who at firſt made a Shew of oppoſing us, but preſently after quitted the Works which they had caſt up to defend the Entrance into the Town; our Men purſued them, and, forcing the reſt of their Outworks, beat them into the great Fort, with the Loſs only, on our Side, of an Enſign killed, and five Men wounded. On the 13th, the Earl of *Granard* came with the Forces under his Command before the Place: His Lordſhip cauſed immediately Batteries to be raiſed againſt the Fort, and inſinuated into the Enemy ſuch Apprehenſions of great Cannon and Mortars, which they were made to believe he had brought along with him, that they ſent out to capitulate: The Conditions were agreed and aſſigned, much the ſame Terms as *Galway*, and the Fort, which is very ſtrong, was accordingly ſurrendered on the 15th, there marching out ſix-hundred Men, under the Command of Sir *Teague O Regan*. They left in the Place ſixteen Pieces of Cannon, and Col. *Michelbourn* is made Governor of it.

22d. Early this Morning, the General, the Duke of *Wirtemburgh*, and Lieutenant-General *Scravenmore*, with all our Horſe and Dragoons (except Col. *Coy*'s Regiment of Horſe, and fifty out of each of the Regiments of Dragoons of the Army) and ten Regiments of Foot, taking with them ſeven Days Proviſions, and fourteen Guns, *viz.* ten Three-pounders, and four Twelve-pounders, marched over our Bridge of Boats into the County of *Clare*. In the mean While, the Major-Generals *Mackay* and *Talmaſh* commanded the reſt of the Army, for the Security of the Works on *Lempſter* Side of the River, from whence we ſtill continued to fire Day and Night into the Town; whence alſo they fired at our Men as they paſſed by. About Twelve at Noon, all our Men had paſſed the Bridge, and were drawn up before the Town on *Clare* Side, the Enemy playing upon them all from the Caſtle and ſeveral Towers, both with great and ſmall Shot, but with little Execution: And, about Two, eighteen of Col. *Matthews*'s Dragoons, being our advanced Party, were attacked by the advanced Party of the *Iriſh*, who out-numbered them, and both Parties were ſuſtained from each Side till about Four, that the Float came up, when began a warm Diſpute; and, the Place being near the Town, the Enemy played upon us at the ſame Time with their Cannon from the Caſtle, and their Small-ſhot from the Walls, which neither diſmayed, nor did much Miſchief to our Men. About Five, the General ordered a Detachment to attack the Fort near *Thomond-Bridge*, which commands both the Bridge and the King's Iſland; and, though two great Detachments ſallied out of the Town to ſupport thoſe that defended it, we carried it, and purſued the Enemy over the Bridge to the Town; but the Beſieged, perceiving our Men at their Heels, drew up the Draw-Bridge, leaving above ſix-hundred of them to the Fury of our Soldiers, ſome of whom were preſſed into the *Shannon*, and the reſt killed by our Men: In this Action we took twenty-one Commiſſioned Officers, amongſt whom were Col. *Shelton*, two Lieutenant-Colonels, three Majors, five Captains, and the reſt Subalterns: We took alſo forty-ſeven Common Soldiers, three Braſs Guns, two Three-pounders, and one Twelve-pounder, and five Colours; the General very well rewarding the Soldiers which brought

them in: We loſt not one Officer of Note, but had killed about two-hundred of Common Soldiers: We immediately poſted ourſelves in all their Works and Forts on that Side the Water. This Day one-hundred Head of black Cattle, taken in the late Action, and ſix-hundred more, taken by Brigadier *Leviſon* in *Kerry*, were brought into the Camp.

23d. All Yeſterday, and laſt Night, our Guns and Mortars continued firing into the Town. This Morning, Col. *Corbet* came over to us from the Enemy, and propoſed to the General the Bringing over *Tyrconnel*'s and *Galway*'s Regiments of Horſe, and out of them, to make one good Regiment, to ſerve their Majeſties in *Flanders*.

24th. About Four of the Clock this Afternoon, the Enemy beat a Parley round the Town, deſiring to capitulate about the Surrender.

25th. This Day the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, Col. *Sheldon*, the Lord *Galway*, Lord *Dillon*, *Nicholas Purcel*, Eſq; commonly called Baron of *Loughmore*, the Titular Primate, the Titular Archbiſhop of *Caſhel*, Sir *Theobald Butler*, Major *Cordon*, and ſome others, came to the Camp, from the Enemies Horſe Camp, dined with the General, and after a large Conference, went hence into the Town. The Ceſſation, which began Yeſterday, upon the Beſieged's Parlying, continued till Ten o' Clock the next Morning.

26th. *Sarsfield* and *Wahop*, and two Brigadiers of the *Iriſh* Army, came into the Camp from the Town, and came to a Reſolution with the General, about the Treaty, and in Order to it, that Hoſtages ſhould be exchanged; accordingly, in the Afternoon, the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, Lord *Lowth*, Lord *Evagh*, and Lord *Trimleſtown*, came Hoſtages from the Beſieged; and in Exchange of them, the General ſent in my Lord *Cutts*, Sir *David Collier*, Col. *Tiffin*, and Col. *Pyper*.

27th. This Morning the Beſieged ſent their Propoſals to the General, which were ſo unreaſonable, that the General returned them with Diſdain, and ordered our Bombardiers and Gunners to make ready to play again into the Town; accordingly all Things were prepared, when the Beſieged, apprehenſive of the Conſequence, ſent out to know what Terms his Excellency would propoſe to them.

28th. Early this Morning, *Sarsfield*, *Wahop*, *Purcel* of *Loughmore*, the Titular Primate, the Titular Archbiſhop of *Caſhel*, *Garret Dillon*, Sir *Theobald Butler*, and *John Brown*, the Three laſt Counſellors at Law, with ſeveral other Commiſſioners on the Part of the Enemy, came out of the Town to the General's Quarters, whither his Excellency ſent for all our General Officers; where, after a long Debate, Articles were almoſt agreed on for the Rendition, not only of *Limerick*, but of all the other Forts and Caſtles in the Enemies Poſſeſſion.

29th. We are now in Poſſeſſion of the Six-mile Bridge, and other Paſſes and Caſtles about *Limerick*; but the *French* and *Iriſh*, in the Town and Camp, inſiſting on the having the Articles agreed to ſigned by the Lords Juſtices, as well as the General, Things remained in the ſame Poſture.

30th. The Ceſſation ſtill continuing, ſeveral of our Soldiers went into the Town, and the Beſieged came frequently into our Camp; where alſo *Sarsfield*, *Wahop*, *Sheldon*, and others of their Officers, were this Day entertained by the Duke of *Wirtemburgh*.

October 1. This Evening the Right Honourable the Lords Juſtices arrived in the Camp.

2d. This Day ſeveral *Iriſh* Officers and Commiſſioners, appointed to treat, came into the Camp from the Town, and ſtayed with the Lords Juſtices and General till Twelve at Night; by which Time all the Difficulties, which arose in Settling the Articles, being agreed, they were concluded on, and ordered to be fair drawn for Signing.

3d. This Evening the Articles were ſigned and exchanged; but it being late, we only took Poſſeſſion of the Enemies Out-works, their Stone-fort, and St. *John*'s Gate, on the *Iriſh* Town Side.

4th. This Morning four Regiments of Foot marched into the *Iriſh* Town, which is indeed the ſtrongeſt Part of *Limerick*, leaving the *Engliſh* Town for the *Iriſh* Quarters, until *Sarsfield*, with thoſe who were deſigned to go with him, could be ſhipped for *France*.

5th. The *Iriſh* having impriſoned a Lieutenant Colonel, for Denying to go with them for *France*, he was immediately enlarged, upon the General's Taxing them with their Breach of Articles, and Laying before them the Conſequence of ſuch their Violation; it having been granted them to take off only ſuch as were willing to go, without any Compulſion.

6th. This

6th. This Morning Col. *Earl*'s Regiment marched from the Camp towards *Cork*, which Place, with the Garrisons thereabouts, is assigned them for their Winter Quarters.

7th. This Morning the Right Honourable the Lords Juſtices, having ſeen us in quiet Poſſeſſion of the *Iriſh* Town, ſet forward in their Return to *Dublin*.

Articles Civil and Military, agreed upon the third Day of October, 1691; *between the Right Honourable Sir* Charles Porter, *Knight, and* Thomas Coningsby, *Eſq*; *Lords Juſtices of* Ireland; *and his Excellency, the Baron* de Ginckle, *Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the* Engliſh *Army, on the one Part. And the Right Honourable,* Patrick, *Earl of* Lucan, Piercy *Viſcount* Galmoy, *Col.* Nicholas Purcel, *Col.* Nicholas Cuſack, *Sir* Toby Butler, *Col.* Garret Dillon, *and Col.* John Brown, *on the other Part. In the Behalf of the* Iriſh *Inhabitants, in the City and County of* Limerick, *the Counties of* Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, *and* Mayo.

I. The CIVIL ARTICLES.

In Conſideration of the Surrender of the City of Limerick, *and other Agreements, made between the ſaid Lieutenant-General* Ginckle, *the Governor of the City of* Limerick, *and the General of the* Iriſh *Army, bearing Date with theſe Preſents, for the Surrender of the ſaid City, and Submiſſion of the ſaid Army; it is agreed, that,*

I.

THE *Roman* Catholicks of this Kingdom ſhall enjoy ſuch Privileges in their Exercife of their Religion, as are conſiſtent with the Laws of *Ireland*; or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*. And their Majeſties, as ſoon as their Affairs will permit them to ſummon a Parliament, in this Kingdom, will endeavour to procure the ſaid *Roman* Catholicks ſuch further Security, in that Particular, as may preſerve them from any Diſturbance, upon the Account of their ſaid Religion.

II.

All the Inhabitants, or Reſidents of *Limerick*, or any other Gariſon, now in Poſſeſſion of the *Iriſh*, and all Officers and Soldiers, now in Arms, under any Commiſſion of King *James*, or thoſe authoriſed to grant the ſame in the ſeveral Counties of *Limerick*, *Clare*, *Kerry*, *Cork*, and *Mayo*, or in any of them; and all the Commiſſioned Officers in their Majeſties Quarters, that belong to the *Iriſh* Regiments now in Being, that are treated with, and who are not Priſoners of War, or have taken Protection, and who ſhall return and ſubmit to their Majeſties Obedience, their and every of their Heirs ſhall hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy all and every their Eſtates of Freehold, and Inheritance; and all the Right, Title, and Intereſt, Privileges and Immunities, which they, and every or any of them, held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, or at any Time ſince, by the Laws and Statutes that were in Force in the ſaid Reign of King *Charles the Second*; and ſhall be put in Poſſeſſion, by Order of the Government, of ſuch of them, as are in the King's Hands, or the Hands of their Tenants, without being put to any Suit or Trouble therein; and all ſuch Eſtates ſhall be freed and diſcharged from all Arrears of Crown-Rents, Quit-Rents, and other publick Charges incurred and become due, ſince *Michaelmas*, 1688, to the Day of the Date hereof: All Perſons comprehended in this Article ſhall have, hold, and enjoy all their Goods and Chattels, Real and Perſonal, to them, or any of them, belonging or remaining either in their own Hands, or the Hands of any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, in Truſt for, or for the Uſe of them, or any or them. And all and every the ſaid Perſons,

Perſons, of what Trade, Profeſſion, or Calling ſoever they be, ſhall, and may uſe, exerciſe, and practiſe their ſeveral and reſpective Profeſſions, Trades, and Callings, as freely as they did uſe, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſame, in the Reign of King *James the Second*: Provided, that nothing in this Article contained be conſtrued to extend to, or reſtore any forfeiting Perſon, now out of the Kingdom, except what are hereafter compriſed: Provided alſo, That no Perſon whatſoever ſhall have and enjoy the Benefit of this Article, that ſhall neglect or refuſe to take the Oath of Allegiance, made by Act of Parliament in *England*, in the firſt Year of the Reign of their preſent Majeſties, when thereunto required.

III.

All Merchants, or reputed Merchants, of the City of *Limerick*, or of any other Gariſon, now poſſeſſed by the *Iriſh*, or of any Town or Place in the Counties of *Clare*, or *Kerry*, who are abſent beyond the Seas, that have not borne Arms ſince their Majeſties Declaration in *February*, 1688-9, ſhall have the Benefit of the ſecond Article, in the ſame Manner as if they were preſent, provided ſuch Merchants, and reputed Merchants, do repair into this Kingdom, within the Space of eight Months, from the Date hereof.

IV.

Theſe following Officers, *viz.* Colonel *Simon Lutterel*, Captain *Rowland White*, *Morrice Euſtace* of *Gormonſtown*, *Cheevers* of *Mayeſtown*, commonly called *Mount-Leinſter*, now belonging to the Regiments in the aforeſaid Gariſons and Quarters of the *Iriſh* Army, who were beyond the Seas, and ſent thither upon Affairs of their reſpective Regiments, or of the Army in general, ſhall have the Benefit and Advantage of the ſecond Article, provided they return hither within the Space of eight Months, from the Date of theſe Preſents, and ſubmit to their Majeſties Government, and take the above-mentioned Oath.

V.

That all and ſingular the ſaid Perſons, compriſed in the ſecond and third Articles, ſhall have a general Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treaſons, Miſpriſions of Treaſon, Premunire's, Felonies, Treſpaſſes, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors whatſoever, by them, or any of them committed, ſince the Beginning of the Reign of King *James the Second*: And if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the Lords Juſtices, and the General, will uſe their beſt Endeavours to get the ſame repealed by the Parliament, and the Outlawries to be reverſed *gratis*, all but Writing-Clerks Fees.

VI.

Whereas the preſent Wars have drawn great Violencies on both Parties, and that, if Leave were given for Bringing all Sorts of private Actions, the Animoſities would probably continue, that have been ſo long on Foot, and the publick Diſturbance laſt: For the Quieting and Settling therefore of the Kingdom, and Avoiding thoſe Inconveniences which would be the neceſſary Conſequence of the Contrary, no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, compriſed in the foregoing Articles, ſhall be ſued, moleſted, or impleaded, at the Suit of any Party or Parties whatſoever, for any Treſpaſs by them committed, or for any Arms, Horſes, Money, Goods, and Chattels, Merchandiſe, or Proviſion whatſoever, by them ſeized or taken, during the Time of the War. And no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, in the ſecond or third Articles compriſed, ſhall be ſued, impleaded, or made accountable for the Rents or mean Rates of any Lands, Tenements, or Houſes, by him or them received or enjoyed in this Kingdom, ſince the Beginning of the preſent War, to the Day of the Date hereof, nor for any Waſte or Treſpaſs by him or them committed in any ſuch Lands, Tenements, or Houſes: And it is alſo agreed, That this Article ſhall be mutual, and reciprocal, on both Sides.

VII.

Every Nobleman and Gentleman, compriſed in the ſaid ſecond and third Articles, ſhall have Liberty to ride with a Sword, and Caſe of Piſtols, if they think fit; and keep a Gun in their Houſes, for the Defence of the ſame, or Fowling.

VIII.

The Inhabitants and Reſidents of the City of *Limerick*, and other Gariſons, ſhall be permitted to remove their Goods, Chattels, and Proviſions, out of the ſame, without being viewed or ſearched, or paying any Manner of Duty; and ſhall not be compelled to leave their Houſes or Lodgings they now have therein, for the Space of ſix Weeks next enſuing the Date hereof.

IX. The

IX.

The Oath, to be adminiſtered to ſuch *Roman* Catholicks as ſubmit to their Majeſties Government, ſhall be the Oath aboveſaid, and no other.

X.

No Perſon or Perſons, who ſhall at any Time hereafter break theſe Articles, or any of them, ſhall thereby make or cauſe any other Perſon, or Perſons, to forfeit or loſe the Benefit of the ſame.

XI.

The Lords Juſtices and General do promiſe to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, that all Perſons, comprehended in the abovementioned Articles, ſhall be protected and defended from all Arreſts, and Executions for Debt or Damage, for the Space of eight Months, next enſuing the Date hereof.

XII.

Laſtly, The Lords Juſtices and General do undertake, that their Majeſties will ratify theſe Articles, within the Space of eight Months, or ſooner, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, that the ſame ſhall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.

XIII.

And whereas Colonel *John Brown* ſtood indebted to ſeveral Proteſtants, by Judgments of Record; which appearing to the late Government, the Lord *Tyrconnel*, and Lord *Lucan*, took away the Effects the ſaid *John Brown* had to anſwer the ſaid Debts, and promiſed to clear the ſaid *John Brown* of the ſaid Debts; which Effects were taken for the publick Uſe of the *Iriſh*, and their Army: For Freeing the ſaid Lord *Lucan* of the ſaid Engagement, paſſed on the publick Account, for Payment of the ſaid Proteſtants, for Preventing the Ruin of the ſaid *John Brown*, and for Satisfaction of his Creditors, at the Inſtance of the ſaid Lord *Lucan*, and the reſt of Perſons, aforeſaid, it is agreed, That the ſaid Lords Juſtices, and Lieutenant-General *Ginckle*, ſhall interpoſe with the King and Parliament, to have the Eſtates ſecured to *Roman* Catholicks, by Articles and Capitulations in this Kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the Payment of ſo much of the ſaid Debts, as the ſaid Lord *Lucan*, upon ſtating Accounts with the ſaid *John Brown*, ſhall certify under his Hand, that the Effects taken from the ſaid *John Brown* amount unto; Accounts are to be ſtated, and the Balance certified by the ſaid Lord *Lucan*, in twenty-one Days after the Date hereof:

For the true Performance hereof, we have hereunto ſet our Hands,

Charles Porter,
Tho. Coningſby,
Bar. *De Ginckle*.
Lucan,
Gallmoy,
N. Purcel,
N. Cuſack,
Theobald Butler,
John Brown,
Ger. Dillon.

Preſent,
Scravenmore,
H. Maccay,
F. Talmaſh.

The MILITARY ARTICLES,

Agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, *Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the* Engliſh *Army, on the one Side; and the Lieutenant-Generals,* D'Uſſoon, *and* De Teſſe, *Commanders in Chief of the* Iriſh *Army, on the other Side; and the General Officers hereunto ſubſcribing.*

I.

THAT all Perſons, without any Exceptions, of what Quality or Condition ſoever, that are willing to leave the Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſhall have free Leave to go beyond the Seas, to any Country (*England* and *Scotland* excepted) where they think fit, with their Families, Houſehold-ſtuff, Plate and Jewels.

II.

That all the General Officers, Colonels, and generally all other Officers of Horſe, Dragoons, and Foot-Guards; Troops, Dragoons, Soldiers of all Kinds, that are in any Garriſon,

Garison, Place, or Poſt, now in the Hands of the *Iriſh*, or incamped in the Counties of *Cork*, *Clare*, or *Kerry*, as, alſo, thoſe called *Rapparees*, or Volunteers, that are willing to go beyond Seas, as aforeſaid, ſhall have free Liberty to imbarque themſelves whereſoever the Ships are, that are appointed to tranſport them; and to come in whole Bodies, as they are now compoſed, or in Parties, Companies, or otherwiſe, without having any Impediment, directly or indirectly.

III.

That all Perſons abovementioned, that are willing to leave *Ireland*, and go into *France*, have Leave to declare it at the Places and Times hereafter mentioned, *viz.* The Troops in *Limerick*, on *Tueſday* next, at *Limerick*; the Horſe at their Camp, on *Wedneſday*; and the other Forces that are diſperſed in the Counties of *Clare*, *Kerry*, and *Cork*, the 18th Day of this Inſtant, and on no other, before Monſieur *Tumeron*, the *French* Intendant, and Colonel *Withers*; and after ſuch Declaration ſo made, the Troops, that will go into *France*, muſt remain under the Command and Diſcipline of their Officers, that are to conduct them thither: And Deſerters of each Side ſhall be given up, and puniſhed accordingly.

IV.

That all *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Officers, that ſerve now in *Ireland*, ſhall be included in this Capitulation, as well for the Security of their Eſtates and Goods, in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, if they are willing to remain here, as for Paſſing freely into *France*, or any other Country to ſerve.

V.

That all the General *French* Officers, the Intendant, the Engineers, the Commiſſaries at War, and other Artillery; the Treaſurer, and other *French* Officers, Strangers, and others, whatſoever, that are in *Sligo*, *Roſs*, *Clare*, or in the Army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any Kind of Station or Condition, ſhall have Leave to paſs into *France*, or any other Country; and ſhall have Leave to ſhip themſelves, with all their Horſes, Equipage, Plate, Papers, and all other Effects whatſoever; and that General *Ginckle* will order Paſs-ports for them, Convoys, and Carriages by Land and Water, to carry them ſafe from *Limerick*, to the Ships where they ſhall be imbarqued, without Paying any Thing for the ſaid Carriages, or thoſe that are employed therein, with their Horſes, Carts, Boats, and Shallops.

VI.

That, if any of the aforeſaid Equipages, Merchandiſe, Horſes, Money, Plate, or other Moveables, or Houſehold-ſtuff, belonging to the ſaid *Iriſh* Troops, or to the *French* Officers, or other particular Perſons whatſoever, be robbed, deſtroyed, or taken away by the Troops of the ſaid General, the ſaid General will order it to be reſtored, or Payment to be made, according to the Value that is given in, upon Oath, by the Perſon ſo robbed or plundered; and the ſaid *Iriſh* Troops to be tranſported, as aforeſaid, and all Perſons belonging to them, are to obſerve good Orders in their March and Quarters, and ſhall reſtore whatever they ſhall take from the Country, or make Satisfaction for the ſame.

VII.

That, to facilitate the Tranſporting of the Troops, the General will furniſh fifty Ships, and each Ship Burden two-hundred Tons; for which, the Perſons, to be tranſported, ſhall not be obliged to pay; and twenty more, if there ſhall be Occaſion, without their Paying for them; and, if any of the ſaid Ships ſhall be of leſſer Burden, he will furniſh more in Number to countervail, and alſo give two Men of War to imbarque the principal Officers, and ſerve for a Convoy to the Veſſels of Burden.

VIII.

That a Commiſſary ſhall be immediately ſent to *Cork*, to viſit the Tranſport-Ships, and ſee what Condition they are in for Sailing; and that, as ſoon as they are ready, the Troops, to be tranſported, ſhall march with all convenient Speed the neareſt Way, in Order to be imbarqued there; and, if there ſhall be any more Men to be tranſported, than can be carried off in the ſaid fifty Ships, the reſt ſhall quit the *Engliſh* Town of *Limerick*, and march to ſuch Quarters as ſhall be appointed for them, convenient for their Tranſportation, where they ſhall remain, till the other twenty Ships are ready, which are to be in a Month's Time; and may imbarque in any *French* Ship, that may come in the mean Time.

IX.

That the ſaid Ships ſhall be furniſhed with Forage for Horſes, and all neceſſary Proviſions,

ons, to ſubſiſt the Officers, Troops, Dragoons, and Soldiers, and all other Perſons, that are ſhipped, to be tranſported into *France*; which Proviſions ſhall be paid for, as ſoon as all is diſimbarqued at *Breſt*, or *Nantes*, on the Coaſt of *Brittany*, or any other Port in *France* they can make.

X.

And, to ſecure the Return of the ſaid Ships (the Danger of the Seas excepted) and the Payment for the ſaid Proviſions, ſufficient Hoſtages ſhall be given.

XI.

That the Gariſons of *Clare-Caſtle*, *Roſs*, and all other Foot that are in Gariſons, in the Counties of *Clare*, *Cork*, and *Kerry*, ſhall have the Advantage of this Capitulation; and ſuch Part of the Gariſons, as deſign to go beyond the Seas, ſhall march out with their Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Ball in Mouth, Match lighted at both Ends, Colours flying, with all their Proviſions, and Half the Ammunition, that is in the ſaid Gariſon's Town, with the Horſe that march to be tranſported; or, if then there is not Shipping enough, the Body of Foot, that is to be tranſported next after the Horſe, General *Ginckle* will order, that they be furniſhed with Carriages for that Purpoſe, and what Proviſion they ſhall want for their March, they paying for the ſaid Proviſions, or elſe, that they may take it out of their own Magazines.

XII.

That all the Troops of Horſe and Dragoons, that are in the Counties of *Cork*, *Kerry*, and *Clare*, ſhall have the Benefit of this Capitulation; and that ſuch, as will paſs into *France*, ſhall have Quarters given them in the Counties of *Clare* and *Kerry*, a-part from the Troops commanded by General *Ginckle*, until they can be ſhipped; and, within their Quarters, they ſhall pay for all Things, excepting Forage, and Paſture for their Horſes, which ſhall be furniſhed *gratis*.

XIII.

Thoſe of the Gariſon of *Sligo*, that are joined to the *Iriſh* Army, ſhall have the Benefit of this Capitulation; and Orders ſhall be ſent to them, that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to *Limerick* the ſhorteſt Way.

XIV.

The *Iriſh* may have Liberty to tranſport nine-hundred Horſe, including Horſes for the Officers, which ſhall be tranſported *gratis*; and, as for the Troops that ſtay behind, they ſhall diſpoſe of themſelves, as they ſhall think fit, giving up their Arms and Horſes, to ſuch Perſons as the General ſhall appoint.

XV.

It ſhall be permitted, for thoſe that are appointed to take Care for the Subſiſtence of the Horſe, that are willing to go into *France*, to buy Hay and Corn at the King's Rates, where-ever they can find it, in the Quarters that are aſſigned for them, without any Lett or Moleſtation, and to carry all neceſſary Proviſions out of the City of *Limerick*; and, for this Purpoſe, the General will furniſh convenient Carriages for them, to the Place where they ſhall be imbarqued.

XVI.

It ſhall be lawful to make Uſe of the Hay, preſerved in the Stores of the County of *Kerry*, for the Horſes that ſhall be imbarqued; and, if there be not enough, it ſhall be lawful to buy Hay and Oats, where-ever they ſhall be found, at the King's Rates.

XVII.

That all Priſoners of War, that were in *Ireland* the Twenty-eighth of *September*, ſhall be ſet at Liberty on both Sides; and the General promiſes to uſe his Endeavours, that the Priſoners, that are in *England* and *Flanders*, ſhall be ſet at Liberty alſo.

XVIII.

The General will cauſe Proviſions and Medicines to be furniſhed to the ſick and wounded Officers, Troops, Dragoons, and Soldiers of the *Iriſh* Army, that cannot paſs into *France* at the firſt Imbarquement; and, after they are cured, will then order Ships to paſs into *France*, if they are willing.

XIX.

That, at the Signing hereof, the General will ſend a Ship expreſs to *France*; and then, beſides, will furniſh two ſmall Ships, of thoſe that are now in the River of *Limerick*, to tranſport two Perſons into *France*, that are to be ſent to give Notice of this Treaty; and that the Commanders of the ſaid Ships ſhall have Orders to put a Shore at the next Place of *France*, where they ſhall make.

XX.

That all thoſe of the ſaid Troops, Officers, and others, of what Character ſoever, that would paſs into *France*, ſhall not be ſtopped,

on the Account of Debt, or any other Pretence.

XXI.

If, after the Signing this preſent Treaty, and before the Arrival of the Fleet, a *French* Packet-boat, or other Tranſport-ſhip, ſhall arrive from *France*, in any other Part of *Ireland*, the General will order a Paſſport, not only for ſuch as muſt go on Board the ſaid Ship, but to the Ships to come to the neareſt Port, to the Place where the Troops, to be tranſported, ſhall be quartered.

XXII.

That, after the Arrival of the ſaid Fleet, there ſhall be a free Communication, and Paſſage, between it and the aboveſaid Troops; and eſpecially, for all thoſe that have Paſſes from the chief Commanders of the ſaid Fleet, or from Monſieur *Tumeron*, the Intendant.

XXIII.

In Conſideration of the preſent Capitulation, the Town of *Limerick* ſhall be delivered, and put into the Hands of the General, or any other Perſon he ſhall appoint, at the Time and Days hereafter ſpecified, *viz.* the *Iriſh* Town, except the Magazines and Hoſpital, on the Day of ſigning the preſent Articles; and, as for the *Engliſh* Town, it ſhall remain, together with the Iſland, and the free Paſſage of *Thomond*-Bridge, in the Hands of thoſe of the *Iriſh* Army that are in the Gariſon, or that ſhall hereafter come from the Counties of *Cork*, *Clare*, *Kerry*, *Sligo*, and other Places abovementioned, until there be Convenience found for their Tranſportation.

XXIV.

And, to prevent all Diſorders that may happen between the Gariſons, that the General ſhall place in the *Iriſh* Town, which ſhall be delivered to him, and the *Iriſh* Troopers that ſhall remain in the *Engliſh* Town and Iſland; which they may do, until the Troops be imbarqued on the firſt fifty Ships that ſhall be gone for *France*, and no longer; they ſhall intrench themſelves on both Sides, to hinder the Communication of the ſaid Gariſons; and it ſhall be prohibited on both Sides, to offer any Thing offenſive, and the Parties offending ſhall be puniſhed on either Side.

XXV.

That it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Gariſon to march out all at once, or at different Times, as they can be imbarqued, with Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Match lighted at both Ends, Bullet in Mouth, Colours flying, ſix braſs Guns, ſuch as the Beſieged will chooſe, two Mortar-pieces, and Half the Ammunition that is now in the Magazines of the ſaid Place: And, for this Purpoſe, an Inventory of all the Ammunition of the ſaid Gariſon ſhall be made, in the Preſence of any Perſon that the General ſhall appoint, the next Day after the preſent Articles ſhall be ſigned.

XXVI.

All the Magazines of Proviſions ſhall remain in the Hands of thoſe that are now employed to take Care of the ſame, for the Subſiſtence of thoſe of the *Iriſh* Army that will paſs into *France*; and that, if there ſhall not be ſufficient in the Stores, for the Support of the ſaid Troops, while they ſtay in this Kingdom, and are croſſing the Seas, that, upon giving Account of their Number, the General will furniſh them with ſufficient Proviſions, at the King's Rates; and that there ſhall be a free Market at *Limerick*, and other Quarters, where the ſaid Troops ſhall be; and, in Caſe any Proviſions ſhall remain in the Magazines of *Limerick*, when the Town ſhall be given up, it ſhall be valued, and the Price deducted out of what is to be paid for the Proviſions to be furniſhed to the Troops on Shipboard.

XXVII.

That there ſhall be a Ceſſation of Arms at Land, and alſo at Sea, with Reſpect to the Ships, whether *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, or *French*, deſigned for the Tranſportation of the ſaid Troops, until they be returned to their reſpective Harbours; and that, on both Sides, they ſhall be furniſhed ſufficiently with Paſſports, both the Ships and Men; and, if any Sea Commander, or Captain of a Ship, or any Officer, Troop, Dragoon, Soldier, or other Perſon, ſhall act contrary to this Ceſſation, the Perſons, ſo acting, ſhall be puniſhed on either Side, and Satisfaction ſhall be made for the Wrong done; and Officers ſhall be ſent to the Mouth of the River of *Limerick*, to give Notice to the Commanders of the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleets, of the preſent Conjuncture, that they may obſerve the Ceſſation of Arms accordingly.

XXVIII.

That, for the Security of the Execution of this preſent Capitulation, and of each Article herein contained, the Beſieged ſhall give the following Hoſtages——and the General ſhall give——

XXIX. If,

XXIX.

If, before this Capitulation is fully executed, there happens any Change in the Government, or Command of the Army, which is now commanded by General *Ginckle*; all thoſe, that ſhall be appointed to command the ſame, ſhall be obliged to obſerve and execute what is ſpecified in theſe Articles, or cauſe it to be executed punctually, and ſhall not act contrary, on any Account whatſoever.

Octob. 1691. Baron *De Ginckle.*

The Inconveniencies of a long Continuance of the ſame Parliament. Printed in 1680. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

THAT there is a Neceſſity of a Government among Mankind, is admitted by all wiſe Men; but to convince mad Men and Fools of this, is too great a Taſk. *Johannes Woolebius*, in his Compendium, *Theolo. Chriſt.* ſays, That it is unworthy in a Chriſtian ſo much to ſeem to miſtruſt the Divine Authority of the Scripture, as to make any Queſtion of it: It being a Principle, ſo neceſſary to be believed, that it ought not to be brought into Doubt, by Diſputes. To the like Purpoſe, it may be ſaid, that it is unworthy, in an *Engliſh* Commonwealth's-Man, to bring it into Debate, Whether, or no, the Sovereignty of this Realm be in the King alone, disjoined from any other Perſons? And true it is, there are as yet but few, if any, that dare be ſo hardy, as poſitively to ſay otherwiſe, whatever their Thoughts be, and though their Actions ſeem to look that Way: And foraſmuch as the Word, *Commonwealth*, hath been of late Years, for the moſt Part, applied to the Government, when it is in the Hands of many: It might not be impertinent to inſert here, what a Commonwealth is. A Commonwealth, therefore, is a lawful Government of many Families, and that which unto them, in Common, belongeth; and the End and Deſign thereof is, That the Wicked be puniſhed, and the Good and Juſt protected. So that it is as much, nay, rather more a Commonwealth, and tends more to common Good, when the Government is in the Hand of one Man, than in the Hands of many; and, for this, we have the general Conſent of all great Politicians, in paſt Ages, who, after the Trial of all Sorts of Governments, and Comparing the Conveniencies and Inconveniences of each, have concluded that Government beſt for the Generality of the People, when the Sovereign Power to command was in one Man, and not in many: For oftentimes, even where a Tyrant hath reigned, and he removed, and the Commonwealth changed into a popular State, the People have been ſoon ſenſible, That the Change hath been much for the worſe, and that, inſtead of one Tyrant, they had a Multitude of Tyrants, to oppreſs them. Yet the Diſſolution, or Prorogation of a Parliament, hath been of late looked upon to be ſo high a Violation of Right, and ſo great a Point of Miſgovernment, as if thereby our Liberties were loſt, and our Lives and Eſtates ſubjugated to the Arbitrary Power and Pleaſure of our King; or elſe we falſly conclude it impoſſible, that the King can be ſo wiſe, as to govern without their Counſels. To remove which Miſtakes, and to quiet the Minds of Men miſled, theſe following Conſiderations and Collections out of *Engliſh* Hiſtory are offered to publick View, whereby it will be moſt apparent, That not only the Proroguing, but the frequent Diſſolving of Parliaments, is abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of Monarchy, our now eſtabliſhed Government, and the beſt Sort of Government for the People of *England*, and moſt ſuitable to their Temper, in Preſervation whereof, our own Preſervation conſiſts. But the long Continuance of one and the ſame Parliament, or the ſame Members in Parliament, which are both alike, is the moſt pernicious Thing imaginable both to King and People.

It is neceſſary for the Preſervation of Monarchy that Parliaments be often diſſolved, becauſe Nothing makes it more manifeſt, in whom the Sovereign Power reſides; for it puts them in Mind, by what Authority, they have their

Being; whereas, by a long Continuance, they are apt to plead Preſcription to their Seats, and think themſelves diſſeized, if removed thence, though by the ſame Power that placed them there.

In former Times, Parliaments, in this Kingdom, conſiſted only of ſome of the Nobility, and wiſe Men of the Nation, ſuch as the King pleaſed to call; and the firſt Time, that ever the Commons of *England* were admitted to Parliament, was, in the ſixteenth Year of *Henry the Firſt*; which Parliament was aſſembled at *Saliſbury*, and it was ſo aſſembled of the King's own Pleaſure, not of any Obligation, that, by Law, lay upon him ſo to do. And certain it is, the Kings of *England* were no Ways obliged to aſſemble Parliaments, or being aſſembled, to permit them to ſit, during their own Pleaſure, till of late Years, that ſuch Vapours corrupted our Region, with a deſtructive Contagion. By the ancient Statutes of *Edward the Third*, whereby Parliaments were to be holden once a Year, and oftener, if Need were, cannot, by any reaſonable Conſtruction, be intended, ſo much to oblige the King to call a Parliament, as to oblige the Subject to attend, being called; and this ſeems the rather to be ſo, for that, thoſe Statutes being but briefly penned, by a ſubſequent Statute of *Richard the Second*, as an Act explanatory of the former Acts, a Penalty is impoſed upon every Perſon, having Summons to Parliament, that ſhould not come accordingly. But now, by an Act of the Sixteenth, of his now Majeſty's Reign, he was prevailed upon to paſs it into a Law, That Parliaments ſhould not be intermitted or diſcontinued above three Years. However, God be thanked, it is yet in the King's Power, that, if, when they are called, they behave themſelves not well, his Majeſty may, without Violation of any Law, ſend them whence they came; and, I hope, it will never more be otherwiſe, leſt that, if they had a Grant of not being diſſolved, without their own Conſent, they would do, as thoſe did, that had the like Power. And, ſure it is no Soloeciſm, that the like Cauſe may have the like Effect.

A Parliament of the modern Conſtitution is, without Controverſy, very neceſſary and uſeful, if they intend that, which properly belongs to them; the Buſineſs of both Houſes being to conſult with, and adviſe the King, in ſuch Things, as he ſhall require their Advice in, and to repreſent to him publick Grievances, ſuch as are real Grievances, and not ſuch as every Whimble-pated Fellow eſteems ſo; but they are not to think to compel the King, under the plauſible Term of Addreſs, to exerciſe any Point of Government, or to make any new Laws, that he likes not of. And it is proper and peculiar to himſelf only to judge, what Advice is fit to be followed, and what to be rejected; for there may be ſome private Reaſon of State, for his ſo Doing, which might be inconvenient to be publickly known. This hath been the ancient ſettled Practice, and under which this Kingdom hath long flouriſhed; and it is not ſafe to alter it, for, it being now the declining Age of the World, moſt Changes, violent ones eſpecially, are from Good to Bad, and from Bad to Worſt, and from Worſt to ſtark Naught.

Is not the Advantage of Monarchy, above the Government of many, apparent, at this Time, to any ſeeing Man? For, if his Majeſty, like the Main-maſt of a Ship, had not been the Stay of all, and had not, as it were, parted the Fray, by the late Diſſolution of the Parliament, all the Ariſtocratical Rigging and Tackle of both Houſes, if it deſerves to be ſo called, had been torn in Pieces by Faction, amongſt themſelves, and this poor Kingdom thereby, before this, might have been a ſecond Time, in our Memory, blown up by her own inbred Diviſions; and it is not without Precedent, that Parliaments are alike infallible as the Pope, or his College of Cardinals, and have given as ill Advice, and done as ill Things, and of late have been more troubleſome than ever.

If it ſhould be ſo, That the Advice of either, or both Houſes of Parliament, muſt of Neceſſity be followed by the King, then would it not be properly an Advice but a Command in Effect; and where, in a Commonwealth, the Sovereign Power or Command is in more than in one, that Commonwealth is no longer a Monarchy, but is degenerated, at beſt, into an Ariſtocracy, the Sovereignty being thereby divided amongſt many; and, if we judge impartially, it muſt be acknowledged, that they that endeavour after that, *viz.* That the Votes and Ordinances of the Houſe of Commons might have the Force of Laws, are no leſs Enemies to the State, than they that would introduce Popery, for in both Caſes, it is but Endeavouring

to

to alter the Government; to prevent which fond and dangerous Attempt, the frequent Diſſolving of Parliaments is very neceſſary.

Divers other Inconveniencies will be prevented by frequent Proroguing and Diſſolving of Parliaments; for, by that Means, the Privilege of Parliaments will not over long protect the Members thereof, to delay and defraud their Fellow Subjects of their juſt and due Debts; which Sort of Practice, for many Years paſt, hath been a killing Oppreſſion, when not only the Members themſelves made ill Uſe of that Privilege, but many of them gave their Clerks Liberty to ſell blank Protections by the Dozens, as the Pope doth his Indulgences. And moreover, if any ſuch, or other like vicious Men, ſhould, by Flattery and Bribery, get into the Parliament, a Diſſolution gives Opportunity of diſcharging ſuch, from having Hand in ſo high a Truſt; and great Reaſon, ſuch ſhould be diſcharged; for, How can it be expected, that Men, unjuſt in their private Concerns, ſhould be otherwiſe in publick Adminiſtration, which they will always ſtrive to make ſubſervient to their By-Intereſts?

By the long Continuance of one and the ſame Parliament, it hath happened, that the Members thereof, having long beheld the tempting, though forbidden Fruit of Supremacy, they have not ſcrupled to grapple with the King, for a Share of the Sovereignty; and moſt commonly, when they are a little ſettled, they ſtrive to ſpoil the King of his Prerogative, to uſurp it to themſelves; and, rather than fail of their Deſigns, Time hath been, that they have involved the People of this Kingdom, in a miſerable War and Deſtruction of each other, when the Thing, they ſeemed to inſiſt on, was either of no Moment at all to the People, or ſomething that had a very remote Poſſibility of ever happening; whereby, inſtead of preventing the Miſchief, they drew it haſtily upon us. There are too many Examples hereof in Hiſtory, whereof to name a few: Let it be impartially conſidered, and then judge, if there was a juſtifiable Cauſe for the Inſolency of that Parliament, in *Edward the Second*'s Time, who, being ſet on by ſome Lords, that envied *Gaveſton*'s Favour with that King, framed Articles of ſome trifling Grievances to be preſented to the King, but added thereunto, The King muſt baniſh *Gaveſton*, elſe they declared, they would riſe in Arms againſt the King. An Action much to the Credit of Parliaments, indeed, that they, to gratify an envious Lord or two, would not ſtick to ſtir up the Plague of a Civil War, in the Bowels of their own Country, by Engaging in a Rebellion, againſt the King! And they proceeded ſo far, that they murdered *Gaveſton*, inſtead of Bringing him to a fair and legal Trial, for no Reaſon in particular, that appears by *Baker*'s Chronicle, other than that the King loved him, and that he was in more Favour than they; and, not long after, they even depoſed the King, and yet no Intrenchment upon the People's Liberty or Property was committed by that King, in all his Reign, and it is expreſly ſaid of him, he took no baſe Courſes for Raiſing Money. And although, being forced to reſign his Crown, he was content to live a private Life, and did ſo, very quietly, yet his ſeditious Lords thought his Liberty too much Favour for him, and cauſed him to be impriſoned; and in carrying him to Priſon, he was moſt barbarouſly abuſed; for, being taken from his Horſe, and ſet upon a Hillock, there, taking Puddle Water to ſhave him with, his Barber told him, cold Water muſt ſerve for that Time; whereat the miſerable King, looking earneſtly upon him, told him, that, whether they would or no, he would have warm Water to waſh withal; and, to make good his Words, he let fall a Shower of Tears: And, being carried to Priſon, they lodged him in a Chamber over Carrion and dead Carcaſſes, thinking, thereby, to have poiſoned him: But, when they ſaw that would not do, a Letter was deviſed from a Lord, to the King's Keepers, blaming them, for giving him too much Liberty, and for not doing the Service that was expected from them; and, in the End of the Letter, was wrote this Line; *Edwardum Occidere nolite, timere bonum eſt*: Which may be *Engliſhed* either, It is good to kill *Edward*, do not fear it: Or, Do not kill *Edward*, it is good to be afraid to do it: But they took it in the Senſe intended, and moſt inhumanly murdered the King. And (to ſee the Fickleneſs of them) it is recorded, that they, that deſpiſed him when living, ſo honoured him, being dead, that they could have found in their Hearts to have made him a Saint.

It cannot yet be forgot, nor will the ill Effects a While be overcome of that Parliament, infamous for Long, and of ſad and direful Memory, How, in the Time of the beſt of Kings, when they all ruled, there was no

Rule

Rule at all; but that, upon Pretence of removing evil Counſellors, they removed from us all Happineſs, and overwhelmed us with all the Evils imaginable; and becauſe ſome People would make the World believe there is no Preſervation againſt Popery, but by Means of a Parliament, be it remembered, how poorly and ſneakingly the Parliament, in Queen *Mary*'s Days, became Apoſtates to the Proteſtant Religion, drew up a Supplication to the King and Queen, wherein they ſhewed themſelves very penitent for their former Errors, and humbly deſired their Majeſties to intercede for them to Cardinal *Pool*, the Pope's Legate, and the See Apoſtolick, that they might be pardoned of all they had done amiſs, and be received into the Boſom of the Church, being themſelves moſt ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome*: That this is no Fable, they that liſt may read it in *Baker*'s Chronicle, *Fol.* 320.

Is it not apparent, that what Execution hath been done upon the late Popiſh Plotters, was by the King's immediate Command? And the Diſcoverers of Plotters, and Proſecutors of Papiſts, are to this Day encouraged by his Majeſty. Were not the Lords in the *Tower* ſeveral Times brought to *Weſtminſter-hall*, by the King's Command, in order to their Trial; but the Houſe of Commons were not, or would not be ready for it, unleſs they might pluck a Plume from the Prerogative, or Peerage, to feather their own Caps withal? And whether they were not more ready to kindle Coals of Contention, when even in the Houſe, not long ſince, ſome laid Hands on their Swords to draw at each other, I leave the World to judge. Can any Man then, that loves the Peace of his Country, be troubled at the Prorogation or Diſſolution of ſuch a Parliament?

It is, indeed, to be found in our *Engliſh* Chronicles, that one Parliament had the Name of *Good*, and that was in the Reign of *Edward the Third*; but it ſeems to be ſo called in Deriſion only; for the ſame Author ſays, they wrought ill Effects. To be plain, there ſeldom or never was a long Parliament that did deſerve much Commendation, or that was free from Faction: But that it was not otherwiſe, much may be imputed to the Fault of the Electors, who take not right Meaſures in their Choice. And becauſe good Parliaments are very uſeful to his Majeſty and People, it is to be wiſhed Men would obſerve the right Means to obtain ſuch, whenever it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to give another Opportunity of a new Choice: And foraſmuch as many of the Commons of our late Parliaments were ſo vile as to take Penſions for their Votes, as ſome of their own Fellow-members give out; which, if true, in all Likelihood were given by ſome corrupt Miniſter of State, to promote the Intereſt and Deſigns of ſome foreign Prince; and ſome others of them were under very groſs Errors touching Succeſſion, whether out of a real Miſapprehenſion, or a voluntary Misfeaſance, it is not proper here to determine. Only this I ſay, it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that Men, that are all for Religion, will not truſt God Almighty himſelf with that Prerogative, tho' he give us his Word for it, *That the Hearts of Kings are in his Rule and Governance, and he turneth them which Way it pleaſeth him*; and in another Place it is ſaid, *By me Kings reign, and Princes do decree*: But of this more, perhaps, hereafter. Some others are mightily inraged at their Diſſolution, becauſe it hath put them to Charges at their new Elections, and, perhaps, by the Intermiſſion of a Parliament, were forced to pay ſome of their Debts. Theſe Sort of Men, if they meet again, unleſs they are become Converts, will, in all Likelihood, be doing Miſchief; therefore it would be well, that not one, ſuſpected of ſuch Miſcarriages, ſhould be ever choſe again. There can be no Inconvenience in Changing, for there is no Country or Place, but what hath ſeveral fitter to be Parliament-men, than thoſe; and the new Men may the better, and, in more Likelihood, act for the Good of the Nation, than the old ones; for theſe will meet without any private Prejudice, or Pre-engagement, in any Faction.

It cannot well be expected there ſhould ever be a good Parliament, as long as Men will be miſled to their Choice by Extravagancy of Expence; therefore they would do well to conſider what will a Belly-full of Ale ſignify, in Recompence of their Peace; it will be but like *Eſau*'s ſelling his Birth-right for a Meſs of Pottage; neither ought the Recommendation of any great Man to have any Influence upon our Choice; but the good Qualifications of the Perſon ought only to be reſpected.

Men's Care, in this Concern, is of very great Conſequence; for a great Politician ſays it, That it is more dangerous to the Publick, when

when there is an evil Council, and a good King, than when there is an evil King, but a good Council; and that we may always have a good Council, above all other Rules, God's own Direction, for the Choice of a Council in *Iſrael*, ought to be followed: *Aſſemble unto me*, ſaith he, *Seventy of the moſt ancient of the People, wiſe Men, fearing God*, Deut. i. It is of dangerous Conſequence, when the People have a ſlight Opinion of the Parts and Abilities of their Council; therefore it is, that old and not young Men, ought to be choſe into this great Council; for moſt Men are apt to think ſlightly of thoſe of a like Age with themſelves; and tho' ſome young Men may be good and virtuous, yet the Heat and Vigour of their Youth and Blood is apt to tranſport them into Paſſion, and to too violent a Proſecution of what their unripe and unexperienced Judgments dictate. *Solon*, therefore, forbad any young Man to be admitted into the Senate, ſeemed he never ſo wiſe.

To conclude. God grant the great Council the Parliament, whether the preſent, or a new one, that when they meet next, they may remember it is great Grace and Favour in the King, to adviſe or conſult with them at any Time; and therefore may they not inſiſt upon what belongs not to them, but *render to* Cæſar *the Things that are* Cæſar's, *and to God the Things that are God's*, and then God will bleſs both our King and us. *Amen.*

Abſalom's Conſpiracy: Or, The Tragedy of Treaſon. *London*, printed in the Year 1680. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

THERE is nothing ſo dangerous either to Societies in General, or to particular Perſons, as Ambition; the Temptations of Sovereignty, and the glittering Luſtre of a Crown, have been guilty of all the fearful Conſequences that can be within the Compaſs of Imagination: For this, mighty Nations have been drowned in Blood, populous Cities have been made deſolate, laid in Aſhes, and left without Inhabitants: For this, Parents have loſt all the Senſe and Tenderneſs of Nature; and Children, all the Sentiments of Duty and Obedience; the Eternal Laws of Good and Juſt, the Laws of Nature and of Nations, of God and Religion, have been violated; Men have been transformed into the Cruelty of Beaſts, and into the Rage and Malice of Devils.

Inſtances, both Modern and Ancient, of this, are innumerable; but this of *Abſalom* is a Tragedy, whoſe Antiquity and Truth do equally recommend it as an Example to all Poſterity, and a Caution to all Mankind, to take Care how they imbark in ambitious and unlawful Deſigns; and it is a particular Caveat to all young Men, to beware of ſuch Counſellors, as the old *Achitophel*, left, while they are tempted with the Hopes of a Crown, they haſten on their own Deſtiny, and come to an untimely End.

Abſalom was the third Son of *David* by *Maachah*, the Daughter of *Talmai*, King of *Geſhur*, who was one of *David*'s Concubines; he, ſeeing his Title to the Crown upon the Score of lawful Succeſſion would not do, reſolves to make good what was defective in it, by open Force, by dethroning his Father.

Now the Arts he uſed to accompliſh his Deſign were theſe: *Firſt*, He ſtudied Popularity; he roſe up early; he was induſtrious and diligent in his Way; he placed himſelf in the Way of the Gate; and, when any Man came for Judgment, he courteouſly entered into Diſcourſe with him. This feigned Condeſcenſion was the firſt Step of his Ambition. *Secondly*, He depraved his Father's Government: The King was careleſs, drowned in his Pleaſures; the Counſellors were evil; no Man regarded the Petitioners; *Abſalom* ſaid unto him, See thy Matters are good and right, it is but Reaſon that you petition for; but there is no Man that will hear thee from the King; there is no Juſtice to be found; your Petitions are rejected. *Thirdly*, He inſinuates what he would do, if he were in Authority; how eaſy Acceſs ſhould be to him; he would do them Juſtice; he would hear and redreſs their Grievances,

receive

receive their Petitions, and give them gracious Anſwers. *Oh that I were made Judge in the Land, that every Man might come unto me, and I would do him Juſtice.* And, when any Man came to do him Obeyſance, he put forth his Hand, and took him, and kiſſed him: And thus he ſtole away the Hearts of the People from their lawful King, his Father and Sovereign.

But all this would not do; he therefore joins himſelf to one *Achitophel*, an old Man of a ſhrewd Head, and diſcontented Heart. This *Achitophel*, it ſeems, had been a great Counſellor of *David*'s; but was now under ſome Diſgrace, as appears by *Abſalom*'s Sending for him from *Gilo*, his City, whither he was in Diſcontent retreated, becauſe *David* had advanced *Huſhai* into his Privy-Council; and no Doubt can be made, but he was of the Conſpiracy before, by his ready Joining with *Abſalom* as ſoon as the Matters were ripe for Execution.

Abſalom, having thus laid his Train, and made ſecret Proviſion for his intended Rebellion, diſpatches his Emiſſaries Abroad, to give Notice by his Spies, that all the Confederates ſhould be ready at the Sound of the Trumpet, and ſay, *Abſalom reigneth in* Hebron; and immediately a great Multitude was gathered to him: For the Conſpiracy was ſtrong; ſome went out of Malice, and ſome in their Simplicity followed him, and knew not any Thing.

David is forced to fly from his own Son, but ſtill he had a loyal Party that ſtuck cloſe to him. *Achitophel* gave deviliſh Counſel, but God diſappointed it ſtrangely: For *Huſhai*, pretending to come over to their Party, put *Abſalom* upon a plauſible Expedient, which proved his Ruin. So impoſſible is it for Treaſon to be ſecure, that no Perſon who forms a Conſpiracy, but there may be ſome, who, under Pretence of the greateſt Kindneſs, may inſinuate themſelves, only to diſcover their Secrets, and ruin their Intentions, either by revealing their Treaſon, or diſappointing it: And certainly, of all Men, Traitors are leaſt to be truſted; for they, who can be perfidious to one, can never be true to any.

The Matter comes at laſt to the Deciſion of the Sword. *Abſalom*'s Party are defeated, and many ſlain, and *Abſalom* himſelf, ſeeking to ſave himſelf by Flight in the Wood, is entangled in a Tree, by his own Hair, which was his Pride; and his Mule, going from under him, there left him hanging, till *Joab* came, and, with three Darts, made at once an End of his Life and the Rebellion. Thus ended his youthful and fooliſh Ambition, making him an eternal Monument of Infamy, and an Inſtance of the Juſtice of Divine Vengeance, and what will be the Concluſion of Ambition, Treaſon, and Conſpiracy, againſt lawful Kings and Governors: A ſevere Admonition to all green Heads, to avoid the Temptations of grey *Achitophels*.

Achitophel, the Engineer of all this Miſchief, ſeeing his Counſel deſpiſed, and foreſeeing the Event, prevented the Hand of the Executioner, and, in Revenge upon himſelf, went Home and hanged himſelf; giving fair Warning to all treacherous Counſellors, to ſee what their deviliſh Counſels will lead them to at laſt: Miſchievous Counſel ever falling in Concluſion upon the Heads where firſt it was contrived, as naturally as dirty Kennels fall into the Common-Sewer.

Whatſoever was written aforetime, was written for our Inſtruction: For holy Men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.

The Cauſes and Manner of Depoſing a Popiſh King in *Sweden*, truly deſcribed. *London*, printed for *R. Baldwin* in the *Old Baily*, 1688. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

GUSTAVUS

Guſtavus Ericſon King of *Sweden*, having ſettled the Reformed Religion in *Sweden*, and reigned thirty-eight Years, left his Kingdom to his Son *Erick*, who, for his Cruelty and ill Government, was depoſed, and his whole Line exhereditated, to make Way for *John* Duke of *Finland*, his younger Brother.

John had a Son, called *Sigiſmond*, who being ſecretly bred up in the *Romiſh* Religion by his Mother, who was of the *Sagellonian* Royal Family of *Poland*, was in his Father's Time, elected King of *Poland*.

The ſaid King *John* had alſo a younger Brother, called *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, *Nericia*, &c. and a younger Son of his own Name, called, Duke of *Oſtrogothia*.

King *John* died in the Year 1592, in the Abſence of King *Sigiſmond*, his eldeſt Son; during which, *Charles*, Duke of *Sudermania*, his Uncle, at the Deſire of the States, took upon him the Government: But ſent to invite his Nephew *Sigiſmond*, to come and take Poſſeſſion of his Native Kingdom, as ſoon as might be: Promiſing in the mean Time, to keep all quiet, and intimating, that he hoped his Majeſty, when in Poſſeſſion, would maintain all in the true Religion and divine Worſhip, and preſerve the Laws of *Sweden*.

At the End of the Year he arrived in *Sweden*, having in his Company *Franceſco Maleſpina* the Pope's Legate, who hindered him long from conſenting to any Security, either for Religion or Property; but finding the Coronation would be obſtructed without that, he gave Way, as having yet, as the Hiſtorian ſays, one Starting-hole remaining, which was, that Faith was not to be kept towards Hereticks. In the mean Time, he himſelf would have crowned the King in the Cathedral at *Upſal*, but was oppoſed by the Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, whoſe Right it was, even if that Kingdom had been Popiſh.

The Coronation being over, which had been delayed above a Year, during which Time, ſeveral ſecret Attempts had been made upon *Charles*, Duke of *Sudermania*, to make him away. King *Sigiſmond*, contrary to his Coronation Oath, erected a Popiſh Church in the Capital City: Made a great Man of his Religion, Governor of the Caſtle of *Stockholm*, in which the Records of the Chancery, and the Arms and Ammunition of the Kingdom were kept, and in the Port, were the beſt Part of the Royal Navy, under Command of the Caſtle.

A certain Jeſuit, called *Adam Steinhall*, obtained the *Arcentian* Temple, and the Queen's Iſland, with the *Vaſtheman* Monaſtery, which was preſently filled with *Romiſh* Prieſts.

Sigiſmond, alſo by his Followers and Attendants, continually affronted the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and was ſending into *Poland*, for a Body of Forces, able to ſubdue the Kingdom, upon which Diſcontentments grew ſo high, that he haſtily withdrew thither himſelf.

He left *Sweden* in Confuſion, having only for Form's Sake, writ to his Uncle *Charles*, to aſſume the Adminiſtration jointly with the Senate: But, at the ſame Time, leaving others with greater Power, both in *Sweden* and *Finland*, as appeared when he was gone.

Charles, Duke of *Sudermania*, to avoid Diſcord and Confuſion, called a Convention at *Sudertopia*, which was opened with an Oath of Allegiance to King *Sigiſmond*, and did likewiſe aſſert the Kingdom's Right, to have the Coronation Oath performed; which having been violated in the tender Point of Religion, they redreſſed the Grievance, and ſuppreſſed the Exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion, baniſhing all Prieſts and Preachers of the ſame, and the ancient Incumbents of the *Voſtheman* Monaſtery were reſtored.

Then they deſired the Duke *Charles*, to accept of the Adminiſtration, for the Good of the Kingdom, which he did. Then began a Treaty between *Sigiſmond*, and the Convention, with Duke *Charles* at the Head of it, which was by *Sigiſmond* ſpun out, and obſtructed with much Artifice; at length the Convention made ſeveral Decrees for Security of Religion and Property, and entered into an Aſſociation, for the Defence of them, which they deſired the King to confirm, and gave ſix Weeks Time to all that diſſented, to ſubmit, on Pain of being declared Enemies to the publick Peace.

They invited him Home, to return in a peaceable Manner, and ſettle the other Affairs of his Native Kingdom; but inſtead of that, he invaded them with an Army of Eight-thouſand Horſe and Foot, and a hundred Sail, to which ſeveral *Swedes* joined themſelves, whom he had gained with Money.

An Agreement was endeavoured, and after much Intercourſe of Negotiation, both Armies being near one another, it was conſented to on both Sides, that twelve of the Nobility of each Side ſhould meet and decide the whole Controverſy. But by the Perſuaſion of the Jeſuits, the Royal Army in the Night, conducted by *Weyerus*, ſet upon the Ducal Camp; in which Onſet, ſeveral Thouſands were ſlain, but at laſt the King and all his Army had been cut off, had they not called out for Peace, which the Duke yet hearkened to.

An Agreement followed, in which the King demanded to be ſupplied with a Navy to go to *Stockholm*, promiſing there to call an Aſſembly of the States; but he no ſooner had the Shipping, but he ſailed away for *Calmar*, in which Place he left a Gariſon of Foreigners, and then continued his Voyage to *Dantzick*.

The King being gone, an Aſſembly of the States met at *Stockholm*, where they declared King *Sigiſmond* fallen from the Crown and Government, and were ſo inclined to continue the Succeſſion, that they offered to receive his Son, Prince *Vladiſlaus*, provided he might be ſent Home, bred up a Proteſtant, and committed to the Guardianſhip of Duke *Charles*, but *Sigiſmond* refuſed it.

Afterwards another Parliament met at *Lincopia*, and there they firſt did expreſly renounce King *Sigiſmond*, and his Government, as alſo his Laws.

Then they acknowledged Duke *Charles* of *Sudermania*, for their lawful King, and after him ſettled the Crown upon his Son *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and his Heirs Male.

Duke *John* concurred with the Parliament, and renounced his Pretence to the Crown, and was content to come in after the Line of Duke *Charles*.

The Daughter and Siſter of *Sigiſmond* were alſo rejected.

Then followed the Coronation of King *Charles*, in the Year 1607, by the Name of *Charles the Ninth*.

Theſe were the Proceedings in *Sweden*, whereupon I ſhall only make theſe few ſhort Reflexions:

I. That the *Swedes* were deſirous, to the laſt Degree, to preſerve the Succeſſion, according to one Part of the Laws of the Kingdom, provided that might be done, without overturning all the reſt; they were wiſe enough to preſerve Laws, while Laws preſerved the Nation, which is the true End of all Laws, but no longer.

II. That King *Sigiſmond*, according to the Spirit of his Religion, where-ever it is grown up to Bigotry, broke through his Oaths, and all Rules of Juſtice and Morality, when they croſſed the inſatiable Ambition of his Prieſts.

III. That though the *Swedes*, when they found that they could not keep their King, his direct Heirs, their Religion and Liberties, all together, reſolved to part with the former, they were forced to be very cautious, and endeavour to gain Time by Treaties, to unite themſelves againſt *Sigiſmond*, who had *Poland* and ſeveral Allies to back him; without which Conſiderations, the Prudence, they ſhewed on this Affair, may aſſure us, they would not have ſuffered the Government in ſo looſe a Poſture, ſo long as they did.

IV. That the *Swedes* knowing, that it is impoſſible on any Occaſion, that all Men ſhould be of the ſame Mind, wiſely ordained, that the Minor Part ſhould ſubmit to the Major, or be declared Enemies to the publick Peace. And ſure this Example will be followed, where-ever reaſonable and diſintereſted Men meet on the like Occaſions; for ſure no Body can deny, but that it is better for any Nation, that ſome Laws ſhould be made, and others broken, againſt the Opinion of the Minor Part, than that all Laws, Morality, and Good-nature, ſhould give Place to Paſſion, Injuſtice and Cruelty, through their Obſtinacy.

Now may God Almighty open the Eyes of all *Engliſhmen* to ſee, and their Hearts to embrace this Truth.

A Diſ-

A Diſcloſing of the great Bull, and certain Calues, that he hath gotten, and ſpecially the Monſter Bull, that roared at my Lord Byſhops Gate. Imprinted at *London*, by *John Daye*, dwelling ouer *Alderſgate*. *Black Letter*, *Octauo*, containing twenty Pages.

EXperience of the leud Luſtineſs and Vnchaſtitie of Popiſhe Clergie hath long agoe miniſtred an olde Tale, How a Perſon of a Towne hauing the Lordſhip annexed to hys Perſonage, as many haue, by Reaſon thereof, was by ſpeciall Cuſtome charged, as in many Places there be, to keepe a common Bull for the Towne, whereby theyr Cattle, and hys Tithe, might be encreaſed, which Bull had great Libertie, and is, by Cuſtome, not poundable. It happened, that Complaint was brought to hym by hys Neighbors, of the Inſufficiencie of hys Bull, that he dyd not get Calues ſo plentifully as in Tyme paſt they were wont to haue. The Perſon, a wiſe Man of good Skill as it ſhould ſeme, cauſed hys Bull to be tyed faſt, and hys Crowne to be ſhauen, and then let him goe, ſaying, Now go thy Way, there was neuer any bad of thys Marke, he will get Calues I warrant hym. So is it happened, that of late a holy Bull, I thinke ſome *Iupiter* is come for Loue of hys *Io*, or rather, for Luſt, to ſome leud *Paſiphae* arriued in thys Land.

It is the great Perſons Bull, which Perſon was wont, by Cuſtome, to finde common Bulls for all *England*, when he claimed or vſurped the Lordſhip of *England*, as annexed to hys Perſonage. It is the ſame Bull that begat the famous *Monſcalfe*, that, of late Years, made the terrible Expectation. Of late, being againſt Cuſtome empounded, or kept from Breaking of Hedges as he was wont to do, and from Spoyling of ſeuerall Paſtures, he grew to ſome Faintneſſe. But now hath hys Owner new ſhauen hys Crowne, and ſent hym to get Calues agayne, for Encreaſe of the Townes Hearde, and the Perſons Tithe.

And, ſurely, the Experience is notable, for, ſince he came ouer ſo lately diſguiſed, he hath light vpon certaine rank Kyen, who, I thinke, by their long Forbearing, are become the luſtier, that is, Treaſon, Superſtition, Rebellion, and ſuch other; and with them he hath ſo beſtirred hym, that, by the Helpe of Maiſter Doctor *Harding*, *Sanders*, and other, ſome there, ſome here, iolly Cowkeepers and Heardemen of Popiſh Clergie, which ſent and brought hym ouer, and brake open for hym the ſeuerall Hedges and Fenſes of true Religion, Obedience, Allegeance, Fayth, and Honeſtie, he hath begotten a maruellous Number of Calues in few Yeares; that is, ſince the Yeare 1567, he hath begotten Multitudes of all the Formes of Calues hereafter mentioned, beſide other in the wilde Woodes not yet knowen; and laſtly, he hath begotten a moſt horrible Monſter, of whom ſhall hereafter be entreated.

He hath begotten ſome traitorous Calues, as the Practiſers and Vnderminers of the State. Some rebellious Calues, as thoſe that haue combred the Realme with vnhappy Sedition. Some deinty Calues with white Faces, as diſſembling Hypocrites that watch theyr Time. Some Calues with blacke Faces, as blacke Soule and hys Fellowes common Bleaters, and Railers at true Religion. Some Apoſtaticall Calues, that haue forſaken Fayth, and do impugne the knowen Truth. Some tame drouſy Calues, that, with theyr brutiſhe Superſtition, can not raiſe vp their Heades from Ground, nor their Eyes to Heauen. Some mad wild Calues, as Reges and Rumor Spreaders. Some running and gadding Calues, wiſer than *Walthams* Calfe, that ranne nine Miles to ſucke a Bull, for theſe runne aboue nine hundred Miles. And no Marnell, for they deſire not to ſucke Milke, but Bloud. Some Calues with Hornes, and ſome without; ſome with Power, running fiercely; ſome, puſhing with theyr vnarmed Heades as cluiſhly as they be able. Some Doctor Calues, ſome Proctor Calues, and ſome of other Degrees. Some weyward Calues, euer

running backward and athwart, without Regard of Ditch behinde them, or Hedge before them. Some Calues, whom no Fenſe will hold, no, not the brode Sea. Some Cow Calues, ſome Bull Calues. Some Calues, that neuer wil be but Calues, though they liue theſe hundred Yeares. Some winking Calues. Some ſuttle vndermining Calues; and ſome fonde licking Calues there be, that be none of the ſame Bulles Calues, but Calues out of Gods own Hearde, ſeduced by leude Companie of other ſtray Calues. Theſe, in ſeeking to licke Woundes whole, do not onely licke Poyſon into theyr owne Bodies, but alſo enuenime other therby, and ſpecially the good Damme, with whoſe wholeſome Milke them ſelues be fedde. Thys Bulles Calues, ſince they receaued theyr Sires Bleſſing, are waxen wilder then they were, no Heardeman can rule them; but, as if the Gad Flye were in theyr Tailes, they runne whiſking about, or, of mere Eluiſhniſthe, will taſte no wholeſome and naturall Foode.

The Monſter, of whom I tolde you, is no Way ſo fitly to be deſcribed, as by the olde Tale of the ancient Poetes, that ſeme, as it were, to haue foreſhewed hym in Figure, as followeth: *Paſiphae*, Queene of *Creta*, not ſufficed with Men, conceiued inordinate, vnnaturall, and therewith vntemperable Luſt to engender with a Bull. Neither Regard of Vertue, Honor, Kindneſſe, Nature, or Shame, in Reſpect of God, her Huſband, her Countrey, her ſelfe, or the whole World, could reſtrayne her violent Rage of vncleane Affection: Yet wiſt ſhe neither how to wooe the Bull, nor how to apply her ſelfe vnto him. A Meane, at length, was found to make thys vnkindly Coupling.

There liued then a cunning Crafteſman *Dædalus*, the ſelfe ſame *Dædalus*, of whom it is famous how he made hym Winges, wherewith, by cunning guiding hym ſelfe, he paſſed Seas and Countries at hys Pleaſure. And Winges he made alſo for *Icarus* hys Sonne to fly with hym; but, the vncunning *Icarus* climbing to neare the Sonnes Heate, hys Winges, melting, fell into the Water, and gave Name to the Sea.

Thys fine *Dædalus*, to ſatisfie the wicked Queenes Feruor of Luſt, and to match her and the Bull in abhominable Copulation, framed a Cowe, and ſo made couered and vſed it with leud Deuiſes, and therein ſo incloſed and placed the good, innocent, and vertuous Lady, that, of the Bull, ſhe conceiued the Abhomination of the World, and, in Time, brought forth the Monſter *Minotaurus*, halfe a Bull and halfe a Man, fierce, brutiſh, miſchieuous, cruell, deformed, and odious.

To ſhroud thys Monſter from common Wonder, and yet therewithall to deliuer hym the Foode and Contentment of hys Crueltie, the Deſtruction of Men, a Labyrinth, or Maze, was builded by the ſame cunning *Dædalus*, wherein *Minotaurus*, the Man Bull, or Bull Man lurked, and Men paſſing in thether to hym, by Entanglement of the Maze, and vncertayne Error of Wayes, were brought to a miſerable End; till at length valiant *Theſeus*, furniſhed with the Policy of wife *Ariadne*, receaued of her a Clew of Thred, by which, leauing the one End at the Entrie, he was continually guyded and preſerued from the deceauing Maze, and hauing ſlayne the Monſter, by Conduct of the ſame Thred, ſafely returned.

The Appliance hereof to the Experience of our Times hath an apt Reſemblance, not to proue, but to ſhew the Image of ſome Doubtes at the Dayes, and therewith, by Conference, not only to ſharpen an intentiue Sight of that which we winck at, but alſo to rayſe a iuſt Lothing of that, whereof, by ſome hurtfull Impedimentes, we haue not diſcerned, or rather not marked the Horror.

Lecherous *Paſiphae* may well be applyed to Treaſon in hye Eſtates addicted to Papiſtrie, forſaking Gods Ordinance of humane Royall Gouernement; which when ſo euer it happeneth (for happe it may, and hath oft ſo chaunced) ſuch Treaſon deſtroyeth good and naturall Affection; it kindleth vile and beaſtly Deſires, and, among all other, none comparable in Filthineſſe to the Luſt of yelding them ſelues to heare the Engendring of the great Bull of *Baſan*, or rather of *Babylon*, the Oppreſſion, Incumbence, and Tiranny of *Rome*, the Vſurpation of the *Romaine* Siege, the Siege of all Abhomination. Thys principall traitorous Luſt, that throweth downe the Perſon vnder this vncleane Deſire, throweth away Vertue and Reſpect of God; for *Romaine* Pride hath climbed into the Seate of God, and ſhooued to ſhoulder hym out, and baniſhed Vertue by open Diſpenſing with Vice. It expelleth Remembrance of Honor and Kindneſſe in Regard of Huſband, for Fayth of Wedlocke hath no Place in Adulterers; and, by *Romaine* Practiſes, neither doth Superſtition permit the Soule to keepe her Chaſtitie from Idolatries, and from Forſaking Gods Rules of Religion; nor the Wife her due Fayth from wandering

Luſt,

Luſt, nor the Huſband hys Safetie from traitorous Violence. It drjueth out naturall Loue of Countrey; for it proſtituteth all Dominions to the common Adulterer, Vnderminer, and Forcer of Kingdomes, the Bull of *Rome*. It baniſheth Shame; for it boaſteth her Filthineſſe to the Worldes Sight, ſoliciteth it publikely, practiſeth it openly, defendeth it impudently, and carieth it in glorious Pompe and Triumph, not, as *Io*, ryding on a Bulles Backe through the Water, but, as it were, carnally wallowing with a Beaſt on the Toppe of *Traianes* Piller. And, ſurely, no more ſodomiticall is, in Nature, the vnnaturall Mixture of a Bull and a Woman, than is ſodomiticall, in Policie and Religion, the Intermedling of the Popiſh Vſurpation of *Rome* with a Temporall Prince, yelding hys or her Realme to Popiſh Iuriſdiction; or with the Spouſe of Chriſt, the Vniuerſall Church, rauiſhed by that Bulles Force, or defyled by hys Abuſes: But, as in *Paſiphae*, ſo, where ſuch Rage of traitorous and ſuperſtitious Deſire entreth, Gods Grace forſaketh, honeſt Feare departeth, Shame flyeth, and the Luſt is vntemperable.

The *Dædalus*, that muſt bryng the Enioyeng of thys horrible Luſt to Effect, is the Treaſon of Popiſh Clergie, full of cunning Workmanſhyp, as the World hath long had great Experience; euen the ſame Popiſh Clergie, that hath framed to hym ſelfe Wynges, not naturally by Gods Ordinance growyng to the Body therof, but made of Fethers pulled from Temporall Princes, and from Byſhops in theyr owne Dioceſes, by Vſurpation; faſtened together by Art of Symonie, and ioyned to theyr Bodyes with the Glew of ſuperſtitious Credulitie. With theſe haue they paſſed Landes and Seas, clymbyng and flyeng in Ayre, that is, vpon no ſtedfaſt Ground, aboue Mountaines, Trees, and Countries, that is, aboue Emperours, Kinges, iuſt Prelates, and Common Weales.

The Sonne of this *Dædalus*, that is, of Treaſon of Popiſh Clergie, is *Icarus*, that is, aſpiring Treaſon of Subiectes; which following his Father and Guide, Popiſh Treaſon, but not ſo well guiding hymſelfe, for Lacke of Experience, and deſiring to ſodenly to climbe to nere the Sunne, or, perhappes, mounting with more Haſt than good Speede, before his Winges were well faſtened, or while hymſelfe could but yet flutter with them, and not perfectly flie, as God would, his Glew melting, and his Winges dropping away, fell downe in his Climbing, and, no Doubt, will geue Name to the Place where he lighteth, for perpetuall Memorie of his vndue Preſumption, ſurely yet piteouſly bewayled of Papiſtes, as *Icarus* was of *Dædalus* his Father.

This cunning *Dædalus*, Popiſh Treaſon, to bryng thys Copulation to Contentment of the vnchaſt *Paſiphae*, encloſeth her in a counterfait Cow; that is, ſuch Princes, or great Eſtates, as deſire to lie vnder the Bull of *Rome*, Popiſh Clergie turneth into brutiſh Shape, to ſerue brutiſh Luſt; maketh them beaſtly, forſakyng the Dignitie of Man and Womans Shape, whom God made vpright, to looke to God and Gods Seate the Heauen; and it maketh them cowiſhly ſtoupe to Earthward, without Regard of the Nature of Man, the Dignitie of Kyngdomes, the reuerent Aſpect to Diuinitie, or any other manly and reaſonable Conſideration, without any more Vigor, Agilitie of Soule, and Induſtrie to do noblely, than is in a Cowe: A Beaſt, in Deede, profitable for worldly Foode, as Papiſtrie is, but (as moſt Part of Beaſtes be) redy to promiſcuous and vnchoſen Copulations, and ſpecially meete for a Bull; and, among other prety Qualities, hauyng one ſpeciall Grace (as one of theyr owne Popiſh Doctours preached) to ſwynge away Flyes with her Tayle wett in the Water, as fooliſh Papiſtes ſwynge away Sinnes and Temptations with a holy Water Sprinkle.

In thys beaſtly Likeneſſe, degenerating from manly Forme, and Maieſtie of Gouernance, by *Dædalus* Workmanſhip, that is, by Popiſh Clergies traitorous Practiſe, enſued the Copulation of a Bull and a Queene, in a cowiſhe Shape, that is, ſodomiticall and vnnaturall Mixture of Popiſh Vſurpation with, and vpon, royall Gouernance, in brutiſh and reaſonleſſe Forme.

Of this Ingendring is begotten *Minotaurus*, a compounded Monſter, halfe a Bull, and halfe a Man, a beaſtly cruell Bodie, roaring out with the Voyce or Sound of a Bull, and Wordes of a Man, the Senſe of a Deuill. The ſelfe ſame Monſter Bull is he that lately roared out at the Byſhops Palace Gate, in the greateſt Citie of *England*, horrible Blaſphemies agaynſt God, and villanous Diſhonors agaynſt the nobleſt Queene in the World, *Elizabeth*, the lawfull Queene of *England*; he ſtamped and ſcraped on the Ground, flong Duſt of ſpitefull

Speches

Speeches and vaine Curſes about hym, puſhed with hys Hornes at her noble Counſellers, and true Subiectes, and, for pure Anger, all to berayed the Place where he ſtoode; and all thys Stirre he kept, to make a Proofe if hys horned Armye of Calues would, or durſt, come flyngyng about hym toward *Midſommer* Moone.

But he looked ſo beaſtly, and he raged ſo vaynely, that, though the whole Wood rang of hys Noyſe, yet hys Syre, the great Bull, hys Damme, the proſtitute Cowe, and hys Children, the fooliſh Calues, were more aſhamed of hym, than the noble Lion was afraide of him; and, therefore, the Bull, hys Sire, the Cowe, hys Damme, and the wyſeſt of hys Calues, fled once agayne to *Dædalus*, the Treaſon of Popiſh Clergie, for Succour and good Counſell, by whoſe good Workmanſhip thys myngled Monſter is cloſed vp in a Maze, that is, in Vncertainetie of vayne and falſe Reportes, and (as it happeneth in a Maze) by Wayes leadyng to other Places than they ſeme to tend vnto, by Crokedneſſe of Deuiſes, by Spredyng into ſondry Creekes of Rumors, to hyde whence the Bull came, or where he lurketh, euen as in the Maze of *Dædalus* it happened; ſo it commeth to paſſe, that the *Minotaure* is not found out, and ſuch as enter into the Maze, that is, into Followyng of Popiſh Reportes and Deuiſes, entangle them ſelues ſo, that, wanderyng vncertainely, at length they may hap to periſh in *Dædalus* Engyne. And Iudgement they lacke (the euident Prouſes conſidered, that are in that Behalfe to be miniſtred) that beleue the Report to be true, of transferring that Bull to Proteſtantes Deuiſes. But I feare a worſe Thing; for, if they haue no Wiſedome that ſay ſo, wiſe great Perſons can not beleue them, and, if they lacke not Witte, then can not them ſelues beleue it; and ſo is their Truth to the Prince to be perilouſly ſuſpected.

The Remedie reſteth, that ſome *Theſeus*, ſome noble and valiant Counſeller, or rather one Bodie, and Conſent of all true and good Nobilitie and Counſellers, follow the good guiding Thred, that is, godly Policie, deliuered them by the Virgine whom they ſerue, and, conducted thereby, not onely may paſſe, without Error, through the Maze, and finde out the Monſter, *Minotaure*, that roared ſo rudely, but alſo deſtroy hym, and ſettle theyr Prince and them ſelues in Safetie; ſo as (*Paſiphae* duely and deſeruedly ordered, *Dædalus* vnwynged and baniſhed, hys Fethers ryghtly reſtored, *Icarus* fayre drowned, the Cowe transformed, the Maze diſſolued and razed, the Monſter deſtroyed, the Calues, after the Cowe periſhed, ſent, with *Walthams* Calfe, to ſucke theyr Bull) *Theſeus* may be victorious, the Virgine Ladie moſt honorable, the Land quyet, the Subiectes ſafe, and Gods Prouidence euer iuſtly prayſed, not vaynely tempted; hys Kyndneſſe thankfully embraced, his Name louyngly magnified, hys Policies wiſely followed, and hys Religion zelouſly mainteyned.

But, till theſe noble Enterpriſes be acchieued, it is not good to be hedeleſſe; the Monſter may be let out of the Maze, when it pleaſeth *Paſiphae* and *Dædalus*.

It is good to be awake. Some Men be wakened with Tickelyng, and ſome with Pinchyng, or Pullyng by the Eare; that is, ſome with mery Reſemblances, and ſome with [illegible] neſt Admonitions. Some be rayſed out of Sleepe with Noyſe, as by the Speech, or Calling of Men, or by brute Voyces, as the Roaring of Bulles, and Noyſe of Beaſtes; that is, either by Aduiſes of them that warne with Reaſon, or with the Bragges and Threateninges of the Enemies, or Inklinges ſlipped out of vncircumſpect Aduerſaries Mouthes. Some be wakened with very Whiſperinges, as with ſecret Rumors and Intelligences. Some agayne are ſo vigilant and careſull, that the very Weight of the Cauſe, and penſiue Thinking of it, wil ſcarcely let them ſleepe at all. But moſt miſerable is theyr Drowſineſſe, or, rather, fatall ſemeth their Sleepineſſe, that, for all the Meanes aforeſayd, and ſpecially ſo leude and loude Roaring of ſo rude and terrible a Bull, can not be wakened, or made to arme and beſtirre them, till the Tumult and Alarme in the Campe, the Clinking of Armour, the Sounde of Shotte and Strokes, the Tumbling downe of Tentes round about them, the Groning of wounded Men dying on euery Side of them, Treaſon, Force, and Hoſtilitie triumphing in theyr luſtieſt Rage, and *Sinon*, that perſwaded the Safetie of the traitorous Horſe, inſulting among them, yea, till the very Enemies Weapon in theyr Body awake them. Such may happe ſo to ſleepe, as they may neuer wake.

Let

Let vs all wake in Prayer to God. Let vs cry louder, in Sinceritie and Deuotion, than the Bull is able to roare in Treaſon and Blaſphemie. Let vs pray God to arme our Queene and Counſell with all Wiſedome and Fortitude, and our ſelues with all Fidelitie and Manhoode, and to repoſe our ſelues vpon Confidence of theyr moſt bleſſed Gouernance, and redy, with our Liues and all that we haue, to follow and ſerue them.

Let vs dayly and nightly pray God to ſend a curſt Cow and a curſt Bull ſhort Hornes, or to be well capped, or well ſawed of, that they budde no more; for els it were better to take away Head and all to be ſure, leaſt honeſter then theſe Calues be made Calues, or knocked on the Head, as though they were Calues. Surely, as of a Body, there is but one Head that can not be ſpared, ſo, in a Body, may be many Heads that muſt needes be ſpared, as perhappes twenty Byles, and euery one hath a Head, in which Caſe there is no Perill, but leaſt they goe into the Body agayne, and then, perchance, infect the Hart Bloud, and put the Body in Danger; and the onely Perill of driuing them in agayne, you wote, is Colde, and colde Handling. Some of our Botches be runne already, of ſome theyr Heads be broken, ſome ryping, and, I truſt, ſhall be well launced, or cleane drawne out in Time. In the meane Time beware Cold, and God ſend and maintayne the Warmth of his Grace. *Amen.*

The Prophecy of Biſhop *Uſher*. To which is added, Two Letters, one from Sir *William Boſwell* (Ambaſſador at the *Hague*) to the moſt Reverend *William Laud*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the other from the Reverend *John Bramhall*, Biſhop of *Derry* in *Ireland*, to the moſt Reverend *James Uſher*, late Archbiſhop of *Armagh*. *London*, printed in the Year 1687. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

THE Prediction of the moſt learned and pious Archbiſhop *Uſher* is very remarkable: As it was printed about ſeven Years ago with Licenſe, and the Truth of the Matter of Fact therein delivered, never, that I know of, denied, but confirmed by many, which, in ſhort, was thus: That the Year before this holy Primate died (who was buried in the *Abbey* at *Weſtminſter*, the 17th of *April*, 1656, the Uſurper *Cromwell* allowing two-hundred Pounds towards his Funeral; ſo great his Worth, that it even charmed that Tyrant, otherwiſe far from being a Friend to any of his Profeſſion) an intimate Friend of the Archbiſhop's aſking him, among other Diſcourſe, what his preſent Apprehenſions were concerning a very great Perſecution which ſhould fall upon the Church of God in thoſe Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* (of which he had heard him ſpeak with great Confidence many Years before, when we were in the higheſt and fulleſt State of outward Peace and Settlement) and whether he did believe thoſe ſad Times to be paſt, or that they were yet to come? He anſwered, That they were yet to come, and that he did as confidently expect it as ever he had done: Adding, That this ſad Perſecution would fall upon all the Proteſtant Churches of *Europe*. His Friend arguing, That he hoped the Affliction might now be over, and be intended of our late calamitous Civil Wars: The reverend Prelate turning towards him, and fixing his Eyes upon him, with that ſerious and ſevere Look, which he uſually had when he ſpoke God's Word, and not his own, and when the Power of God ſeemed to be upon him, and to conſtrain him to ſpeak, ſaid thus: Fool not yourſelves with ſuch Hopes, for I tell you, all.

all, you have yet ſeen, hath been but the Beginning of Sorrows, to what is yet to come upon the Proteſtant Churches of Chriſt, who will, before long, fall under a ſharper Perſecution than ever yet has been upon them; therefore, ſaid he to him, Look you be not found in the outward Court, but a Worſhiper in the Temple before the Altar, for Chriſt will meaſure all thoſe that profeſs his Name, and call themſelves his People; and outward Worſhipers he will leave out, to be trodden down by the *Gentiles*. The outward Court, ſays he, is the formal Chriſtian, whoſe Religion lies in performing the outſide Duties of Chriſtianity, without having an inward Life and Power of Faith and Love, uniting them to Chriſt, and thoſe God will leave to be trodden down, and ſwept away by the *Gentiles*: But the Worſhipers within the Temple, and before the Altar, are thoſe who do indeed worſhip God in Spirit and in Truth, whoſe Souls are made his Temples, and he is honoured and adored in the moſt inward Thoughts of their Hearts, and they ſacrifice their Luſts and vile Affections, yea, and their own Wills to him; and theſe God will hide in the Hollow of his Hand, and under the Shadow of his Wings? And this ſhall be one great Difference between this laſt, and all the other preceding Perſecutions: For, in the former, the moſt eminent and ſpiritual Miniſters and Chriſtians did generally ſuffer moſt, and were moſt violently fallen upon; but in this laſt Perſecution, theſe ſhall be preſerved by God, as a Seed to partake of that Glory which ſhall immediately follow, and come upon the Church, as ſoon as ever this Storm ſhall be over; for as it ſhall be the ſharpeſt, ſo it ſhall be the ſhorteſt Perſecution of them all; and ſhall only take away the groſs Hypocrites, and formal Profeſſors, but the true ſpiritual Believers ſhall be preſerved till the Calamity be over-paſt.

His Friend then aſked him, By what Means or Inſtruments this great Trial ſhould be brought on? He anſwered, By the Papiſts. His Friend replied, That it ſeemed very improbable they ſhould be able to do it, ſince they were now little countenanced, and but few in theſe Nations, and that the Hearts of the People were more ſet againſt them, than ever ſince the Reformation. He anſwered again, That it would be by the Hands of the Papiſts, and in the Way of a ſudden Maſſacre, and that the then Pope ſhould be the chief Inſtrument of it.

He alſo added, That the Papiſts were, in his Opinion, the *Gentiles* ſpoken of *Rev. xi.* to whom the outward Court ſhould be left, that they might tread it under Foot; they having received the *Gentiles* Worſhip in their Adoring Images, and Saints departed, and in Taking to themſelves many Mediators: And this, ſaid he, the Papiſts are now deſigning among themſelves, and therefore be ſure you be ready.

This gracious Man repeated the ſame Things in Subſtance to his only Daughter, the Lady *Tyrril*, and that with many Tears, and much about the ſame Time.

A Letter from Sir William Boſwell, *to the moſt Reverend* William Laud, *late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *remaining with Sir* Robert Cotton's *choice Papers.*

Moſt Reverend,

AS I am here employed by our Sovereign Lord the King, your Grace can teſtify that I have left no Stone unturned for his Majeſty's Advancement; neither can I omit (whenever I meet with Treacheries or Conſpiracies againſt the Church and State of *England*) the Sending your Grace an Account in general. I fear Matters will not anſwer your Expectations, if your Grace do but ſeriouſly weigh them with Deliberation. For, be you aſſured, the *Romiſh* Clergy have gulled the miſled Party of our *Engliſh* Nation, and that under a Puritanical Dreſs; for which the ſeveral Fraternities of that Church have lately received Indulgence from the See of *Rome*, and Council of Cardinals, or to educate ſeveral of the young Fry of the Church of *Rome*, who are Natives of his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, and inſtruct them in all Manner of Principles and Tenents, contrary to the Epiſcopacy of the Church of *England*.

There are in the Town of *Hague*, to my certain Knowledge, two dangerous Impoſtors, of whom I have given Notice to the Prince of *Orange*, who have large Indulgences granted them

them, and known to be of the Church of *Rome*, although they seem Puritans, and do converse with several of our *English* Factors.

The one, *James Murray*, a *Scotchman*, and the other *John Napper*, a *Yorkshire* Blade. The main Drift of these Intentions is, to pull down the *English* Episcopacy, as being the chief Support of the Imperial Crown of our Nation: For which Purpose, above sixty *Romish* Clergymen are gone, within these two Years, out of the Monasteries of the *French* King's Dominions, to preach up the *Scotch* Covenant, and Mr. *Knox*'s Descriptions and Rules within that Kirk, and to spread the same about the Northern Coasts of *England*. Let, therefore, his Majesty have an Inkling of these Crotchets, that he might be persuaded, whenever Matters of the Church come before you, to refer them to your Grace, and the Episcopal Party of the Realm: For there are great Preparations making ready against the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*: And all evil Contrivances here and in *France*, and in other Protestant Holdings, to make your Grace and the Episcopacy odious to all Reformed Protestants Abroad. It has wrought so much on divers of the foreign Ministers of the Protestants, that they esteem our Clergy little better than Papists. The main Things that they hit in our Teeth are, our Bishops to be called *Lords*; the Service of the Church, the Cross in Baptism, Confirmation, Bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, the Communion Tables placed Alter-ways, our Manner of Consecrations, and several other Matters which are of late buzzed into the Heads of the foreign Clergy, to make your Grievances the less regarded in Case of a Change, which is aimed at, if not speedily prevented.

Your Grace's Letter is carefully delivered, by my Gentleman's own Hands, unto the Prince.

Thus craving your Grace's hearty Prayers for my Undertakings Abroad, as also for my safe Arrival, that I may have the Freedom to kiss your Grace's Hands, and to tell you more at large of these Things, I rest

Hague, June 12, 1640. *Your Grace's most Humble Servant,*

W. B.

A Letter from the Right Reverend John Bramhall, *Bishop of* Derry, *afterwards Primate of* Ireland, *to the most Reverend* James Usher, *Archbishop of* Armagh.

Most Reverend,

I Thank God I do take my Pilgrimage patiently, yet I cannot but condole the Change of the Church and State of *England*; and more in my Pilgrimage than ever, because I dare not witness and declare to that straying Flock of our Brethren in *England*, who have misled them, and who they are that feed them. But that your Lordship may be more sensible of the Church's Calamities, and of the Dangers she is in of being ruined, if God be not merciful unto her, I have sent you a Part of my Discoveries, and it from credible Hands, at this Present having so sure a Messenger, and so fit an Opportunity.

It plainly appears, that in the Year 1646, by Order from *Rome*, above one hundred of the *Romish* Clergy were sent into *England*, consisting of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, who had been educated in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spain*; Part of these within the several Schools there appointed for their Instructions. In each of these *Romish* Nurseries, these Scholars were taught several Handicraft-Trades and Callings, as their Ingenuities were most bending, besides their Orders, or Functions of that Church.

They have many yet at *Paris* a fitting up to be sent over, who twice in the Week oppose one another; one pretending Presbytery, the other Independency; some Anabaptism, and other contrary Tenents, dangerous and prejudicial to the Church of *England*, and to all the Reformed Churches here Abroad. But they are wisely preparing to prevent these Designs, which I heartily wish were considered in *England* among the Wise there.

When the *Romish* Orders do thus argue *Pro* and *Con*, there is appointed one of the Learned of those Convents, to take Notes, and to judge: And, as he finds their Fancies, whether for Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptism,

uſm, Atheiſm, or for any new Tenents, ſo accordingly they are to act, and to exerciſe their Wits. Upon their Permiſſion when they be ſent Abroad, they enter their Names in the Convent Regiſtery, alſo their Licenſes: If a *Franciſcan*, if a *Dominican*, or *Jeſuit*, or any other Order, having ſeveral Names there entered in their Licenſe; in Caſe of a Diſcovery in one Place, then to fly to another, and there to change their Names or Habit.

For an Aſſurance of their Conſtancy to their ſeveral Orders, they are to give monthly Intelligence to their Fraternities, of all Affairs, wherever they be diſperſed: So that the *Engliſh* Abroad know News better than you at Home.

When they return into *England*, they are taught their Leſſon, to ſay, if any enquire from whence they come, that they were poor Chriſtians formerly that fled beyond Sea for their Religion Sake, and are now returned, with glad News, to enjoy their Liberty of Conſcience.

The hundred Men, that went over in 1646, were moſt of them Soldiers in the Parliament's Army, and were daily to correſpond with thoſe *Romaniſts* in our late King's Army, that were lately at *Oxford*, and pretended to fight for his ſacred Majeſty: For, at that Time, there were ſome *Roman* Catholicks, who did not know the Deſign contriving againſt our Church and State of *England*.

But the Year following, 1647, many of thoſe *Romiſh* Orders, who came over the Year before, were in Conſultation together, knowing each other. And thoſe of the King's Party, aſking ſome, Why they took with the Parliament Side, and aſking others, Whether they were bewitched to turn Puritans? not knowing their Deſign: But, at laſt, ſecret Bulls, and Licenſes being produced, by thoſe of the Parliament's Side, it was declared between them, there was no better Deſign to confound the Church of *England*, than by pretending Liberty of Conſcience. It was argued then, that *England* would be a ſecond *Holland*, a Commonwealth; and, if ſo, What would become of the King? It was anſwered, Would to God it were come to that Point. It was again replied, Yourſelves have preached ſo much againſt *Rome*, and his Holineſs, that *Rome*, and her *Romaniſts*, will be little the better for that Change: But it was anſwered, You ſhall have Maſs ſufficient for an Hundred-thouſand in a ſhort Space, and the Governors never the wiſer. Then ſome of the merciſulleſt of the *Romaniſts* ſaid, This cannot be done, unleſs the King die: Upon which Argument, the *Romiſh* Orders thus licenſed, and in the Parliament Army, wrote unto their ſeveral Convents, but eſpecially to the *Sorboniſts*, Whether it may be ſcrupled to make away our late godly King, and his Majeſty his Son, our King and Maſter, who, bleſſed be God, hath eſcaped their *Romiſh* Snares laid for him? It was returned from the *Sorboniſts*, That it was lawful for *Roman* Catholicks to work Changes in Governments for the Mother-Church's Advancement, and chiefly in an Heretical Kingdom; and ſo lawfully make away the King.

Thus much, to my Knowledge, have I ſeen and heard, ſince my leaving your Lordſhip, which I thought very requiſite to inform your Grace; for myſelf would hardly have credited theſe Things, had not mine Eyes ſeen ſure Evidence of the ſame. Let theſe Things ſleep within your gracious Lordſhip's Breaſt, and not awake but upon ſure Grounds, for this Age can truſt no Man, there being ſo great Fallacy amongſt Men. So the Lord preſerve your Lordſhip in Health, for the Nation's Good, and the Benefit of your Friends; which ſhall be the Prayers of

July 20, 1654. *Your humble Servant,*

J. Derenſis.

Theſe two Letters were taken out of that Treaſury of choice Letters, publiſhed by Dr. *Parr*, his Lordſhip's Chaplain, and printed for *Nathaniel Ranew*, at the *King's-Arms*, in St. *Paul's Church-yard*, 1686.

The

The King's Cabinet opened: Or certain Pacquets of ſecret Letters and Papers. Written with the King's own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at *Naſby* Field, *June* 14, 1645, by victorious Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; wherein are many Myſteries of State, tending to the Juſtification of that Cauſe, for which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* joined Battle that memorable Day, clearly laid open; together with ſome Annotations thereupon. Publiſhed by ſpecial Order of the Parliament. *London*, printed for *Robert Boſtock*, dwelling in St. *Paul*'s Churchyard, at the Sign of the *King*'s-*head*, 1645. *Quarto*, containing ſeventy-two Pages.

It were a great Sin againſt the Mercies of God, to conceal thoſe Evidences of Truth, which he ſo graciouſly, and almoſt miraculouſly, by Surpriſal of theſe Papers, hath put into our Hands; nor dare we ſmother this Light under a Buſhel, but freely hold it out to our ſeduced Brethren, for ſo, in the Spirit of Meekneſs, labouring to reclaim them, we ſtill ſpeak, that they may ſee their Errors, and return into the right Way: For thoſe that wilfully deviate, and make it their Profeſſion to oppoſe the Truth, we think it below us, to revile them with opprobrious Language, remembering the Apoſtle St. Jude, *and that Example which he gives us in his Epiſtle. They may ſee here in his private Letters, what Affection the King bears to his People, what Language and Titles he beſtows upon his great Council; which we return not again, but conſider with Sorrow that it comes from a Prince ſeduced out of his proper Sphere; one that has left that Seat, in which he ought, and hath bound himſelf to ſit, to* ſit (*as the* Pſalmiſt *ſpeaks*) in the Chair of the Scornful; *and to the Ruin, almoſt, of three Kingdoms, hath* walked in the Counſels of the Ungodly; *and though in our Tenents we annex no Infallibity to the Seat of a King in Parliament, as the* Romaniſts *do to the Papal Chair, ſince all Men are ſubject to Error, yet we dare boldly ſay, that no* Engliſh *King did ever, from that Place, ſpeak Deſtruction to his People, but Safety and Honour; nor any that abhorred that Seat and Council, but did the contrary. Therefore, Reader, to come now to the preſent Buſineſs of theſe Letters; thou art either a Friend or Enemy to our Cauſe: If thou art well affected to that Cauſe of Liberty and Religion, which the two Parliaments of* England *and* Scotland *now maintain againſt a Combination of all the Papiſts in* Europe *almoſt, eſpecially the bloody Tygers of* Ireland, *and ſome of the Prelatical and Court Faction in* England; *thou will be abundantly ſatisfied with theſe Letters, here printed, and take Notice therefrom, how the Court has been cajolled, that is the new authentick Word now amongſt our Cabaliſtical Ad-*

versaries, by the Papists, and we, the more believing Sort of Protestants, by the Court. If thou art an Enemy to Parliaments, and Reformation, and made wilful in thy Enmity, beyond the Help of Miracles, or such Revelations as these are, then it is to be expected that thou wilt either deny these Papers to have been written by the King's own Hand, or else that we make just Constructions and Inferences out of them: Or lastly, thou wilt deny, though they be the King's own, and bear such a Sense as we understand them in, yet that they are blameable, or unjustifiable against such Rebels as we are. As to the first, know that the Parliament was never yet guilty of such Forgery; the King yet in all the Letters of his, which have been hitherto intercepted, never objected any such Thing, and we dare appeal to his own Conscience now, knowing that he cannot disavow either his own Hand-writing, or the Matters themselves here written. All the Cyphers, Letters, all Circumstances of Time, and Fact, and the very Hand by which they are signed, so generally known, and now exposed to the View of all, will aver for us, that no such Forgery could be possible. As to our Comments and Annotations, if there be not Perspicuity and Modesty in them, there is no common Justice nor Place for Credit left amongst Mankind; but indeed, most of the main Circumstances want no Illustration at all to the most vulgar Capacities; and therefore we affirm nothing necessary to be believed, but what the printed Papers will themselves utter in their own Language; and yet, for that which is not so clearly warranted here, we have other Papers for their Warrant, were they not too numerous, and vast, and too much intermixed with other Matter of no Pertinence for Publication at this Time. Touching the last Objection, if thou art a perfect Malignant, and dost not stick to deny, that there is any Thing in these Letters unbeseeming a Prince, who professes himself a Defender of the true Faith, a tender Father of his Country, and has been so sanctimoniously engaged with frequent, special Vows of Affection, Candour, Sincerity, and Constancy, to his particular Protestant Subjects of England and Scotland: Then know, that thou art scarce worthy of any Reply, or Satisfaction in this Point. Our Cause is now the same as it was when the King first took up Arms, and as it was when the King made most of these Oaths and Professions. Our three Propositions concerning the Abolition of Episcopacy, the Settling the Militia of the three Kingdoms in good Hands, by Advice of Parliament, the Vindication of the Irish Rebels, being all our main Demands at the Treaty in February last, and no other than the Propositions sent in June 1642 before any Stroke struck, will bear us Witness, that we have rather straitened, than enlarged our Complaints. But were our Cause altered, as it is not; or were we worse Rebels, than formerly, as none can affirm which take Notice of our late Sufferings, and our strange Patience even now after the Discovery of these Papers, and our late extraordinary Success in the Field; yet still this clandestine Proceeding against us here, and Condemning all that are in any Degree Protestants at Oxford, as also Granting a Toleration of Idolatry to Papists, and Indemnity to the murtherous Irish, in a close trading Way, for mere particular Advantage, cannot be defended by any, but by the falsest of Men, Papists; or the falsest of Papists, Jesuits. Hitherto the English have had Commission to chastise the Irish, the Irish have had the like to chastise the English, both have spilt each others Blood, by the King's Warrant; yet as both have been in Part owned, so both have been in Part disowned, and the King himself has not appeared with an open Face in the Business; but now by God's good Providence the traverse Curtain is drawn, and the King writing to Ormond, and the Queen, what they must not disclose, is presented upon the Stage. God grant the Drawing of this Curtain may be as fatal to Popery, and all Antichristian Heresy here now,

as

as the Rending of the Vail was to the Jewiſh *Ceremonies in* Judea, *at the Expiration of our Saviour.*

15.

Oxford, Jan. 9.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my laſt, which was by *Talbot*, the *Scots* Commiſſioners have ſent to deſire me to ſend a Commiſſion to the General Aſſembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am reſolved not to do; but, to the End of making ſome Uſe of this Occaſion, by ſending an honeſt Man to *London*, and that I may have the more Time for the making a handſome Negative, I have demanded a Paſſport for *Philip Warwick*, by whom to return my Anſwer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that *Lenthall* the Speaker brags, That Cardinal *Mazarine* keeps a ſtrict Intelligence with him; though I will not ſwear that *Lenthall* ſays true, I am ſure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabran*, I am confident, that either he, or his Inſtructions, are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertiſed from *London*, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons, beſides four *Scotch* Commiſſioners, appointed to treat, and they have named *Uxbridge* for the Place, though not yet the particular Perſons. I am likewiſe newly advertiſed, that General *Goring* proſpers well where he is, and ſince *Monday* laſt hath taken eighty of the Rebels Horſe; and, upon his Advance, they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

P. S. The Settling of Religion, and the Militia, are the firſt to be treated on; and be confident, that I will neither quit Epiſcopacy, nor that Sword which God hath given into my Hands.

29. 15.

Copy to my Wife, *Jan.* 9. 1644, by *P. A.*
This is a true Copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux.*

31.

Oxford, Sunday, March 30.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my laſt, which was but three Days ago, there are no Alterations happened of Moment, Preparations, rather than Actions, being yet our chiefeſt Buſineſs, in which we hope, that we proceed faſter than the Rebels, whoſe Levies, both of Men and Money, for certain, go on very ſlowly; and I believe they are much weaker than is thought, even here at *Oxford*. For Inſtance: A very honeſt Servant of mine, and no Fool, ſhewed me a Propoſition from one of the moſt conſiderable *London* Rebels, who will not let his Name be known until he hath Hope, that his Propoſition will take Effect: It is this: That, ſince the Treaty is ſo broken off, that neither the Rebels nor I can reſume it, without, at leaſt, a ſeeming total Yielding to the other, the Treaty ſhall be renewed upon thy Motion, with a Pre-aſſurance, that the Rebels will ſubmit to Reaſon. The Anſwer, that I permitted my Servant to give, was, That thou art the much fitteſt Perſon to be the Means of ſo happy and glorious a Work, as is the Peace of this Kingdom; but that upon no Terms thy Name was to be profaned; therefore he was to be ſatisfied of the Rebels Willingneſs to yield to Reaſon, before he would conſent that any ſuch Intimation ſhould be made to thee, and particularly, concerning Religion and the Militia, that Nothing muſt be inſiſted upon but according to my former Offers. This, I believe, will come to Nothing, yet I cannot but advertiſe thee of any Thing that comes to my Knowledge of this Conſequence.

I muſt again tell thee, that moſt aſſuredly *France* will be the beſt Way for Tranſportation of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Army, there being divers fit and ſafe Places of Landing for them upon the Weſtern Coaſts, beſides the Ports under my Obedience, as *Shelſey* near *Chicheſter*, and others, of which I will advertiſe thee when the Time comes.

By my next, I think to tell thee when I ſhall march into the Field, for which Money is now his greateſt Want, I need ſay no more, who is eternally thine.

18. 31.

To my Wife, *March* 30, 1645, by *Petit.*
This is a true Copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux.*

30.

Oxford, Thurſday, March 27.

Dear Heart,

I wrote to thee Yeſterday by *Sakefield*, the Subject of it was only Kindneſs to thee; which, I aſſure thee, ſhall ever be viſible in all my

my Actions: And now I come to *Jermin*'s Account, given me by thy Command, which is very clear, hopeful in moſt Particulars, and abſolutely ſatisfactory as concerning thy Care and Induſtry. As for the main Impediment in the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Buſineſs, which is his Paſſage, Why may thou not procure him Paſſage through *France*? If that of *Holland* be ſtuck at, it will much ſecure and facilitate the Sea-tranſportation in Reſpect of landing on the Weſtern Coaſt, which, I believe, will be found the beſt, there being not ſo many Places to chuſe on, any where elſe. But this an Opinion, not a Direction.

The general Face of my Affairs, methinks, begins to mend, the Diſſenſions at *London* rather increaſing than ceaſing, *Montroſe* daily proſpering, my Weſtern Buſineſs mending apace, and hopeful in all the reſt. So that, if I had reaſonable Supplies of Money and Powder, not to exclude any other, I am confident to be in a better Condition this Year, than I have been ſince this Rebellion began, and, poſſibly, I may put fair for the Whole, and ſo enjoy thy Company again, without which, Nothing can be a Contentment unto me. And ſo, farewel, dear Heart.

I intend, if thou like it, to beſtow *Percy*'s Place on the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, to whom, yet, I am no Ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy Anſwer. As for *Jack Barclay*, I do not remember that I gave thee any Hope of making of him Maſter of the *Wards*; for *Cottington* had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary *Nich.* if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I deſire thee to command Lord *Jer.* to read to thee the Duke's Letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that Part concerning the Tranſportation of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Army.

23. 30.

To my Wife, *March* 27, 1645, by *P. A.*

This is a true Copy examined by *Miles Corbet.*

39.

Oxford, Sunday, May 4.

Dear Heart,

THE Rebels new brutiſh General hath refuſed to meddle with Foreign Paſſes, ſo as yet I cannot diſpatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the Way of *London*, which, if I cannot very ſhortly, I will ſend him by the Weſt. And now, if I could be aſſured of thy Recovery, I would have but few melancholy Thoughts, for, I thank God, my Affairs begin to ſmile upon me again, *Wales* being ſwept of the Rebels, *Farrington* having relieved itſelf; and now being ſecured by *Goring*'s Coming, my Nephews likewiſe having brought me a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot, theſe Quarters are ſo free, that I hope to be marching within three or four Days, and am ſtill confident to have the Start of the Rebels this Year: I am likewiſe very hopeful, that my Son will ſhortly be at the Head of a good Army; for this I have the chearful Aſſurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde*. Of late, I have been much preſſed to make *Southampton* Maſter of my Horſe, not more for Goodwill to him, as out of Fear, that *Hamilton* might return to a Capacity of re-cenſuring me; wherein, if I had done Nothing, both Jealouſy and Diſcontents were like to ariſe; wherefore I thought fit to put my Nephew *Rupert* in that Place, which will both ſave me Charge, and ſtop other Men's Grumblings. I have now no more to ſay, but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good News from thee, I reſt eternally thine.

39.

To my Wife, *May* 4, 1645, by *Malin St. Ravy.*

This is a true Copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux.*

13.

Oxford, Jan. 2.

Dear Heart,

HAVING decyphered thine, which I received Yeſterday, I was much ſurpriſed to find thee blame me for Neglecting to write to thee, for, indeed, I have often complained for Want, never miſſed any Occaſion of Sending to thee; and, I aſſure thee, never any Diſpatch went from any of my Secretaries, without one from me, when I knew of it.

As for my calling thoſe at *London* a *Parliament*, I ſhall refer thee to *Digby* for particular Satisfaction; this in general: If there had been but two, beſides myſelf, of my Opinion, I had not done it; and the Argument that prevailed with me was, that the Calling did no Ways acknowledge them to be a Parliament; upon which Condition and Conſtruction I did it, and no otherways, and accordingly it is regiſtered in the Council-Books, with the Council's unanimous

nimous Approbation; but thou wilt find, that it was by Misfortune, not Neglect, that thou haſt been no ſooner advertiſed of it.

As for the Concluſion of thy Letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didſt not know, thy Deſire granted before it was aſked; yet I wonder not at it, ſince that, which may bear a bad Conſtruction, hath been preſented to thee in the ugliest Form, not having received the true Reaſon and Meaning of it. The Fear of ſome ſuch Miſchance made me the more careful, to give thee a full Account by *Tom Elliot*, of the Reaſons of the Duke of *R.* and Earl of *S.* Journey to *London*, which, if it come ſoon enough, I am confident will free thee from much Trouble; but, if thou haſt not the Patience to forbear Judging harſhly of my Actions, before thou heareſt the Reaſons of them, from me, thou may be often ſubject to be doubly vexed; firſt with Slanders, then with having given too much Ear unto them. To conclude, eſteem me as thou findeſt me conſtant to thoſe Grounds thou left me withall; and ſo, farewel, dear Heart.

21. 13.

Copy to my Wife, *Jan.* 2, 1645, by *P. A.*

4

This is a true Copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux.*

21.

Oxford, Feb. 19. *O. S.*

Dear Heart,

I Cannot yet ſend thee any certain Word concerning the Iſſue of our Treaty, only, the unreaſonable Stubbornneſs of the Rebels gives daily leſs and leſs Hopes of any Accommodation this Way; wherefore I hope no Rumours ſhall hinder thee from haſtening, all thou may, all poſſible Aſſiſtance to me, and particularly, that of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s; concerning which I received Yeſterday good News from Dr. *Goffe*, that the Prince of *Orange* will furniſh Shipping for his Tranſportation, and the reſt of his Negotiation goes hopefully on, by which, and many other Ways, I find thy Affection ſo accompanied with Dexterity, as I know not whether, in their ſeveral Kinds, to eſteem moſt; but I will ſay no more of this, leſt thou may think that I pretend to do, this Way, what is but poſſible to be done by the continued Actions of my Life; though I leave News to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain Intelligence of a great Defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montroſe*; who, upon Surpriſe, totally routed thoſe Rebels, and killed Fifteen-hundred upon the Place. Yeſterday I received thine of the Twenty-ſeventh of *January*, by the *Portugueſe* Agent, the only Way (but expreſſed) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to ſend them to thee; indeed, *Sabran* ſent me Word Yeſterday, beſides ſome Compliments of the Ambaſſy of the Rebels Ships in *France* (which I likewiſe put upon thy Score of Kindneſs) but is well enough content, that the *Portugueſe* ſhould be charged with thy Diſpatches. As for Truſting the Rebels either by going to *London*, or diſbanding my Army before a Peace, do no Ways fear my Hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly; for I eſteem the Intereſt thou haſt in me, at a far dearer Rate, and pretend to have a little more Wit (at leaſt by the Sympathy that is betwixt us) than to put myſelf into the Reverence of perfidious Rebels. So, impatiently expecting the Expreſs thou haſt promiſed me, I reſt eternally thine.

I can aſſure thee, that *Hertogen*, the *Iriſh* Agent, is an arrant Knave, which ſhall be made manifeſt to thee by the firſt Opportunity of ſending Pacquets.

11. 21.

To my Wife, *Feb.* 19, 1645, by *P. A.*

4

This is a true Copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux.*

20.

Dear Heart,

THE Expectation of an Expreſs from thee, as I find by thine of the Fourth of *February*, is very good News to me, as likewiſe that thou art now well ſatisfied with my Diligence in Writing. As for our Treaty, there is every Day leſs Hopes than other, that it will produce a Peace. But I will abſolutely promiſe thee, that, if we have one, it ſhall be ſuch as ſhall invite thy Return. For I avow, that, without thy Company, I can neither have Peace nor Comfort within myſelf. The limited Days for Treating are now almoſt expired without the leaſt Agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have ſent for Enlargement of Days, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the World. And, I aſſure thee, that thou needeſt not doubt the Iſſue of this Treaty; for my Commiſſioners are ſo well choſen, though I ſay it, that they will neither be threatened

nor

not disputed from the Grounds I have given them; which, upon my Word, is according to the little Note thou so well remembers. And, in this, not only their Obedience, but their Judgments concur. I confess, in some Respects, thou hast Reason to bid me beware of going too soon to *London*; for, indeed, some amongst us had a greater Mind, that Way, than was fit; of which Persuasion, *Percy* is one of the Chief, who is, shortly, like to see thee; of whom having said this, it is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning our Proceedings here. In short, there is little or no Appearance, but that this Summer will be the hottest for War of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that, in making Peace, I shall ever shew my Constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all our Friends, and not forget to put a short Period to this perpetual Parliament. But, as thou loves me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine Assistance for him who is eternally thine,

C. R. 15 4

Oxford, Feb. 25. 1645.

3. 20.

To my Wife, *Feb.* 15. 1645, by *P. A.*

This is a true Copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux.*

22.

Dear Heart,

NOW is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless End (as to a present Peace) of this Treaty, but I am still confident, that I shall find very good Effects of it; for, besides that my Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured Reason, and the Rebels have stuck rigidly to their Demands, which, I dare say, had been too much, though they had taken me Prisoner; so that, assuredly, the Breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise, at this Time, discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the World, that the *English* Rebels (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great Difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the Command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the *Scots*, which, besides the Reflexion it will have upon these Rebels, will clearly shew, that Reformation of the Church is not the chief, much less the only End of the *Scottish* Rebellion; but, it being Presumption, and no Piety, so to trust to a good Cause, as not to use all lawful Means to maintain it, I have thought of one Means more to furnish thee with for my Assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: It is, that I give thee Power to promise, in my Name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the Penal Laws against the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, as soon as God shall inable me to do it; so as, by their Means, or in their Favours, I may have so powerful Assistance, as may deserve so great a Favour, and inable me to do it. But, if thou ask what I call that Assistance, I answer, that, when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what Secrecy this Business requires, yet this I will say, that this is the greatest Point of Confidence I can express to thee; for it is no Thanks to me to trust thee in any Thing else, but in this, which is the only Thing of Difference in Opinion betwixt us; and yet I know, thou wilt make as good a Bargain for me, even in this. I trusting thee, though it concern Religion, as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible Good of my Affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this Bearer, *Pooly*, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new Cypher, assuring thee, that none hath, or shall have, any Copy of it but myself, to the End thou mayest use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any Thing, which thou wilt judge worthy of thy Pains to put in Cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me, and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

20. 23.

To my Wife, *March* 5, 1645, by *Pooly.*

This is a true Copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux.*

33.

The little, that is here in Cypher, is in that which I sent to thee by *Pooly.*

Oxford, Wednesday, April 9, 1645.

Dear Heart,

THOUGH it be an uncomfortable Thing to write by a slow Messenger, yet all Occasions of this, which is now the only Way of conversing with thee, are so welcome to me, as I shall be loth to lose any; but expect neither News or publick Business from me, by this Way of Conveyance; yet, judging thee by myself, even these Nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I should chide thee, which, if I could, I would do, for thy too sudden

ſudden Taking Alarms; I pray thee conſider, ſince I love thee above all Earthly Things, and that my Contentment is inſeparably conjoined with thine, Muſt not all my Actions tend to ſave and pleaſe thee? If thou knew what a Life I lead (I ſpeak not in Reſpect of the common Diſtractions) even in Point of Converſation, which, in my Mind, is the chief Joy or Vexation of one's Life, I dare ſay thou would pity me; for ſome are too wiſe, others too fooliſh, ſome too buſy, others too reſerved, many fantaſtick. In a Word, when I know none better (I ſpeak not now in Relation to Buſineſs) than 359. 8. 270. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 69. 16. 54. 6. 38. 1. 67. 68. 9. 66. thou may eaſily judge how my Converſation pleaſeth me. I confeſs, thy Company hath, perhaps, made me in this hard to be pleaſed, but not leſs to be pitied by thee, who art the only Cure for this Diſeaſe. The End of all is this, to deſire thee to comfort me, as often as thou can, with thy Letters; and doſt not thou think, that, to know Particulars of thy Health, and how thou ſpendeſt the Time, are pleaſing Subjects unto me, though thou haſt no other Buſineſs to write of? Believe me, ſweet Heart, thy Kindneſs is as neceſſary to comfort my Heart, as thy Aſſiſtance is for my Affairs.

To my Wife, 9 *April*, 1645, by *Binion*.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Miles Corbet*.

X.

Oxford, Thurſday, March 20.

Dear Heart,

UPON *Saturday* laſt I wrote to thee by *Sabran*, but this I believe may come as ſoon to thee, and I have received thine, of the Seventh, upon *Monday* laſt, which gave me great Contentment, both in Preſent and Expectation, the quick Paſſage being likewiſe a welcome Circumſtance; and yet I cannot but find a Fault of Omiſſion in moſt of thy later Diſpatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy Health. For though I confeſs, that, in this, no News is good News, yet I am not ſo ſatisfied, without a more perfect Aſſurance, and I hope thou wilt, by ſatisfying me, confeſs the Juſtneſs of this my Exception. I am now full fraught with Expectation. I pray God ſend me a good Unlading, for I look daily for ſome Blow of Importance to be given about *Taunton*, or *Shrewſbury*; and I am confidently aſſured of a conſiderable and ſudden Supply of Men from *Ireland*. Likewiſe the refractory Horſe, as the *London* Rebels calls them, may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what Fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more Hope of gaining them to me; howſoever, I doubt not, but, if they ſtand out, as it is probable, good Uſe may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter Account next Week, having ſent to try their Pulſes; *Petit* came Yeſterday, but he, having at *London* thruſt his Diſpatches into the States Ambaſſador's Pacquets, I have not yet received them, and I would not ſtay to lengthen this in Anſwer of them, nor give thee Half-hopes of good Weſtern News, knowing of an Opportunity for writing to thee within theſe three or four Days; only I congratulate with thee for the ſafe Arrival of thy Tin-adventure at *Calais*, and ſo farewel, ſweet Heart.

Thine of the Tenth I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much miſtakes me concerning *Ireland*, for I deſire nothing more than a Peace there, and never forbad thy Commerce there; only I gave thee Warning of ſome *Iriſh* in *France*, whom I then thought, and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife, *March* the 20th, 1644-5, by *P. A.*

This is a true Copy, examined by *Edmund Prideaux*.

XI.

Droitwich, Wedneſday, May 14.

Dear Heart,

MArching takes away the Conveniency of ſending my Letters ſo ſafe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however, I ſhall not fail to do what I can to ſend often to thee; there is ſo little News for the Preſent, as I will leave that Subject for others, only, upon *Saturday* laſt, I received a Diſpatch from *Montroſe*, which aſſures me his Condition to be ſo good, that he bids me be confident, that his Countrymen ſhall do me no great Harm this Year, and, if I could lend him but five-hundred Horſe, he would undertake to bring me twenty-thouſand Men before the End of this Summer. For the general State of my Affairs, we all here think to be very hopeful, this Army being of a good Strength, well ordered,

dered, and increasing; my Son's such, that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good Satisfaction from himself. It is true that I cannot brag for Store of Money, but a sharp Sword always hinders Starving at least, and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly we shall make as good a Shift with empty Purses as they) or they must have some greater Defect, else their Levies could not be so backward as they are, for, I assure thee, that I have at this Instant many more Men in the Field than they. I am not very confident what their Northern Forces are, but expect they are much stronger than I am made believe. I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a Complaint to thee of my Son *Charles*, which troubles me the more, that thou mayest suspect I seek, by Equivocating, to hide the Breach of my Word, which I hate above all Things, especially to thee: It is this, he hath sent to desire me, that Sir *John Greenfield* may be sworn Gentleman of his Bedchamber, but already so publickly engaged in it, that the Refusal would be a great Disgrace, both to my Son and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just Distaste, especially now, considering his Father's Merits, his own Hopefulness, besides the great Power that Family has in the West; yet I have refused the Admitting of him, until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore, I desire thee first to chide my Son, for Engaging himself without one of our Consents; then, not to refuse thy own Consent; and, *lastly*, to believe, that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while Yesterday, at the Delivery of my Son's Letter; so farewel, Sweet-heart, and God send me good News from thee.

To my Wife, May 14, 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Miles Corbet*.

XII.

Dear Heart,

I Know thy Affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much, if not more, Trouble to find my Reputation, as my Life in Danger; therefore, lest the false Sound of my Offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unsafe Terms should disturb thy Thoughts, I have thought it necessary, to assure thy Mind from such Rumours, to tell thee the Ways I have taken to come to a Treaty, and upon what Grounds. I shall first shew thee my Grounds, to the End thou may the better understand and approve of my Ways; then know, as a certain Truth, that all, even my Party, are strangely impatient for Peace, which obliged me so much the more, at all Occasions, to shew my real Intentions to Peace; and likewise I am put in very good Hope, some hold it a Certainty, that, if I could come to a fair Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hinder me from a good Peace; first, because their own Party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great Distractions, which, at this Time, most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in Religion, and General against General, in Point of Command: Upon these Grounds a Treaty being most desirable, not without Hope of good Success, the most probable Means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with Honour and Safety; amongst the rest, for I will omit all those which are unquestionably counselable, the Sound of my Return to *London* was thought to have so much Force of popular Rhetorick in it, that, upon it, a Treaty would be had, or, if refused, it would bring much Prejudice to them, and Advantage to me; yet, lest foolish or malicious People should interpret this as to proceed from Fear or Folly, I have joined Conditions with the Proposition (without which this Sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief Ingredients of an honourable and safe Peace. Then observe, if a Treaty at *London* with Commissioners for both Sides may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor, in Case they will treat with no Body but myself, so that the Condition save any Aspersion of Dishonour, and the Treating at *London*, the Malignity which our factious Spirits here may infuse into this Treaty upon this Subject. This, I hope, will secure thee from the Trouble, which otherwise may be caused by false malicious Rumours; and though I judge myself secure in thy Thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any Baseness, yet I held this Account necessary, to the End thou may make others know, as well as thyself, this certain Truth, That no Danger of Death or Misery, which I think much worse, shall make me do any Thing unworthy of thy Love. For the State of my present Affairs, I refer thee to 92.

concluding,

concluding, as I did in my last to thee, by conjuring thee, as thou loveſt me, that no Appearance of Peace, and now I add, nor hopeful Condition of mine, make thee neglect to haſte Succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, *December*, 1644, by *Thomas Elliot*.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Edmund Prideaux*.

XIII.

Oxford, March 13, O. S.

Dear Heart,

WHAT I told thee the laſt Week, concerning a good Parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on *Monday* laſt handſomely performed, and now if I do any Thing unhandſome, or diſadvantageous to myſelf or Friends, in Order to a Treaty, it will be merely my own Fault; for, I confeſs, when I wrote laſt, I was in Fear to have been preſſed to make ſome mean Overtures, to renew the Treaty, knowing that there was great Labouring to that Purpoſe: But now I promiſe thee, if it be renewed (which I believe will not, without ſome eminent good Succeſs on my Side) it ſhall be to my Honour and Advantage, I being now as well freed from the Place of baſe and mutinous Motions, that is to ſay, our mongrel Parliament here, as of the chief Cauſers, for whom I may juſtly expect to be chidden by thee, for having ſuffered thee to be vexed by them, *Whitlot* being already there, *Percy* on his Way, and *Suſſex*, within few Days, taking his Journey to thee, but that I know, thou careſt not for a little Trouble to free me from great Inconveniencies; yet I muſt tell thee, that, if I knew not the perfect Steadineſs of thy Love to me, I might reaſonably apprehend, that their Repair to thee would rather prove a Change, than an End of their Villainies; and I cannot deny, but my Confidence in thee was ſome Cauſe of this permiſſive Trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the Third of *March*, by which thou puts me in Hope of Aſſiſtance of Men and Money, and it is no little Expreſſion of thy Love to me, that, becauſe of my Buſineſs, Feſtivals are troubleſome to thee; but I ſee that Aſſemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee, and it may be done a Purpoſe to make thee weary of their Companiſes; and excuſe me to tell thee in Earneſt, that it is no Wonder, that mere Statesmen ſhould deſire to be rid of thee; therefore I deſire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much to make a perſonal Friendſhip with the Queen Regent, without ſhewing any Diſtruſt of her Miniſters, though not wholly truſting to them; and to ſhew her, that, when her Regency comes out, and poſſibly before, ſhe may have Need of her Friends, ſo that ſhe ſhall but ſerve herſelf by helping of thee; and to ſay no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppreſs me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious than ſhe did. In the laſt Place, I deſire thee to give me a weekly Account of thy Health, for I fear, leſt in that alone thou takeſt not Care enough to expreſs thy Kindneſs to him, who is eternally thine.

The Northern News is rather better, than what we firſt heard, for what, by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*'s, and *Montroſe*'s Victories, *Carliſle* and the reſt of our Northern Garriſons are relieved, and we hope for this Year ſecured; and, beſides all this, the Northern Horſe are already returned, and joined with my Nephew *Rupert*.

To my Wife, *March* 13, 1644-5. by *P. A.*

This is a true Copy, examined by *Edmund Prideaux*.

XIV.

Daintry, Sunday, June 8.

Dear Heart,

Oxford being free, I hope this will come ſooner to thee, than otherwiſe I could have expected; which makes me believe, that my good News will not be very ſtale; which, in ſhort, is this: Since the Taking of *Leiceſter*, my Marching down hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raiſe their Siege, before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garriſon, and loſt four-hundred Men at an Aſſault before *Boſtoll-Houſe*. At firſt I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but are ſince gone aſide to *Brickhill*, ſo as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be; whether by their Diſtractions, which are certainly very great (*Fairfax* and *Brereton* having been at Cudgels, and his Men and *Cromwell*'s likewiſe at Blows together, where a Captain was ſlain) or Waſting their Men, I will not ſay: Beſides, *Goring* hath given a great Defeat to the Weſtern Rebels, but I do not yet know the Particulars; wherefore

wherefore I may, without being too much ſanguine, affirm, that, ſince this Rebellion, my Affairs were never in ſo fair and hopeful a Way; though among ourſelves we want not our own Follies, which it is needleſs and, I am ſure, tedious to tell thee, but ſuch as, I am confident, ſhall do no Harm, nor much trouble me: Yet I muſt tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz-Williams*, aſſuring me of thy perfect Recovery with thy wonted Kindneſs, which makes me capable of taking Contentment in theſe good Succeſſes; for, as divers Men propoſe ſeveral Recompences to themſelves, for their Pains and Hazard in this Rebellion, ſo thy Company is the only Reward I expect and wiſh for.

To my Wife, *June* 9, 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Miles Corbet*.

XV.

Dear Heart,

SUnday laſt, I received three Letters from thee; one a Duplicate of the Thirtieth of *December*, another of the Sixth of *January*, and the laſt of the Fourteenth of *January*; and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the laſt; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the Expreſſions of thy confident Love of me, ſo I muſt extremely wonder, that any, who pretends to be a Friend to our Cauſe (for I believe thou wouldeſt not mention any Information from the other Side) can invent ſuch Lyes, That thou haſt had ill Offices done to me by any; or that thy Care for my Aſſiſtance hath been the leaſt ſuſpected; it being ſo far from Truth, that the juſt Contrary is true. For I proteſt to God, I never heard thee ſpoken of, but with the greateſt Expreſſions of Eſtimation for thy Love to me, and particularly for thy diligent Care for my Aſſiſtance: But I am confident, that it is a Branch of that Root of Knavery, which I am now digging at; and of this I have more than a bare Suſpicion. And, indeed, if I were to find Fault with thee, it ſhould be for not Taking ſo much Care of thine own Health, as of my Aſſiſtance; at leaſt, not Giving me ſo often Account of it, as I deſire, theſe three laſt making no Mention of thyſelf. Now, as for the Treaty (which begins this Day) I deſire thee to be confident, that I ſhall never make a Peace by abandoning my Friends, nor ſuch an one as will not ſtand with my Honour and Safety; of which I will ſay no more, becauſe, knowing thy Love, I am ſure thou muſt believe me, and make others likewiſe confident of me.

I ſend thee herewith my Directions to my Commiſſioners, but how I came to make them myſelf, without any others, *Digby* will tell thee, with all the News, as well concerning Military, as Cabaliſtical Matters: At this Time I will ſay no more, but that I ſhall in all Things (only not anſwering for Words) truly ſhew myſelf to be eternally thine.

The *Portugueſe* Agent hath made me two Propoſitions: Firſt, concerning the Releaſe of his Maſter's Brother, for which I ſhall have fifty-thouſand Pounds, if I can procure his Liberty from the King of *Spain*: The other is for a Marriage betwixt my Son *Charles* and his Maſter's eldeſt Daughter: For the firſt, I have freely undertaken to do what I can; and, for the other, I will give ſuch an Anſwer as ſhall ſignify nothing.

I deſire thee not to give too much Credit to *Sabran*'s Relations, nor much Countenance to the *Iriſh* Agents in *Paris*; the particular Reaſons thou ſhalt have by *Peoly*, whom I intend for my next Meſſenger. In the laſt Place, I recommend to thee the Care of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, it being impoſſible for us here to do much, tho' we were rich, being weak at Sea.

To my Wife, *Jan.* 30, 1644-5. By *Legge*.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Edmund Prideaux*.

XVI.

Ormond,

THE Impoſſibility of preſerving my Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a Continuation of the War, having moved me to give you thoſe Powers and Directions, which I have formerly done, for the Concluding of a Peace there; and, the ſame growing daily much more evident, that alone were Reaſon enough for me to enlarge your Powers, and to make my Commands in the Point more poſitive. But, beſides theſe Conſiderations, it being now manifeſt, that the *Engliſh* Rebels have, as far as in them lies, given the Command of *Ireland* to the *Scots*; that their Aim is at a total Subverſion of Religion and Regal Power; and that nothing leſs will content them, or purchaſe Peace here, I think myſelf bound in Conſcience not to let ſlip the Means of ſettling

that

that Kingdom, if it may be, fully under my Obedience; nor to loſe that Aſſiſtance, which I may hope from my *Iriſh* Subjects, for ſuch Scrupies as in a leſs preſſing Condition, might reaſonably be ſtuck at by me: For their Satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a Peace with the *Iriſh*, whatever it coſt, ſo that my Proteſtant Subjects there may be ſecured, and my Regal Authority preſerved; but, for all this, you are to make me the beſt Bargain you can, and not diſcover your Enlargement of Power, till you needs muſt. And, though I leave the Managing of this great and neceſſary Work intirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that, if the Suſpenſion of *Poyning*'s Act, for ſuch Bills as ſhall be agreed upon between you there, and the preſent Taking away of the Penal Laws againſt Papiſts by a Law, will do it, I ſhall not think it a hard Bargain, ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage themſelves in my Aſſiſtance, againſt my Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*; for which no Conditions can be too hard, not being againſt Conſcience, or Honour.

Copy to *Ormond*, *Feb.* 27, 1644-5.
A true Copy, *Zouch Tate.*

To Ormond,
Oxford, *Feb.* 16, 1644.

Ormond,

I Should wrong my own Service, and this Gentleman, Sir *Timothy Fetherſton*, if I did not recommend him and his Buſineſs to you; for the Particulars of which, I refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the Neceſſity of the Haſtening of the *Iriſh* Peace, for which I hope you are already furniſhed by me, with Materials ſufficient; but, in Caſe, againſt all Expectation and Reaſon, Peace cannot be had upon thoſe Terms, you muſt not, by any Means, fall to a new Rupture with them, but continue the Ceſſation, according to a Poſtſcript in a Letter by *Jack Barry*, a Copy of which Diſpatch I herewith ſend you. So I reſt.

P. S. In Caſe, upon particular Men's Fancies, the *Iriſh* Peace ſhould not be procured, upon Powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further Order, which I hope will prove needleſs, to ſeek to renew the Ceſſation for a Year, for which, you ſhall promiſe the *Iriſh*, if you can have it no cheaper, to join with them againſt the *Scots* and *Inchequin*; for I hope, by that Time, my Condition may be ſuch, as the *Iriſh* may be glad to accept leſs, or I be able to grant more.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate.*

To Ormond,
Oxford, *Jan.* 7, 1644-5.

Ormond,

UPON the great Rumours and Expectations, which are now of Peace, I think it neceſſary to tell you the true State of it, leſt miſtaken Reports from hence might trouble my Affairs there:

'The Rebels here have agreed to treat, and, 'moſt aſſuredly, one of the firſt and chief Articles, they will inſiſt on, will be, to continue the *Iriſh* War, which is a Point not 'popular for me to break on; of which, you 'are to make a double Uſe: *Firſt*, to haſten, 'with all poſſible Diligence, the Peace there; 'the timely Concluſion of which will take 'off that Inconvenience, which otherways I 'may be ſubject to, by the Refuſal of that 'Article, upon any other Reaſon. *Secondly*, 'by dexterous Conveying to the *Iriſh* the 'Danger there may be of their total and perpetual Excluſion from thoſe Favours I intend 'them, in Caſe the Rebels here clap up a Peace 'with me, upon reaſonable Terms, and only 'exclude them; which, poſſibly, were not 'counſelable for me to refuſe, if the *Iriſh* 'Peace ſhould be the only Difference betwixt 'us, before it were perfected there: Theſe, I 'hope, are ſufficient Grounds for you to perſuade the *Iriſh* diligently, to diſpatch a Peace 'upon reaſonable Terms, aſſuring them, that, 'you having once fully engaged to them my 'Word, in the Concluſion of a Peace, all the 'Earth ſhall not make me break it.

'But not doubting of a Peace, I muſt again 'remember you to preſs the *Iriſh*, for their 'ſpeedy Aſſiſtance to me here, and their 'Friends in *Scotland*: My Intention being to 'draw from thence into *Wales*, the Peace once 'concluded, as many as I can, of my armed 'Proteſtant Subjects, and deſire, that the *Iriſh* 'would ſend as great a Body as they can, to 'land about *Cumberland*, which will put thoſe 'Northern Counties, in a brave Condition; 'wherefore you muſt take ſpeedy Order to provide all the Shipping you may, as well *Dunkirk*, as *Iriſh* Bottoms; and remember that, 'after *March*, it will be moſt difficult to tranſport Men from *Ireland* to *England*, the Re-

bels

' bels being Maſters of the Seas: So expecting ' a diligent and particular Account, in Anſwer ' to this Letter, I reſt

Your moſt aſſured conſtant Friend,

CHARLES R.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate.*

To Ormond,

December 15, 644.

Ormond,

I Am ſorry to find by Colonel *Barry* the ſad Condition of your particular Fortune, for which I cannot find ſo good and ſpeedy Remedy as the Peace of *Ireland*, it being likewiſe to redreſs moſt neceſſary Affairs here; wherefore I command you to diſpatch it out of Hand, for the Doing of which, I hope my publick Diſpatch will give you ſufficient Inſtruction and Power; yet I have thought it neceſſary, for your more Encouragement in this neceſſary Work, to make this Addition with my own Hand. As for *Poyning*'s Act, I refer you to my other Letter; and for Matter of Religion, though I have not found it fit to take publick Notice of the Paper, which *Bruton* gave you, yet I muſt command you to give him my Lord *Muſtery* and *Plunket* particular Thanks for it, aſſuring them that, without it, there could have been no Peace; and that ſticking to it, their Nation in general, and they in particular, ſhall have Comfort, in what they have done; and to ſhew that this is more than Words, I do hereby promiſe them, and command you to ſee it done, That the Penal Statutes againſt *Roman* Catholicks ſhall not be put in Execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due Obedience; and further, that when the *Iriſh* give me that Aſſiſtance, which they have promiſed, for the Suppreſſion of this Rebellion, and I ſhall be reſtored to my Rights, then I will conſent to the Repeal of them by a Law; but all thoſe againſt Appeals to *Rome* and *Præmunire* muſt ſtand. All this in Cypher you muſt impart to none, but thoſe three already named, and that with Injunction of ſtricteſt Secrecy: So again, recommending to your Care the ſpeedy Diſpatch of the Peace of *Ireland*, and my neceſſary Supply from thence, as I wrote to you, in my laſt private Letter, I reſt.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate.*

The Earl of Glamorgan's *Inſtructions to me, to be preſented to your Majeſty.*

THAT, God willing, by the End of *May*, or Beginning of *June*, he will land with ſix-thouſand *Iriſh*.

That the Gentlemen of the ſeveral Counties of *Monmouth*, *Glamorgan*, *Brecknock*, and *Caermarthen*, will very ſpeedily for your Majeſty's Service, in Securing theſe Parts, raiſe and arm four-thouſand Men.

That, with the Ships, which ſhall bring over the *Iriſh*, his Lordſhip deſigns to block up *Milford* Haven, at which Time, he doubts not to draw theſe *Welch* Forces into *Pembrakeſhire*.

That, to advance theſe his Undertakings, he hath thirty-thouſand Pounds ready, ten-thouſand Muſkets, two thouſand Caſe of Piſtols, eight-hundred Barrels of Powder, beſides his own Artillery, and is aſcertained of thirty-thouſand Pounds more, which will be ready upon his Return.

That he hath Intelligence from his Ships, that divers *Hollanders* and *Dunkirkers* come in daily to him.

In Order to this Service, he commanded me humbly to put your Majeſty in Mind of his Commiſſion, and that he may in fitting Time have ſuch Command in theſe Counties, as may be ſuitable to his Employment, and conducing to the Service in Hand: Theſe being Counties in which, if other Deſigns of Landing fail, he can land in: And that your Majeſty will ſeriouſly conſider the Services, he hath done you, in Compoſing the Diſtractions of the County of *Monmouth*; and that you will be pleaſed to countenance Sir *Thomas Lundsford*, and graciouſly relieve the Country, in ſuch Things, as without Prejudicing your Service, may eaſe them.

Concerning the County of Monmouth *only.*

That, by his Lordſhip's Means, who hath now raiſed two Regiments himſelf, Sir *Thomas Lundsford*'s Forces will be one-thouſand eight-hundred Foot, and ſeven-hundred Horſe, which Horſe is intended to be quartered in the Foreſt of *Dean*, in Places of ſecure Quartering, as *Langot* attempted to have been taken by Sir *John Winter*, a Place of great Concernment, both

both for the Reducing the Forelt, and ſecuring *Monmouthſhire*.

That, by his Lordſhip's Intervention and Endeavours, your Majeſty really ſees he hath much qualified the Senſe of the Grievances of the County, and moderated their Complaints, by Subducting the intended Petition, and therefore hopes your Majeſty will ſo ſpecially commend their humble Suit to Prince *Rupert*, as it may be ſucceſsful.

That though the Prayer of their Petition is to reduce the Contribution to the Proportion ſet by the Parliament at *Oxford*, yet his Lordſhip hath ſo wrought, as theſe Petitioners have under their Hands obliged themſelves to continue the double Payment for two Months more, and doubts not, but in Relation to the Exigence of your Majeſty's Service, to prevail for further Time.

His humble Suit is, That I may carry with me into the Country your Majeſty's Order, that the Forces of Sir *Thomas Lundsford* may not be removed, but upon urgent Occaſion, until his Return: And that only upon your Majeſty's or Prince *Rupert*'s ſpecial Order, otherwiſe, it will be a great Obſtruction and Diſcouragement in Raiſing or Continuing the Number propoſed.

That your Majeſty will be pleaſed, in their Favour, to write your Letter to Prince *Rupert*, and that the Country may have the Honour to preſent it; to the End, they may be eaſed of free Quarter, Exactions above their Contribution, and unneceſſary Gariſons, that *Chepſtow* and *Monmouth* may be the better ſtrengthened.

That Sir *Thomas Lundsford* may be qualified with Authority, to protect them according to ſuch Order, as the Prince ſhall make.

Theſe preſented by your

March 21, 1644. *loyal Subject*,

Edward Boſdon.

This a true Copy, *Zouch Tate*.

Colonel Fitz-Williams *humbly prays and propounds as followeth:*

THAT your ſacred Majeſty will vouchſafe to prevail with his Majeſty, to condeſcend to the juſt Demands of his *Iriſh* Subjects, the Confederate Catholicks in his Majeſty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, at leaſt in private.

That, upon the Conſideration thereof, Colonel *Fitz-Williams* humbly propounds and undergoeth, with the Approbation of Mr. *Hardegan* now employed Agent, for the ſaid Confederate Catholicks in *France*, to bring an Army of ten-thouſand Men, and more of his Majeſty's Subjects in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, for his Majeſty's Service, into *England*.

That Colonel *Fitz Williams* undertakes, for the Sum of ten-thouſand Pounds Sterling, to levy, ſhip, and arm the ſaid ten-thouſand Men, and ſo proportionably, for more or leſs; and that the ſaid Money may be put into ſuch Hands, as may be ſafe for his Majeſty, as well as ready for the Colonel, when it ſhall appear, the ſaid Army ſhall be in a Readineſs to be tranſported into *England*.

That, upon the Landing the ſaid Men, there ſhall be advanced to the Colonel one Month's Pay for all the Army, according to the Muſter, for the preſent Support of the Army.

That Colonel *Fitz-Williams* may be Commander in Chief thereof, and diſpoſe of all the Officers, and only be commanded by his Majeſty, his Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, and Prince *Rupert*, and qualified with ſuch Commiſſions, as have been formerly granted to his Majeſty's Generals, that have commanded Bodies a-part from his Majeſty's own Army, as the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Kingſton*, and others, hereby the better to inable him in the Levies, as well as in the general Conduct of the Buſineſs; and that, in Reſpect the Parliament gives no Quarter to his Majeſty's *Iriſh* Subjects, therefore, that the ſaid Forces ſhall not, by any Order whatſoever, be divided.

That the Colonel may be ſupplied with a Body of Horſe, of at leaſt two thouſand, to be ready at the Place of Landing.

That the Colonel may be provided with Ammunition and Artillery, or with Money requiſite for himſelf, to provide neceſſary Proportions for to bring with him.

That the Army ſhall be paid, as other Armies of his Majeſty.

Having taken theſe Propoſitions into Conſideration, we have thought fit to teſtify our Approbation and Agreement thereunto, under our Sign Manual, aſſuring; what hath been deſired of us therein ſhall be forthwith effectually endeavoured.

endeavoured, and not doubting, to the Satisfaction of the Confederate Catholicks of his Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to the said Colonel *Fitz-Williams*, so that we may justly expect an agreeable Compliance and Performance accordingly, from all Parties, in these several Concernments.

This is a true Copy of the Original, sent by her Majesty to the King, *May* 16, 1645.— *A. Lowly*, Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lord *Jermin*.

A true Copy, *Touch Tate*.

To my Wife, by Choquen, Jan. 14, 1644-5.

Dear Heart,

Only came the [illegible] *Jan.* to whose great Dispatch, though for some Days I cannot give a full Answer, I cannot but at this Opportunity reply to something in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his Discourse.

As I confess it a Misfortune (but deny it a Fault) thy not Hearing oftener from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill Consequence as thou mentions, if their Affections were so real, as they make Shew of to thee; for the Difficulty of Sending is known to all, and the Numbers of each Letter will shew my Diligence, and certainly there goes no great Wit to find out Ways of Sending; wherefore, if any be neglected more, then our Wits are faulty: But to imagine it can enter into the Thought of any Flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every Man should know (excuse me to say it) is such a Folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it, though he say it: And, for my Affection to thee, it will not be the Miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in Question; but take Heed that these Discourses be not rather the Effect of their Weariness of thy Company, than the true Image of their Thoughts; and of this is not the Proposal of thy Journey to *Ireland* a pretty Instance? For, seriously of itself, I hold it one of the most extravagant Propositions that I have heard, thy Giving Ear to it being most assuredly only to express thy Love to me, and not thy Judgment in my Affairs: As for the Business itself (I mean the Peace of *Ireland*) to shew thee the Care I have had of it, and the Fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent thee the last Dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy self; only thou mayest, in general, let the Queen Regent and Ministers there understand, that I have offered my *Irish* Subjects so good Satisfaction, that a Peace will shortly ensue, which I really believe. But, for God's Sake, let none know the Particulars of my Dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholden to the *Portuguese* Agent (and little to the *French*) it being by his Means that I have sent thee all my Letters, besides Expresses, since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

I will not trouble thee with Repetitions of News, *Digby*'s Dispatch, which I have seen, being so full, that I can add nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious Observation: It is this, Nothing can be more evident, than that *Strafford*'s innocent Blood hath been one of the great Causes of God's just Judgments upon this Nation, by a furious Civil War, both Sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a Manner equally guilty; but now, this last crying Blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no Presumption hereafter to hope, that his Hand of Justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our Cause, having passed by our Faults.

This is a true Copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux*.

Copy to the Duke of Richmond.

Richmond, I thank you for the Account you sent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my Going to *Westmorland* is not to be mentioned, but upon probable Hopes of procuring a Treaty with Commissioners there or thereabouts, and that you mention the Security I ask with my Coming to *Westmorland*. And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the Independents and *Scots*: This Bearer will tell you how well our Western and Northern Associations go on, to whom I refer you for other Things. I rest.

This is a true Copy. *Touch Tate*.

Oxford, Feb. 1644. *Memorials for Secretary* Nicholas, *concerning the Treaty at* Uxbridge.

FIrst, for Religion and Church Government, I will not go one Jot further than what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the Militia, more than what ye have allowed by me; but even in that you must observe, that I must have free Nomination of the full Half; as, if the total Number,

Scots

Scots and all, be Thirty, I will name Fifteen: Yet, if they (I mean the *English* Rebels) will be so base, as to admit of ten *Scots* to twenty *English*, I am contented to name five *Scots* and ten *English*, and so proportionably to any Number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for Gaining of particular Persons, besides Security, I give you Power to promise them Rewards for performed Services, not sparing to engage for Places; so they be not of great Trust, nor be taken away from honest Men in Possession, but as much Profit as you will: With this last you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hyde*.

This is a true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

Directions for my *Uxbridge* Commissioners.

First concerning Religion.

IN this the Government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief Question, wherein two Things are to be considered, Conscience and Policy. For the *First*, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yield to the Change of the Government by Bishops; not only as I fully concur with the most general Opinion of Christians in all Ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold myself particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the Government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Church's Patrimony, I cannot suffer any Diminution or Alienation of it, it being, without Peradventure, Sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my Coronation Oath; but whatsoever shall be offered, for Rectifying of Abuses, if any hath crept in, or yet for the Ease of tender Consciences (so that it endamage not the Foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious Answer thereunto. For the *Second*, As the King's Duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Church's to assist the King, in the Maintenance of his just Authority; wherefore my Predecessors have been always careful (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the Dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown, without which it will scarcely fit fast upon the King's Head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary Dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

After Conscience, this is certainly the fittest Subject, for a King's Quarrel; for, without it, the Kingly Power is but a Shadow; and therefore, upon no Means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known Laws of the Land; yet because, to attain to this so much wished Peace, by all good Men, it is in a Manner necessary, that sufficient and real Security be given for the Performance of what shall be agreed upon: I permit you either by Leaving strong Towns, or other Military Force, in the Rebels Possession, until Articles be performed, to give such Assurance for Performance of Conditions, as you shall judge necessary, for to conclude a Peace: Provided always, that ye take, at least, as great Care, by sufficient Security, that Conditions be performed to me: And to make sure, that, the Peace once settled, all Things shall return into their ancient Channels.

Thirdly, for Ireland.

I confess, they have very specious popular Arguments, to press this Point, the Gaining of no Article more conducing to their Ends, than this: And I have as much Reason, both in Honour and Policy, to take Care how to answer this as any; all the World knows the eminent inevitable Necessity, which caused me to make the *Irish* Cessation, and there remain yet as strong Reasons, for the Concluding of that Peace; wherefore ye must consent to Nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear Way be shewn me, how my Protestant Subjects there may probably, at least, defend themselves; and that I shall have no more Need to defend my Conscience and Crown, from the Injuries of this Rebellion.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate.*

At Uxbridge, *on* Wednesday *the Twenty-ninth of* January, 1644, *the Proteſtation under-written was unanimouſly conſented unto, and taken by all his Majeſty's Commiſſioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded Peace.*

XXV.

I *A. B.* being one of the Commiſſioners, aſſigned by his Majeſty, for this preſent Treaty at *Uxbridge*, do proteſt and promiſe, in the Sight of Almighty God, that I will not diſcloſe nor reveal, unto any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, who is not a Commiſſioner, any Matter or Thing, that ſhall be ſpoken of, during the Treaty by any one, or more of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, in any private Debate amongſt ourſelves, concerning the ſaid Treaty; ſo as to name, or deſcribe directly or indirectly, the Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall ſpeak any ſuch Matter or Thing, unleſs it be, by the Conſent of all the ſaid Commiſſioners, that ſhall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the ſaid Commiſſioners agreed, That this ſhall not bind, where any ten of the Commiſſioners ſhall agree to certify his Majeſty the Number of Aſſenters or Diſſenters, upon any particular Reſult, in this Treaty, not naming or deſcribing the Perſons.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Zouch Tate*.

The Queen to the King, from *York*.
March 30, 1644; alſo *April*.

My Dear Heart,

I Need not tell you, from whence this Bearer comes; only I will tell you, That the Propoſitions, which he brings you, are good, but *too*: and I believe that it is not yet Time to put them into Execution; therefore, find ſome Means, to ſend them back, which may not diſcontent them, and do not tell, who gave you this Advice. Sir *Hugh Cholmley* is come, with a Troop of Horſe, to kiſs my Hands; the reſt of his People he left at *Scarborough*, with a Ship laden with Arms, which the Ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, ſo ſhe is ours; the Rebels have quitted *Tadcaſter*, upon our Sending Forces to *Wetherby*, but they are returned, with twelve-hundred Men; we ſend more Forces to drive them out, though thoſe, we have already at *Wetherby*, are ſufficient, but we fear leſt they have all their Forces thereabouts, and leſt they have ſome Deſign; for they have quitted *Selby* and *Cawood*, the laſt of which they have burnt: Between this and To-morrow Night, we ſhall know the Iſſue of this Buſineſs, and I will ſend you an Expreſs; I am more careful to advertiſe you of what we do, that you and we may find Means to have Paſſports to ſend; and I wonder, that upon the Ceſſation, you have not demanded, that you might ſend in Safety; this ſhews my Love: I underſtand To-day, from *London*, that they will have no Ceſſation, and that they treat, at the Beginning of the two firſt Articles, which is of the Forts, Ships, and Ammunition, and afterwards of the Diſbanding of the Army. Certainly, I wiſh a Peace more than any, and that with greater Reaſon: But I would have the Diſbanding of the perpetual Parliament, firſt; and, certainly, the reſt will be eaſily afterwards: I do not ſay this of my own Head alone, for generally, both thoſe who are for you, and againſt you, in this Country, wiſh an End of it; and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the firſt, in Caſe it be not granted, *Hull* is ours, and all *Yorkſhire*, which is a Thing to conſider of; and for my Particular, if you make a Peace and diſband your Army, before there is an End to this perpetual Parliament, I am abſolutely reſolved to go into *France*, not being willing to fall again into the Hands of thoſe People, being well aſſured, that if the Power remain with them, it will not be well for me in *England*; remember what I have written to you in three precedent Letters, and be more careful of me, than you have been, or at the leaſt diſſemble it, to the End, that no Notice be taken of it. Adieu, the Man haſtens me, ſo that I can ſay no more.

York, this Thirtieth of *March*.

THIS Letter ſhould have gone by a Man of Maſter *Denzilſdale*, who is gone, and all the Beginning of this Letter was upon this Subject; and therefore by this Man it ſignifies Nothing; but the End was ſo pleaſing, that I do

do not forbear to send it to you: [illegible] now know, by *Elliot*, the Iſſue of the Buſineſs of *Tadcaſter*, ſince we had almoſt loſt *Scarborough*, whilſt *Cholmley* was here. *Brown Boſwell* would have rendered it up to the Parliament; but *Cholmley*, having had Notice of it, is gone with our Forces, and hath retaken it; and hath deſired to have a Lieutenant, and Forces of ours, to put within it, for which we ſhould take his; he hath alſo taken two Pinnaces from *Hotham*, which brought forty-four Men, to put within *Scarborough*, ten Pieces of Cannon, four Barrels of Powder, and Four of Bullet. This is all our News; our Army marches To-morrow, to put an End to *Fairfax*'s Excellency. And I will make an End of this Letter, this Third of *April*. I have had no News of you, ſince *Parſons*.

March 30, *April* 3.

A true Copy, *P. W.*

The Queen to the King, from *Bath*.

April 21, 1644.

My Dear Heart,

Frederick Cornwallis will have told you all our Voyage as far as *Aſbury*, and the State of my Health; ſince my Coming hither, I find myſelf ſo ill, as well in the ill Reſt, that I have, as in the Increaſe of my Rheum.

I hope, that this Day's Reſt will do me Good; I go To-morrow to *Briſtol*, to ſend you back the Carts, many of them are already returned; My Lord *Dillon* told me, not directly from you, though he ſays you approve it that it was fit, I ſhould write a Letter to the Commiſſioners of *Ireland*, to this Effect: That they ought to deſiſt from thoſe Things for the preſent, which they had put in their Paper, and to aſſure them, That when you ſhall be in another Condition, than you are now, you will give them Contentment.

I thought it to be a Matter of ſo great Engagement, that I dare not do it without your Command; therefore, if it pleaſe you, that I ſhould do ſo, ſend me what you would have me write, that I may not do more than what you appoint: And alſo that it being your Command, you may hold to that which I promiſe; for I ſhould be very much grieved to write any Thing, which I would not hold to, and when you have promiſed it me, I will be confident. I believe alſo, that to write to my Lord *Muſkery*, without the reſt, will be enough; for the Letter, which I ſhall write to him, ſhall be with my own Hand; and, if it be to all your Commiſſioners, it ſhall be by the Secretary. Farewel, my dear Heart; I cannot write any more, but that I am abſolutely

Yours.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate*.

XXIX.

The Queen to the King,

Paris, *January* 1644-5.

I Have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marleborough*, of an old Date, having received many others more freſh, to which I have made Anſwer: I will ſay Nothing concerning this, but only concerning the Affair of (*Gor.*) If it be not done, it is Time, being very ſeaſonable at this Time, which I did not believe before. I underſtand, that the Commiſſioners are arrived at *London*; I have Nothing to ſay, but that you have a Care of your Honour, and that if you have a Peace, it may be ſuch as may hold; and if it fall out otherwiſe, that you do not abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, for Fear they do forſake you in your Need. Alſo I do not ſee, how you can be in Safety, without a Regiment of Guards; for myſelf, I think I cannot be, ſeeing the Malice which they have, againſt me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a Care of both; but, in my Opinion, Religion ſhould be the laſt Thing, upon which you ſhould treat. For if you do agree upon Strictneſs againſt the Catholicks, it would diſcourage them to ſerve you, and, if afterwards there ſhould be no Peace, you could never expect Succours, either from *Ireland*, or any other Catholick Prince, for they would believe, you would abandon them, after you have ſerved yourſelf. I have diſpatched an Expreſs into *Scotland*, to *Montroſe*, to know the Condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This Week, I ſend to Mr. of *Lorrain*, and into *Holland*, I loſe no Time; if I had more of your News, all would go better. Adieu, my dear Heart.

My Wife, 1/11 *December*, *January* 1644-5.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate*.

XXX.

The Queen to the King, Paris, Jan. 27, 1644-5; *alſo*, March 13.

My Dear Heart, *Paris*, *Jan.* 1/7.

TOM ELLIOT, two Days ſince, hath brought me much Joy and Sorrow; the

firſt, to know the good Eſtate in which you are in; the other, the Fear I have that you go to *London*. I cannot conceive where the Wit was of thoſe who gave you this Counſel, unleſs it be to hazard your Perſon to ſave theirs: But, Thanks be to God, To-day I received one of yours, by the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, dated in *January*, which comforted me much to ſee that the Treaty ſhall be at *Uxbridge*. For the Honour of God, truſt not yourſelf in the Hands of theſe People; and, if you ever go to *London*, before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are loſt. I underſtand, that the Propoſitions for the Peace muſt begin by Diſbanding the Army; if you conſent to this, you ſhall be loſt, they having the whole Power of the Militia; they have done, and will do whatſoever you will. I received Yeſterday Letters from the Duke of *Lorrain*, who ſends me Word, if his Service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten-thouſand Men. Dr. *Goffe*, whom I have ſent into *Holland*, ſhall treat with him in his Paſſage upon this Buſineſs; and I hope very ſpeedily to ſend good News of this, as alſo of the Money. Aſſure yourſelf I will be wanting in nothing you ſhall deſire, and that I will hazard my Life, that is, to die by Famine, rather than not ſend to you; ſend me Word always by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, and the Reſident of *France*. Above all, have a Care not to abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, as well the Biſhops, as the poor Catholick. Adieu. You will pardon me, if I make Uſe of another to write, not being able to do it; yet myſelf in Cyphers ſhew to my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the End that he may know the Reaſon why I write not to him; I know not how to ſend great Packets.

My Wife, $\frac{17}{27}$ *Jan.* 1644-5.

A true Copy, *Couch Tate.*

Paris, March 13.

My Dear Heart,

SINCE my Laſt, I have received one of your Letters, marked 16, by which you ſignify the Receipt of my Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little ſurpriſed me, it ſeeming to me, that you write, as if I had in my Letter ſomething which had diſpleaſed you: If that hath been, I am very innocent in my Intention. I only did believe, that it was neceſſary you ſhould know all: There is one other Thing in your Letter, which troubles me much; where you would have me keep to myſelf your Diſpatches, as if you believe that I ſhould be capable to ſhew them to any, only to Lord *Jermyn* to uncypher them, my Head not ſuffering me to do it myſelf; but, if it pleaſe you, I will do it, and none in the World ſhall ſee them. Be kind to me, or you kill me. I have already Affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not do, but your Service ſurmounts all. Farewel, my Dear Heart. Behold the Mark, which you deſire to have to know when I deſire any Thing in earneſt, +; and I pray, begin to remember what I ſpoke to you concerning *Jack Barclay* for Maſter of the *Wards*. I am not engaged, nor will not be, for the Places of Lord *Per.* and others; do you accordingly.

March 13, 1644.

Newark, June 27.

My Dear Heart,

I Received juſt now your Letter by my Lord *Saville*, who found me ready to go away, ſtaying but for one Thing, for which you will well pardon two Days Stop; it is, to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*. Young *Hotham*, having been put in Priſon by Order of Parliament, is eſcaped, and hath ſent to 260. that he would caſt himſelf into his Arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* ſhould be rendered: He is gone to his Father, and 260. writes for your Anſwer; ſo that I think I ſhall go hence *Friday* or *Saturday*, and ſhall go lie at *Werton*; and from thence to *Aſhby*, where we will reſolve what Way to take; and I will ſtay there a Day, becauſe that the March of the Day before will have been ſomewhat great, and alſo to know how the Enemy marches, all their Forces at *Nottingham*, at preſent, being gone to *Leiceſter* and *Derby*, which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our Paſſage. As ſoon as we have reſolved, I will ſend you Word. At this Preſent, I think it fit to let you know the State in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the Safety of *Lincolnſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*: I leave two-thouſand Foot, and wherewithal to arm five-hundred more, and twenty Companies of Horſe; all this to be under *Charles Cavendiſh*, whom the Gentlemen of the County have deſired me not to carry with me, againſt his Will, for he deſired extremely to go. The Enemies have left within *Nottingham* one Thouſand.

Thouſand. I carry with me three-thouſand Foot, thirty Companies of Horſe and Dragoons, ſix Pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars. *Harry Jermyn* commands the Forces which go with me, as Colonel of my Guard, and Sir *Alexander Leſley* the Foot under him, and *Gerard* the Horſe, and *Robin Legge* the Artillery, and her She-Majeſty Generaliſſima, and extremely diligent, with an hundred and fifty Waggons of Baggage to govern, in Caſe of Battle. Have a Care, that no Troop of *Eſſex*'s Army incommodate us, for I hope that for the reſt we ſhall be ſtrong enough, for at *Nottingham* we have had the Experience, one of our Troops having beaten ſix of their's, and made them fly. I have received your Proclamation, or Declaration, which I wiſh had not been made, being extremely diſadvantageous for you; for you ſhew too much Fear, and do not what you had reſolved upon. Farewel, my Dear Heart.

The Queen to the King, *June* 27, 1643.

CHARLES Rex.

IT is not unknown, both to the *French* King and his Mother, what Unkindneſſes and Diſtaſtes have fallen between my Wife and me; which hitherto I have borne with great Patience, as all the World knows, ever expecting and hoping an Amendment, knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty Counſels of her Servants, for Advancing of their own Ends, rather than her own Inclination: For, at my firſt Meeting of her at *Dover*, I could not expect more Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Love, than ſhe ſhewed; as, to give one Inſtance: Her firſt Suit was, That ſhe, being young, and coming to a ſtrange Country, both by her Years, and Ignorance of the Cuſtoms of the Place, might commit many Errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her Faults of Ignorance, before I had with my Inſtructions learned her to eſchew them; and deſired me, in theſe Caſes, to uſe no third Perſon, but to tell her myſelf, when I found ſhe did any Thing amiſs. I both granted her Requeſt, and thanked her for it, but deſired that ſhe would uſe me as ſhe had deſired me to uſe her; which ſhe willingly promiſed me: Which Promiſe ſhe never kept; for, a little after this, Madam *St. George*, taking a Diſtaſte, becauſe I would not let her ride with us in the Coach, when there were Women of better Quality to fill her Room, claiming it as her Due (which, in *England*, we think a ſtrange Thing) ſet my Wife in ſuch an Humour of Diſtaſte againſt me, as, from that very Hour to this, no Man can ſay, that ever ſhe uſed me, two Days together, with ſo much Reſpect as I deſerved of her, but, on the Contrary, has put ſo many Diſreſpects on me, that it were too long to ſet down all. Some I will relate: As I take it, it was at her firſt Coming to *Hampton-Court*, I ſent ſome of my Council to her, with thoſe Orders that were kept in the Queen my Mother's Houſe, deſiring ſhe would command the Count of *Tilliers*, that the ſame might be kept in her's. Her Anſwer was, She hoped, that I would give her Leave to order her Houſe as ſhe liſt herſelf. Now, if ſhe had ſaid, that ſhe would ſpeak with me, not doubting to give me Satisfaction in it, I could have found no Fault with her, whatſoever ſhe would have ſaid of this to myſelf, for I could only impute it to Ignorance; but I could not imagine, that ſhe affronted me ſo, as to refuſe me in ſuch a Thing publickly. After I heard this Anſwer, I took a Time, when I thought we had both beſt Leiſure to diſpute it, to tell her calmly both her Fault in the publick Denial, and her Miſtaking of the Buſineſs itſelf. She, inſtead of Acknowledging her Fault and Miſtaking, gave me ſo ill an Anſwer, that I omit, not to be tedious, the Relation of that Diſcourſe, having too much of that Nature hereafter to relate. Many little Neglects I will not take the Pains to ſet down: As, Her Eſchewing to be in my Company; when I have any Thing to ſpeak to her, I muſt means her Servant firſt, elſe I am ſure to be denied; her Neglect of the *Engliſh* Tongue, and of the Nation in general. I will alſo omit the Affront ſhe did me before my Going to this laſt unhappy Aſſembly of Parliament, becauſe there has been Talk enough of that already, &c. the Author of it is before you in *France*. To be ſhort, omitting all other Paſſages, coming only to that which is moſt recent in Memory: I having made a Commiſſion to make my Wife's Jointure, &c. to aſſign her thoſe Lands ſhe is to live on, and it being brought to ſuch a Ripeneſs, that it wanted but my Conſent to the Particulars they had choſen, ſhe, taking Notice that it was now Time to name the Officers for her Revenue, one Night, when I was

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in Bed, put a Paper into my Hand, telling me it was a List of those that she desired to be of her Revenue. I took it, and said I would read it next Morning, but, withal, told her, that, by Agreement in *France*, I had the Naming of them. She said there were both *English* and *French* in the Note. I replied, that those *English*, I thought fit to serve her, I would confirm, but, for the *French*, it was impossible for them to serve her in that Nature. Then she said, All those in the Paper had Breviates from her Mother and herself, and that she could admit no other. Then I said, it was neither in her Mother's Power, nor her's, to admit any without my Leave; and that, if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in. Then she bade me plainly take my Lands to myself; for, if she had no Power to put in whom she would in those Places, she would have neither Lands nor Houses of me, but bade me give her what I thought fit in Pension. I bade her then remember to whom she spoke; and told her, that she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate Discourse, how miserable she was, in having no Power to place Servants, and that Businesses succeeded the worse for her Recommendation; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on, saying, she was not of that base Quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me, and end that Discourse. Thus, having had so long Patience with the Disturbance of that, that should be one of my greatest Contentments, I can no longer suffer those, that I know to be the Cause and Fomenters of these Humours, to be about my Wife any longer; which I must do, if it were but for one Action they made my Wife do, which is, to make her go to *Tyburn* in Devotion to pray; which Action can have no greater Invective made against it, than the Relation. Therefore you shall tell my Brother the *French* King, as likewise his Mother, that, this being an Action of so much Necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it, especially since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much Reason. And, being an Action that some may interpret to be of Harshness to his Nation, I thought good to give him an Account of it, because that, in all Things, I would preserve the good Correspondency, and brotherly Affection, that is between us.

His Majesty's Instructions, given me at *Wanstead*, *July* 12, 1626, signed 24.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate*.

Oxford, *Jan.* 1, 1644-5.

Dear Heart,

I Receive it as a good Augure thus to begin this new Year, having newly received thine of the Thirtieth of *December*, which I cannot stay to decypher, for not Losing this Opportunity, it likewise being a just Excuse for this short Account. This Day I have dispatched *Digby*'s Secretary, fully relating the State of our Affairs; therefore, I shall only now tell thee, that the Rebels are engaged into an equal Treat, without any of those Disadvantages, which might have been apprehended when *Thomas Elliot* went hence, and that the Distractions of *London* were never so great, or so likely to bring good Effect, as now; lastly that Assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do Good to him, who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, *Jan.* 1, 1644, by *P. A.*

This is a true Copy, examined by *Miles Corbet*.

Oxford, *Thursday*, *April* 24,

Harry,

LEST my Wife should not yet be fit for any Business, I write this to you; not to excuse my Pains, but ease her's, and that she may know, but not be troubled with my Kindness, I refer to your Discretion, how to impart my Letter to her, or any other Business, that so her Health in the first Place be cared for, then my Affairs. And now I must tell you, that undoubtedly, if you had not trusted to *Digby*'s sanguine Complexion, not to be rebated from sending good News, you would not have found Fault with him, for sending mistaken Intelligence, for if he should strictly tie himself to certain Truths in this Kind, you must have nothing from him, but my Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houses; but tell me, Can you not distinguish between what we send you unto Certainty, and what upon uncertain Reports, without making an Oath the Mark of Distinction, and are you obliged to publish all the News we send you? Seriously I think

think News may be ſometimes too good to be told in the *French* Court; and certainly there is as much Dexterity in publiſhing of News, as in Matters which at firſt Sight, may ſeem of greater Difficulty; for as I would not have them think that all Aſſiſtance beſtowed upon me were in Vain, ſo I would not have them believe, that I needed no Help, leſt they ſhould under-hand aſſiſt any Rebels, to keep the Balance of Diſſenſion amongſt us equal.

For Matter of News and preſent State of my Affairs, I refer you to *Digby*; only this in general, that if it ſhall pleaſe God to aſſiſt us this Year, but half ſo miraculouſly as he did the laſt, my preſent State compared with what it was, this Time Twelve-month, I am very hopeful to ſee a joyful Harveſt before next Winter; nor do I think this, in any human Probability, poſſible, except my Wife can procure me conſiderable Aſſiſtance, both of Men and Money; of which I conceive little Reaſon to deſpair, your laſt giving me good Hope, concerning *Lorrain*, and though I ſay not that, for the other, I have ſo good an Author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my Confidence, when 149, in her's, the Tenth of *March*, ſays, *Sey une Affaire aſſures que vous donnera 40000 Piſtols, que Je vous euſſi envoyé ſi Feuſſi eu mon navir revenu avec l'eſtain.*

In the laſt Place I will impoſe that upon you, that is not reaſonable to expect from my Wife, which is, to give me a continual Account, what Letters ſhe receives from me, and what miſcarries or comes ſlowly; to which End take Notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the Top, as this with 37, and likewiſe I now begin the ſame with you; ſo farewel.

In your next, let me know particularly how my Wife is, which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect Knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worſe than ſhe is; if well, then every Word will pleaſe me. I have commanded *Digby* to write to you freely, concerning *William Murry*, which I hold to be as neceſſary concerning *Montroſe*'s Buſineſs.

To the Lord *Jermyn*, *April* 24, 1645, concerning *France*.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate*.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my laſt by *Glequen*, I have had no Means of Writing, and as little new Matter; that which is now, is the Progreſs of the Treaty, of which theſe incloſed Papers will give thee a full Account; but if thou have them ſooner from *London* than me, thou haſt no Reaſon to wonder, conſidering the Length and Uncertainty of the Way I am forced to ſend by, in Reſpect of the other; for the Buſineſs itſelf, I believe thou wilt approve of my Choice of Treaters, and for my Propoſitions, they differ nothing in Subſtance, very little in Words, from thoſe which were laſt, wherefore I need to ſay nothing of them; and for my Inſtructions, they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to ſend them: Now upon the whole Matter, I deſire thee to ſhew the Queen and Miniſters there the Improbability that this preſent Treaty ſhould produce a Peace, conſidering the great ſtrange Difference, if not Contrariety, of Grounds that are betwixt the Rebels Propoſitions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of Hope to prevail by Force, which a little Aſſiſtance, by thy Meanes, will ſoon make them ſo; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a Defenſive, which a reaſonable Sum of Money would do, they would be eaſily brought to Reaſon. Concerning our Intrigues here at *Oxford*, I deſire thee to ſuſpend thy Judgment, for I believe few but partial Relations will come to thee, until I ſhall ſend ſome, whom I may truſt by Word of Mouth; it being too much Trouble to us both, to ſet them down in Paper.

Copy to my Wife, *Jan.* 22, 1644.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Miles Corbet*.

Dear Heart,

I Never, till now, knew the Good of Ignorance, for I did not know the Danger that thou wert in by the Storm, before I had certain Aſſurance of thy happy Eſcape; we having had a pleaſing falſe Report, of thy ſafe Landing at *Newcaſtle*, which thine of the 19 *Jan.* ſo confirmed us in, that we, at leaſt, were not undeceived of that Hope, till we knew certainly how great a Danger thou haſt paſſed, of which I ſhall not be out of Apprehenſion, until I may have the Happineſs of thy Company, for indeed I think it not the leaſt of my Misfortunes, that for my Sake, thou haſt run ſo much Hazard; in which thou haſt expreſſed ſo much Love to me, that I confeſs it is impoſſible to repay, by any Thing I can do, much leſs by Words; but my Heart being full of Affection for thee, Admiration of thee, and im-

impatient Paſſion of Gratitude to thee, I could not but ſay ſomething, leaving the reſt to be read by thee, out of thine own noble Heart. The Intercepting of mine to thee, of the Second of *February*, has bred great Diſcourſe in ſeveral Perſons, and of ſeveral Kinds; as my Saying, I was perſecuted for Places, is applied to all and only thoſe that I there name to be Suitors, whereas the Truth is: I meant thereby the Importunity of others, whom at that Time, I had not Time to name as well as ſome there mentioned, for I confeſs 174. and 133. are not guilty of that Fault; ſome find Fault of too much Kindneſs to thee, thou may eaſily vote from what Conſtellation that comes, but I aſſure ſuch that I want Expreſſion, not Will, to do it ten Times more to thee on all Occaſions; others preſs me, as being brought upon the Stage; but I anſwer, that, having profeſſed to have thy Advice, it were a Wrong to thee to do any Thing before I had it. As for our Treaty, leaving the Particulars to this incloſed, I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my Part in it, for all the Soldiers are well pleaſed with what I have done, but expect no Ceſſation of Arms; for the Lower Houſe will have none without a Disbanding, and I will not disband, till all be agreed. Laſtly, for our Military Affairs, I thank God, that here, and in the Weſt, they proſper well; as for the North, I refer thee to 226. 140. Information. So daily expecting and praying for good News from thee, *&c.*

Copy to my Wife, *Feb.* 13, 1643.

Oxford, Feb 13, 1643.

A true Copy, *Touch Tate.*

Inſtructions to Colonel Cockran, *to be purſued in his Negotiation to the King of* Denmark.

YOU are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that, by his Majeſty's Command, as to the neareſt Ally of his Crown, his Uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in his Affairs, as well in Intereſts as Affection, you are ſent to give a particular Account of the State of his Majeſty's Affairs, to renew the ancient League and Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms, and Families Royal, and to reduce it to more exact Particulars, ſuch as might be uſeful to the preſent Affairs of *England*, and all Occurrences in the future of thoſe of *Denmark*.

That the preſent Affair of your Negotiation is to demand an Aſſiſtance from his Majeſty, ſuch a one as the preſent State of Affairs in *England* requires, againſt a dangerous Combination of his Majeſty's Subjects, who have not only invaded his Majeſty in his particular Rites, but have laid a Deſign to diſſolve the Monarchy and Frame of Government, under Pretences of Liberty and Religion, becoming a dangerous Precedent to all the Monarchies of *Chriſtendom*, to be looked upon with Succeſs in their Deſign.

That the Nature of their Proceedings hath been ſuch, as hath not admitted any foreign Treaty to be intereſted in ſuppreſſing their Deſign, without giving them Advantage of ſcandaliſing his Majeſty's Intentions, and drawing away univerſally the Hearts of his People, whom they had inſinuated, under Pretence of Reformation of particular Abuſes of Government, and Miniſters of State, to concur generally with Approbation of their Proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous Conſequence and Deſign were viſible to his Majeſty) a preſent Compliance was neceſſary, leſt any publick Oppoſition on his Majeſty's Part, that might ſeem to defeat the great Expectations which they had raiſed in the Commons in thoſe plauſible Particulars, might have occaſioned a general Revolt throughout the Kingdoms, great Jealouſies being diſperſed and fomented amongſt them of his Majeſty's foreign Treaties and Force, to be uſed to oppoſe and ſuppreſs thoſe their Deſires, and the Movers therein.

Upon the Credit they had herewith built on the People's Opinions, they proceeded under Pretence of Reformation of Religion, to diſſolve the Government of the Church, according to its Conſtitution in *England*, a chief Column and Support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They laſtly invaded his Majeſty in all the Prerogatives of his Crown, and under Pretence of ill Miniſters and Counſellors of State, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to inveſt in themſelves, in all Times for the future, the Dominion of all Miniſters of State, and his Majeſty's Family; withdrew all his

Revenues

Revenues into their own Hands, and, to confirm themſelves in an abſolute Power of diſpoſing his Eſtate, entered upon poſſeſſing themſelves of the Militia of the Kingdom, his Navy, and Magazines; in which his Majeſty being forced to appear in Oppoſition, dangerous Tumults were raiſed againſt him, ſo that he was forced to forſake *London*, for Preſervation of his Perſon, his Queen, and Children.

That ſince, for the Safety of the Queen, he had been forced to ſend her into *Holland*, to retire himſelf to the beſt affected Party of his Subjects, from whence, by Declarations, ſetting forth the ſiniſter Proceedings of that Faction, diſcovering their Deſigns of innovating the Government, and ſalſifying the Scandals they had imputed to him, he hath had the Advantage generally to undeceive his People, to draw to him univerſally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction, ſtill keeping up ſome Intereſt and Credit with the Commons, in the deſperate Eſtate they find themſelves, begin to make Head againſt him, have appointed a General, and are levying Forces to maintain their Party, committing divers Acts of Hoſtility, Violence, and Rebellion.

That his Majeſty having great Encouragements given him, by the exceeding Numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that reſort to him, is already advanced near them with ſix-thouſand Horſe, and ten-thouſand Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condeſcended to give her Majeſty, the Queen, a Convoy of the greateſt Part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her Return into *England*.

That divers Forts and Countries, upon his Majeſty's perſonal Appearance, have declared for him; ſo that his Affairs at Home grow daily into in a better Eſtate, as he likewiſe expects and hopes, that all his neighbour Princes and Allies will not look upon ſo dangerous a Precedent to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to ſuppreſs this ſo pernicious a Deſign, began within his Kingdom.

That to give his Majeſty the juſter Ground to reflect upon the dangerous Conſequences, in Relation to his own Intereſt, of their Succeſs: It hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons Houſe long ſince, to interpoſe in the Accommodation of the *Dutch*, and to ſet out a Fleet, to take away his Cuſtoms of the *Sound*.

That they have ſince imputed to his Majeſty, as a Ground to ſcandal him with his People, that he did negotiate the Introducing, by his Uncle the King of *Denmark*, a foreign Power to ſettle his Affairs, and under that Pretext, have given large Commiſſion, and particular Inſtructions to the Fleet, to viſit, ſearch, and intercept all ſuch *Daniſh* Ships as they ſhould meet, and to fight with, ſink, or deſtroy, all ſuch as ſhould reſiſt them, not permitting the ſame, or to take and detain them, having any Arms or Ammunition on Board; according to which, they have ſearched, viſited, and detained divers, to the great Prejudice and Interruption of the *Norway* Trade driven commonly in this Kingdom, in their own Bottoms: And that they did prepare Force againſt others, whom they permitted not to Water, nor any other Accommodation, being bound for the *Weſt-Indies*, and put in by Streſs of Weather in the Weſt of *England*.

That in Purſuance of their great Deſign of extirpating the Royal Blood, and Monarchy of *England*, they have endeavoured likewiſe to lay a great Blemiſh upon his Royal Family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his Siſter, at once to cut off the Intereſt and Pretenſions of the whole Race; which their moſt deteſtable and ſcandalous Deſign they have purſued, examining Witneſſes, and conferring Circumſtances and Times, to colour their Pretenſions in ſo great a Fault: And which, as his ſacred Majeſty of *England*, in the true Senſe of Honour to his Mother, doth abhor, and will puniſh, ſo he expects his Concurrence, in vindicating a Siſter of ſo happy Memory, and by whom ſo near an Union, and continued League of Amity, hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the Particulars, in which his Majeſty doth deſire his Aſſiſtance, are, in the Loan, and Raiſing of Men, Money, Arms, and Ships, all, or ſuch of them, as may conſiſt beſt with the Convenience of his own Affairs: And of ſuch, in the firſt Place, as may be moſt requiſite and wanting to his Majeſty.

That to ſet his Levies on foot, and put him in a Poſture to protect his Subjects in all Places that adhere to him, and receive their Contribution, one hundred-thouſand Pounds will be neceſſary for him, which his Majeſty deſires may be by Way of Loan. And, for the Reſtitution of it, beſides his kingly Word, and ſolemn Engagement upon this Treaty, he

is contented of ſuch his Crown Jewels, as are in his Diſpoſure, to leave his royal Pledge, if it ſhall be deſired.

The Particulars of Arms that he deſires are ſix-thouſand Muſquets, one-thouſand five-hundred Horſe-arms, and twenty Pieces of Field-Artillery mounted.

Aſſiſtance of Men he deſires only in Horſemen, and to know in what Time they may be ready, and how many.

That the *Holy Iſland*, or *New-Caſtle*, are deſigned for the Landing of the ſaid Horſe, and Magazine of the ſaid Proviſions; for Reception, likewiſe, and Protection of ſuch his Ships as he ſhall think fit to employ, for the Countenance and Security of thoſe his Subjects that ſhall trade upon theſe Coaſts, and for Aſcertaining the Correſpondence and Intelligence between the two Kingdoms; in which the Number is left to be proportioned, as may beſt ſort and agree with his own Affairs. And for which the *Holy Iſland* is conceived one of the apteſt Harbours in his Majeſty's Dominions, being capable of any Ships whatſoever, in a very great Proportion, an excellent Road at the Entrance, a ready Outlet, and a ſtrong Fort, under his Majeſty's Command.

That in Lieu of this Aſſiſtance, contributed by the King of *Denmark*, his Majeſty will oblige himſelf, and ratify in expreſs Articles, to reſtore into the Magazines of *Denmark* a like Proportion of Arms and Ammunition, to repay and defray the Charges of Money lent, and Levies of Horſe; and ſo ſoon as his Affairs ſhall be ſettled, and himſelf in a Condition to do it, upon all Occaſions to contribute to the Aſſiſtance of his Fleet, in maintaining his Right and Title to the Cuſtoms of the *Sound*, againſt all Perſons whatſoever; and to ratify the Treaty that was made laſt by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to enter into a League offenſive and defenſive, againſt inteſtine Rebellions. In Purſuance of which Treaty, while the Negotiations and Articles may be ſeverally perfected, his Majeſty doth expect this firſt Supply of Money, and Arms, his preſent Affairs not admitting a Delay in the ſame.

That in Caſe the King of *Denmark* will lend Money upon Jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be ſent to him, or delivered to his Agent here; who may have Order to pay the Money here; or any other Jewels.

That there have been in Diſcourſes ſeveral Propoſitions of Accommodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all Times made more Advances on his Part, than in Reaſon could have been expected from him, and the Difficulties have ſtill riſen on theirs.

And that, whereas his Majeſty doth underſtand, that a Perſon is addreſſed to the King of *Denmark* from his Parliament, to inſinuate Miſunderſtandings Abroad with his Majeſty's Allies, as they have done at Home among his People, his Majeſty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations between their Majeſties, but that he be diſmiſſed, and ſent away, ſo ſoon as ever he ſhall arrive.

N. B. *This Paper, concerning* Cockran, *was not intercepted among the King's Letters, but is otherwiſe atteſted.*

ANNOTATIONS.

Much Uſe may be now made of theſe precedent Papers, and many Things therein will appear very worthy of Notice: For,

1. It is plain, here, firſt, that the King's Counſels are wholly governed by the Queen; though ſhe be of the weaker Sex, born an Alien, bred up in a contrary Religion, yet nothing, great or ſmall, is tranſacted without her Privity and Conſent. See *pap.* 28. If the Prince makes Suit to beſtow a Place in his own Bedchamber upon a Gentleman of extraordinary Merit, the King cannot grant it, to ſave his Son's Reputation, already engaged by Promiſe, till he hath ſent into *France*, and begged the Queen's Grant. See *pap.* 11.

2. The Queen's Counſels are as powerful as Commands. The King profeſſes to prefer her Health before the Exigence and Importance of his own publick Affairs. See *pap.* 14, *&c.* He avows Conſtancy to her Grounds and Documents. See *pap.* 5, *&c.*

3. The Queen appears to have been as harſh and imperious towards the King, *pap.* 34, as ſhe is implacable to our Religion, Nation, and Government. She doth the Offices of a Reſident in *France*, to procure Embargoes of our Ships, to raiſe foreign Forces againſt us; and in this ſhe is reſtleſs, to the Neglect of her own Health:

Health: She vows to die by Famine, rather than to fail the King in ſuch-like Negotiations. See *pap.* 30. She confines not her Agency to *France*, but ſollicits *Lorrain* for Men, and the Prince of *Orange* for Shipping: She ſends Arms for *Scotland* to *Montroſe*, ſpeeds Col. *Fitz-Williams*'s Commiſſion for *Ireland*, *pap.* 20, 21. The Counſels alſo in *England*, which ſhe gives the King, are of very pernicious Conſequence: There by the Parliament muſt be diſbanded, *pap.* 27. Treaties muſt be ſuſpected; great Care muſt be had in them of her, and her Religion. *pap.* 30. Biſhops and Catholicks muſt be ſpecially provided for, *pap.* 31. The King muſt be forewarned, that he cannot be ſafe longer than he defends all that have ſerved him, *pap.* 31. That Peace cannot be ſafe to him without a Regiment for his Guard *A la mode du France*, *pap.* 30. She interpoſes ſo in the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, that the King is not ſeen therein, nor obliged to any Thing immediately, *pap.* 29.

4. The King doth yet in many Things ſurpaſs the Queen for Acts of Hoſtility, and covering them over with deeper and darker Secreſy. He employs Col. *Cockran* to ſollicit the King of *Denmark*, making not only Papiſts our Enemies for Religion Sake, but all Princes, though Proteſtants, for Monarchy's Sake; rather than fail of Aid from thence, he ſtirs Rumours about his Mother's Chaſtity; he promiſes to diſoblige the *Hollander* in the Buſineſs of the *Sound*: He pawns the Jewels of the Crown, *pap.* 39. He preſſes the Queen, beyond her own fiery Propenſion, urges her to make perſonal Friendſhip with the Queen Regent, furniſhes her with dextrous Policies and Arguments, to work upon the Miniſters of State in *France*. Of his own Accord, without Intreaty, he propoſes to the Queen the Taking away all Penal Statutes againſt Recuſants in *England*. It is true, he doth all by Way of Bargain, for his own particular Advantage: But the Papiſts Conditions are better than ours, in Regard that the Queen herſelf is truſted with that Merchandiſe, *pap.* 8. He proſtitutes his Pardon and Grace to the *Iriſh* Rebels, importuning *Ormond* to uſe Importunity to them, that they will accept of Indemnity, and free Uſe of Popery, and deſire nothing in Lieu thereof, but that they will tranſport ſix-thouſand Men into *England*, and ſome other Supplies into *Scotland*: For this Purpoſe he ſends Poſts after Poſts, and haſtens the Buſineſs, the rather becauſe, being in Treaty with the two Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, about Proſecution of the *Iriſh*, he may be prevented therein, and pre-engaged not to conſent. See *pap.* 16, 17, 18, 19. He only excepts againſt Appeals to *Rome*, and Premunire's; all other Things he thinks cheap enough for the *Iriſh*: He muſt not now ſtand upon Scruples (it is his own Word) all Things, not diſagreeable to Conſcience and Honour, are to be admitted; and ſo to grant free Exerciſe of Idolatry, though abjured formerly, to the moſt odious, flagitious Murderers in the World, is but a Scruple not diſagreeable either to Conſcience or Honour. To bargain away our Acts of Parliament by ſuch clandeſtine Engagements, as paſs only by Papers, and dare not look upon the Light, eſpecially ſuch Acts as concern our greateſt Intereſt, even thoſe of Religion, ſuppoſes us to be Slaves of the baſeſt Alloy: And it is ſtrange, that the *Iriſh* and Papiſts ſhould at all reſt upon the Strength of ſuch Aſſurances, when they ſee Records and Parliament Rolls are of no Vertue at all, either to the *Engliſh* or Proteſtants. See *pap.* 16, 17, 18, 19. He calls us a Parliament publickly, yet acknowledges us not a Parliament ſecretly: He ſuppreſſes ſtill his not Acknowledgment, only he enters it in the Council-Book at *Oxford*; and ſo, though it be ſmothered to us, whom it moſt concerns, yet it is regiſtered for our Enemies Uſe, upon all Occaſions of Advantage. This Favour we found from the Council at *Oxford*, that the Name, though not the Thing, ſhould be imparted to us: But even this was not willingly and freely allowed by the King; had but two of his Adviſers ſided with him, all the reſt ſhould have balanced nothing at all in this Caſe. This is a Sign they ſit there to great Purpoſe; for, though they are more worthy to be conſulted with than Parliaments, yet their Votes are but indifferent Things, mere Formalities, eſpecially if there be any Diſſent at all amongſt them. See *pap.* 5. He, in Shew, ſeeks Treaties, and wins upon the People by that Shew, yet chuſeth ſuch Commiſſioners, and binds them up with ſuch Inſtructions, that all Accommodation is impoſſible. His Aim is to win upon our Commiſſioners, and for this Purpoſe gives Authority to propoſe Rewards, and other Allurements, *pap.* 24. gives Advices to cajole the *Scots* and Independents: As to the Duke of *Richmond*, *pap.* 23. preſſes for foreign Auxiliaries the more eagerly, *pap.* 12. 35. hopes to

caſt the Odium of the breaking off the Treaty upon our Side, *pap.* 1. 7. 12. 15. 25. 37. He ſeems more zealous for Biſhops and Papiſts (called his and the Queen's Friends) than the Queen herſelf; and therefore aſſures her of his Reſolution therein, without any Requeſt of her's, *pap.* 7. He doth not think fit to treat with the Rebels only by the Interpoſition of the Queen, or of *Ormond*, but he ſends particular Thanks to *Brown*, *Muſkery*, *Plunket*, *pap.* 19. He pretends ſometimes to have the Hearts of the major and better Part of his Proteſtant Subjects him to him in this Cauſe, yet truſts none but Papiſts, and therefore is adviſed by the Queen, *pap.* 31. by no Means to diſband for this Reaſon, becauſe all the Militia is generally in the Parliament's Hands. We ſee what Opinion the King hath of *Wilmot*, *Percy*, *Suſſex*; We ſee what Opinion he hath of the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, who have deſerted their Truſt here, out of Confidence in him; the 13th *Paper* here tells us plainly what Uſe the King makes of them.

The King will declare nothing in Favour of his Parliament, ſo long as he can find a Party to maintain him in this Oppoſition; nor perform any Thing which he hath declared, ſo long as he can find a ſufficient Party to excuſe him from it.

And indeed, it is a ſad Conſideration, to think what unhappy Uſe the King hath ever made of the Obedience, and patient Loyalty of this Nation; finding always that he might, without any Oppoſition, or Danger at leaſt, deny their juſt Liberties, Laws, and the very Uſe of Parliaments; or, if ſome Urgency, or his own Neceſſities, or Advantages, had cauſed him to call a Parliament, he might afterwards, with as little Oppoſition, deny whatſoever he granted under his own Hand; as the Petition of Right, obtained with ſome Difficulty, and broken immediately after without any Scruple, may ſufficiently teſtify. The Pacification with *Scotland* was not aſſented to, until the *Engliſh* People ſhewed ſome Averſeneſs to that wicked War, and were loth any longer to fight for their own Slavery; nor was that Pacification any longer kept, than till a Party ſtrong enough was found to maintain the Breach of it. But, without other Inſtances, this Parliament had been happy, the King glorious, and his People flouriſhing, if the King had found none to ſide with him againſt all theſe; and it is ſtrange, that ſo long Experience had not taught them more Wiſdom. But they are now juſtly rewarded, and if they will but view the King's Letter, dated *March* 13, 1644, where it will be apparent to them, he calls thoſe, who have deſerted their Truſt in Parliament, and given up their Fortunes and Conſciences to a Compliance with his Will, by the Name of a baſe, mutinous, and mungrel Parliament, and deſpiſes them for Retaining ſome little Conſcience to Religion, and this Parliament. Lords and Gentlemen, make the right Uſe of this, and if you be not wicked enough to ſerve that Purpoſe fully, to which you are deſigned, endeavour to repent, and learn ſo much Goodneſs, as may bring you back to the right Side. There will ſhortly be no Medium left you; whatſoever you thought in the Beginning, as our Charity may think you were deceived, you will find at laſt, that unleſs you think and act the ſame Things, which thoſe inhuman *Iriſh* Rebels, or the worſt foreign Enemies to our Religion and State, could wiſh to ſee done, you are no fit Inſtruments for that Cauſe, which you have unhappily choſen; unleſs you return to the right Way, you muſt go as far in the wrong one, as that will lead you. The Chronicles tell us, that *Henry*, Duke of *Buckingham*, was dear to *Richard the Third*, whilſt he had ſo much Wickedneſs, as to further the Depoſing or Diſinheriting of his two Nephews; but when he was not bad enough to conſent to the Murder of theſe Princes, he was rejected by that King, and afterwards beheaded; if you cannot learn how to go through with Wickedneſs, learn a better Leſſon, to return to Goodneſs, or elſe, perhaps, the Wrong which you have done your Country, in Betraying her Truſt, and by Conſequence Shedding ſo much innocent Blood, may be at laſt revenged upon you by them, for whom you did it. The King, who deſpiſeth you by the Name of Mungrels, as not altogether firm enough to his own Deſign, in another late Letter to the Earl of *Ormond*, gives Thanks to *Muſkery*, *Plunket*, and *Brown*, the chief Actors in that horrid Maſſacre of *Ireland*; which may teach the World what Kind of Men he confides truly in, and who they are that muſt reap the Benefit of his Conqueſt, if God, for the Sins of our *Engliſh* Proteſtants, ſhould permit it; if *Muskery* had been at *Oxford*, the King had had one Man more of his

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own Opinion, in not acknowledging the Parliament of *England*; for Want of ſuch he is forced to complain. And you may plainly ſee, what a diſhonourable Uſe is made of your Perſons there, as Men merely *operis ſecundi*, a Number only that ſerve to give Countenance and Credit to the Deſign of a dearer Party, and to perſuade your Country, not for your own Behoofs; what is ſaid to you, may be ſaid to all, that are led by you, to all thoſe Thouſands which have followed the King as your Train; for the ſame Opinions, which render you now contemptible to the King, render you acceptable to the major Part of Proteſtants, which ſides with you, and did at firſt make the King's Power ſo conſiderable, as it is: If there be any Thing of Proteſtants, of *Engliſhmen*, of Men remaining in you, reſume that, whatſoever it be; either acknowledge yourſelves ſuch, as the King calls you, under the Roſe, when he opens his Breaſt to the only Partaker of his Thoughts, or declare yourſelves ſuch Patriots, ſuch true Sons of the Church, as the King pretends you to be, when he ſpreads his Oratory before the People. If we be Rebels at *London*, becauſe we are not ſo ſervile as you are, and you are Mutineers at *Oxford*, becauſe you are not ſo ſervile as the King would have you: Let us know by what Definition either you or we are meaſured, and how we are diſtinguiſhed, and let us ſee that other third remaining Party, which the King owns as his loyal faithful Party indeed. It concerns you to look both forward and backward; and having now taken the Dimenſion of the King's Mind, by his ſecret Letters, turn about a While, and look upon the ſame in his publick Declarations: See if you can reconcile his former Promiſes to his preſent Deſigns; for, as you have had ſome Repreſentation of the latter in the former Part, you ſhall now be made Spectators and Judges of the former in this latter Part. The King, according to *Digby*'s ſuperſtitious Obſervation, in his Letter of *January* the Fourteenth laſt, takes it as evident, that *Strafford*'s innocent Blood has brought the Judgment of this Civil War equally upon both Sides, both being equally guilty thereof. The King's Meaning is, That he, and his Side, was as guilty in permitting, as the Parliament was in proſecuting; but now for *Canterbury*'s Blood, that being totally put upon the Parliament's Score, he doubts not but the Hand of Juſtice will from henceforth totally lay the Weight of this Guilt upon the Parliament's Side. The Truth is, *Strafford* and *Canterbury* were the chief Firebrands of this War, the two ill Counſellors, that chiefly incenſed the King againſt the *Scots*, and endeavoured to ſubject all theſe three Kingdoms to a new arbitrary Government, and were juſtly executed for attempting that Subverſion of Law, which the King has perfected ſince. The King and *Digby* both adjudged *Strafford* worthy of Death, yet not for Treaſon, as it was charged; but not being able to ſave his Life, without uſing Force, and finding Force very dangerous, they left him to the Block, againſt Conſcience, as is now alledged. *Canterbury* remains in the ſame Caſe, and now Remorſe of Conſcience, or rather the old Project of altering Law, ſuggeſts to the King, that, if no Reſiſtance be uſed, *Strafford*'s Precedent will caſt *Canterbury*, and *Canterbury*'s all the reſt of the Conſpirators, and ſo the People will make good their ancient Freedom ſtill. Hereupon Diſcontents break out; the King withdraws into *Scotland*; during his Abode there, the Rebellion in *Ireland*, ſome Attempts againſt Marquis *Hamilton*, and others, in *Scotland*, and ſome other dangerous Machinations in *England*, put us into ſtrange Terrors and Apprehenſions. The King, at his Return, *December* the 2d, 1641, complains of theſe Jealouſies, Frights, and Alarms, with this Profeſſion: 'I am ſo far from repenting of 'any Act done this Seſſion, for the Good of 'my People, that, if it were to do again, I 'would do it, and will yet grant what elſe 'can be juſtly deſired.' He concludes with a Recommendation of the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, and, finding the Preparations for the ſame ſlow, again, on the Fourteenth of *December*, he is pathetical in quickening thereunto. All this notwithſtanding, the Parliament finds the old Faction at Court to grow ſtrong, and daily to attain to more Prevailance with the King; which, beſides other Cauſes of Jealouſy, makes them lay open the Indiſpoſition of the whole State, in a plain and ſharp Remonſtance, *December* the Fifteenth, with the Remedies thereof propoſed. The King, as to the Buſineſs of Religion, anſwers: 'For Preſerving of the 'Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, from the 'Deſigns of a Popiſh Party, we have, and 'will concur with all juſt Deſires of our Peo-

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'ple in a Parliamentary Way. For *Ireland*, 'we thank you for your Care, and chearful 'Engagement for the ſpeedy Suppreſſion of 'that Rebellion, the Glory of God in the 'Proteſtant Profeſſion, the Safety of the *Britiſh* there, our Honour, and this Nation's, 'ſo much depending thereupon, &c. Your 'Promiſe to apply yourſelves to ſuch Courſes, 'as may ſupport our royal Eſtate with Honour 'and Plenty at Home, and with Power and 'Reputation Abroad, is that which we have 'ever promiſed ourſelves, both from your 'Loyalties and Affections.' Here are Words that ſound nothing but Grace, and here is a clear Teſtimony from the King's own Mouth, concerning the Merit of this Nation to this Day; but, notwithſtanding theſe Promiſes and Teſtimonies, the King diſcovers daily more and more Regret for *Strafford*'s Execution, flicks cloſer to the Counſels of the ſame Faction, and, inſtead of hearkening to this Parliament, he commands a Charge of Treaſon to be framed againſt ſix Members, the moſt eminent and active in both Houſes. Alſo, upon the Fourth of *January*, the King comes in Perſon, with a great Train armed, into the Houſe, and miſſing the five Members there, tells the reſt, that he muſt have them whereſoever he found them. Here was the fatal Commencement of the War; for, the next Day, the Houſe declares, that they cannot ſit in Safety any longer at *Weſtminſter*, and therefore they adjourn for ſome Days, and retire into the City. *December* the Thirty-firſt, they petition for a Guard out of the City, under Command of the King's Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Eſſex*; which is denied, yet with theſe Expreſſions: 'We are ignorant of the 'Grounds of your Apprehenſions, but proteſt 'before Almighty God, had we any Know-'ledge, or Belief of the leaſt Deſign, in any, 'of Violence, either formally, or at this Time 'againſt you, we would purſue them to con-'dign Puniſhment, with the ſame Severity 'and Deteſtation, as we would the greateſt 'Attempt upon our Crown; and we do en-'gage ſolemnly the Word of a King, that the 'Security of every one of you from Violence 'is, and ſhall be ever as much our Care, as 'the Preſervation of us and our Children.' Theſe Words were ſweetly tempered, but won no Belief, nor could overpower contrary Actions; wherefore, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of *London*, ſeeing nothing but Symptoms of War in the Court, framed a Petition, praying the King, that the *Tower* of *London* may be put into the Hands of Perſons of Truſt; that, by Removal of doubtful and unknown Perſons from about *Whitehall* and *Weſtminſter*, a known and approved Guard may be appointed for the Safety of the Parliament; and that the accuſed Members may not be reſtrained, or proceeded againſt, otherwiſe than according to the Privileges of Parliament. The King grants nothing, but anſwers, 'That 'his Reception of ſuch an unuſual Requeſt 'is a ſufficient Inſtance of the ſingular Eſtima-'tion he hath of the good Affections of the 'City, which he believes, in Gratitude, will 'never be wanting to his juſt Commands and 'Service.' Hitherto the King ſpeaks nothing, but in Juſtification both of the City's, Parliament's, and People's Loyalty. The Tumults about *Whitehall*, &c. amounted to no War, are imputed by the King to the Rabble, and by us to the King's Party; the Parliament is acquitted, except ſix Members, and the Proſecution of them alſo is after declined by the King, yet the King departs from the City, as unſafe, ſeeing plainly it could not be averted from the Parliament. Upon the Twentieth of *January*, the King ſends a Meſſage to the Parliament, to ſtate the Differences on both Sides, promiſing, that, when they are digeſted into a Body, fit to be judged of, it ſhall appear what he will do. In Anſwer hereunto, the Commons Houſe (the Lords refuſing to join) only petition for the Raiſing up unto them, and the State, a ſure Ground of Safety and Confidence, that the *Tower* of *London*, and the Militia of the Kingdom, may be put into ſuch Perſons Hands as they ſhould recommend. The King replies, That the Militia by Law is ſubject to no Command but his own, which he will reſerve to himſelf, as a principal and inſeparable Flower of his Crown; profeſſes to take Care of Peace, and the Rights of the Subject, equally with his Life, or the Lives of his deareſt Children. He further alſo conjures them, by all Acts of Duty and Favour received, by Hopes of future mutual Happineſs, by their Love of Religion, the Peace both of this Kingdom and *Ireland*, not to be tranſported with Fears and Jealouſies. The Parliament could not believe themſelves ſecured by theſe Proteſtations, or Aſſeverations, and the King would

would not underſtand, that the Settling the Militia, at this Time, in confiding Hands, to prevent a Civil War, was any other, than the Taking the Crown from his Head. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*; the King, nevertheleſs, perſiſts to declare his Abhorrence of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, frequently inciting the Parliament to ſend Succours. He alſo ſtrangely abjures any Privity to Plots, or Deſigns againſt the Laws, *&c.* and, further, makes ſtrict Proclamation, *March* the Sixteenth, for Putting Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts. The Parliament, ſeeing Cauſe to ſuſpect that the King and Queen did ſtill favour *Digby*, and others, flying from the Juſtice of Parliament, and appearing to be Incendiaries by Letters intercepted; knowing alſo that the Queen was going into *Holland* to pawn the Jewels of the Crown for Arms; and having divers other Grounds of further Apprehenſions, again petition concerning the Settling of the Militia, and the King's Return, but are denied in both. Thoughts of Peace are now laid aſide, and *Hull* being a ſtrong Town, and a Magazine of Arms, as alſo *Newcaſtle* being the publick Magazine of Fuel, and a rich Place, are looked upon with ſollicitous Eyes; but, as the Parliament prevents the King in *Hull*, the King prevents the Parliament in *Newcaſtle*: Yet, the War, being ſo far advanced, is ſcarcely avowed on either Side, nor is it agreed which Part was put to the Defenſive; and therefore, on the Second of *June*, 1642, before any Bloodſhed, another Eſſay is made for Peace, and the Parliament's Cauſe, ſtated fully in nineteen Propoſitions, is diſpatched to the King; the main Things deſired were Reformation in Church-Government, that Power Military and Civil might be put into confiding Hands, that Juſtice of Parliament might paſs upon Delinquents: But the Anſwer returned is, That, if theſe Things were granted, the King ſhould remain but the Outſide, but the Picture, but the Sign of a King. This, though it was the Trumpet of War, and the Sound of Defiance in Effect, yet was not ſo owned, for ſtill the King ſays, He intends not to fix any diſloyal Deſign upon both, or either Houſe of Parliament; he is rather moſt confident of the Loyalty, good Affections, and Integrity of that great Body's good Intentions; but the Malignity of the Deſign, he ſays, hath proceeded from the ſubtile Informations, miſchievous Practices, and evil Counſels of ambitious turbulent Spirits, not without a ſtrong Influence upon the very Actions of both Houſes. This was the utmoſt Charge of Treaſon that could be then brought againſt the Parliament, and the Propoſitions of the Parliament treated lately at *Uxbridge*, in *February* 1644, being no other in Effect, than thoſe of *June* 1642, this Inference may be truly made, That the King hath no Cauſe to look upon us now, otherwiſe than as he did then; and, if he have varied ſince from thoſe Vows and Aſſeverations which he made then, the Blame will not remain on this Side, but on his; ſo that the very Calling to Mind what hath been ſaid by the King, will be now ſufficient for our Purpoſe:

1. Wherefore, as to the Taking up of Arms at all againſt the Parliament, *June* the Third, 1642, the King, in his Declaration to the Freeholders of *Yorkſhire*, renounces any Intention of War; his Words are, To the End this preſent Poſture, wherein we meet, ſhould not affright you with the Diſtempers of the Times, we wiſh you to look into the Compoſition and Conſtitution of our Guard, and you will find it ſo far from the Face or Fear of War, that it ſerves to ſecure you, as well as us, from it, *&c.* Alſo *June* the Sixteenth, in his Declaration at *York*, he uſeth theſe Words: We again, in the Preſence of Almighty God, our Maker and Redeemer, aſſure the World, we have no more Thought of making War againſt our Parliament, than againſt our own Children. To the ſame Purpoſe, he made all his Lords ſign a Teſtimonial with their own Hands, in Affirmance of his Profeſſion. It is true, afterwards, when he took the Field with his increaſed Guard, and became the Aſſailant at *Hull*, having poſſeſſed himſelf of *Newcaſtle*, he was driven to ſave himſelf by Diſtinctions, for he had not diſclaimed all War in General, but all invaſive War; and, if the Siege of *Hull* had ſome Shew of Invaſion, yet, indeed, it was but in Order to his Defence, and this was a Subtlety that all the ſubſigning Lords, and others, it is thought, had not foreſeen till now.

2. As to the Waging War againſt the Parliament, *June* the Sixteenth, the King diſclaims all Thoughts of War againſt his Parliament; and, in *July*, after the Date of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Commiſſion, he abhors the like, deſiring no longer the Protection and Bleſſing of Almighty God upon himſelf and his Poſterity, than he and they ſhall ſolemnly obſerve the

Laws

Laws in Defence of Parliaments. Alſo, on *Auguſt* the Twelfth after, he acknowledges, that the King and Parliament are like the Twins of *Hippocrates*, which muſt laugh and cry, live and die together. So this guides us to more Diſtinctions, that the King may defend himſelf againſt a Parliament, yet not fight againſt it; or, he may aſſail a malignant Party in Parliament, yet not touch the Parliament itſelf: Theſe Diſtinctions hold good on this Side, not on that: But, By what Diſtinction will the King put a ſhort Period to this perpetual Parliament without Violence? Or, How can he deny it the Name of a Parliament without Hoſtility? Examine the Letters further about this.

3. As to the Waging of War by Papiſts: The King, *Auguſt* the Fourth, when the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was in Forming, in his Speech to the Gentry of *Yorkſhire*, avers, That he had taken Order, that the Power of the Sword ſhould not come into the Hands of Papiſts. And, *Auguſt* the Tenth, he makes ſtrict Proclamation, That all Papiſts, preſuming to liſt themſelves under him as Officers or Soldiers, ſhould be puniſhed, and a Way, by Oath, was preſcribed for Diſcrimination of them. Alſo, *Auguſt* the Twenty-ninth, The King gives Inſtructions to his Commiſſioners for Arrays to diſarm all Papiſts. So, *October* the Twenty-ſeventh, after the Battle at *Edge hill*, the King thinks it worth his Excuſe, that he had ſome few Popiſh Commanders in his Army, taken in of great Neceſſity; he concludes thus: We ſhall never forget our ſeveral Oaths in our ſeveral Declarations; we are too much a Chriſtian to believe that we can break thoſe Promiſes, and avoid the Juſtice of Heaven. It is true, afterwards, a new Diſtinction came to Light, for, upon a Petition from the *Lancaſhire* Papiſts, the King did avow, The Papiſts were, by Law, prohibited Arms in Time of Peace, not in Time of War; and, therefore, he did not only authoriſe, but require them to arm themſelves, Servants, Tenants, and uſe the ſame Arms, *&c.* This Diſtinction bore Date long after the War begun, but that was Want of Invention only.

4. As to Managing the War by *Iriſh* Papiſts, he had never before named them but with a bleeding Heart. His Words once were: We hope the lamentable Condition of *Ireland* will invite us to a fair Intelligence and Unity, that we may, with one Heart, intend the Relieving and Recovering of that unhappy Kingdom, where thoſe barbarous Rebels practiſe ſuch inhuman and unheard of Cruelties upon our miſerable People, that no Chriſtian Ear can hear without Horrour, nor Story parallel. At another Time, thus: We conjure all our Subjects, by all the Bonds of Love, Duty, or Obedience, that are precious to good Men, to join with us for Recovery of that Kingdom. In *July*, at the Siege of *Hull*, he conjures both Houſes, as they will anſwer the Contrary to Almighty God, To unite their Force for Recovery of *Ireland*. In *October*, from *York*, in his Proclamation, he excuſes the Taking of Clothes and Draught-Horſes ſent for *Ireland*, as done of Neceſſity, and againſt his Will. In *December*, the King anſwers ſome *Iriſh* Proteſtants thus: Since the Beginning of that monſtrous Rebellion, I have had no greater Sorrow than for the bleeding Condition of that Kingdom. Nay, ſince the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, the King, in Publick, waſhes his Hands of all Countenance given to the Rebels, and turns the Blame upon the Parliament, though in private he had been, as it were, a Suitor to them for Peace, and ſome Aſſiſtance from them by private Letters to *Ormond*. Query, How this may be reconcileable, *&c.*

5. As to the Granting of a Toleration, the King, *March* the Ninth, 1641, in Anſwer to the Parliament's Declaration, uſes theſe Words: Our faithful and zealous Affection to the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, and our Reſolution is to concur with our Parliament in any poſſible Courſe for the Propagation of it, and Suppreſſion of Popery. In *April*, 1642, he calls God to witneſs, with this Aſſurance, That he will never conſent, upon whatſoever Pretence, to a Toleration of the Popiſh Profeſſion, or Abolition of Laws now in Force againſt Recuſants. Alſo, *April* the Twenty-fifth, He has no other End but to defend the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, *&c.* God ſo deal with us, as we continue in theſe Profeſſions. So, in his Speech at the Head of his Army, *September* the Nineteenth. So, in his Proclamation of Pardon to *London*, *October* the Twenty-ninth, All the Profeſſions we have made in our ſeveral Declarations for Suppreſſion of Popery and Maintenance of Religion, the Laws, *&c.* ſhall be as inviolably obſerved by us, as we expect a Bleſſing from Almighty God, and Obedience from our Subjects. Query, then, How this may be conſiſtent with taking away Statutes in *England* and

Ireland,

Ireland, made for Suppreſſion of Popery, and that by the Arms of Papiſts.

6. As to the Bringing in of Foreign Force, the King, *March* the Ninth, 1641, in his Declaration from *Newmarket*, ſaith, Whatſoever you are adverriſed from *Rome*, *Venice*, and *Paris*, of the Pope's Nuncio's Solliciting *Spain*, *France*, &c. for Foreign Aids, we are confident no ſober honeſt Man can believe us ſo deſperate or ſenſeleſs to entertain ſuch Deſigns, as would not only bury this our Kingdom in ſudden Deſtruction and Ruin, but our Name and Poſterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy. Alſo, *March* the Twenty-ſixth, 1642, about Sollicitation ſuſpected of the King of *Denmark*, his Words are, We have neither ſo ill Opinion of our own Merits, or the Affections of our Subjects, as to think ourſelf in Need of Foreign Force. Alſo, *Auguſt* the Fourth, the King, in his Speech to the Gentry of *Yorkſhire*, acknowledges, He is wholly caſt upon the Affections of his People, having no Hope but in God, his juſt Cauſe, and the Love of his Subjects. What Diſtinction can now ſatisfy us, that neither *Iriſh*, *French*, *Lorrainers*, *Dutch*, nor *Danes*, are Foreigners? The Concealing of this, by Sealing up the Lips of the Queen and *Ormond*, and *Cockran*, muſt ſupply all Diſtinctions.

An Account of the late *Scotch* Invaſion; as it was opened by my Lord *Haverſham* in the Houſe of Lords, on *Friday*, the Twenty-fifth of *February*, 1708-9. With ſome Obſervations that were made in the Houſe of Commons, and true Copies of Authentick Papers. In a Letter from a Gentleman in *South-Britain* to his Friend in *North-Britain*.

ISAIAH xix. v. 13.

The Princes of Zoan *are become Fools, the Princes of* Noph *are deceived; they have alſo reduced* Egypt, *even they that were the Stay of the Tribes thereof.*

Printed in the Year 1709. *Quarto*, containing forty-ſix Pages.

I Was not, Sir, till now, able to give you the Account you deſired, Whether the intended Invaſion would have any further Notice taken of it, than what I ſent you an Account of, with the Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords, for the Papers to be laid before them? But can now tell you, with good Aſſurance, that one of the chief Reaſons, why thoſe Lords, who firſt moved that Matter, let it ſleep ſo long, was out of the juſt Apprehenſion they had, that ſhould they awaken that Enquiry ſooner, it might prove a Diſturbance to the neceſſary Preparations of the next Campaign, by hindering Subſcriptions, or weakening the Credit of the Bank: And it was for this Reaſon, as I have been told, that the Lord, who opened this Matter, would not take Notice of a very remarkable Particular, which he had good Vouchers in his Hand to prove; but to let the World ſee, though thoſe Lords had been ſo long ſilent, they had not forgot that Matter, they took the firſt Opportunity that offered, after the Subſcriptions were finiſhed, and the Bank Books made up, to put the Houſe in Mind of it, and if poſſible, to get this Invaſion looked into.

They thought themſelves obliged to do ſo, in Duty to her Majeſty, that ſhe might ſee in how much greater Danger ſhe then was, than they had Reaſon to believe ſhe thought herſelf; and in Duty to the Nation too, that the Publick might be convinced how little Care the Miniſtry took of them in ſuch a dangerous Conjuncture of Affairs; and laſtly, in Juſtice to themſelves, to demonſtrate it beyond Exception, that they were not only willing but deſirous too, to have this Matter ſearched to the Bottom, and thoſe concerned in it, have the juſt Reward of their Crimes; and accordingly my Lord *Haverſham* did again put the Houſe in Mind of what ſeemed to have been ſo long forgot, and ſpoke, as I am told, to this Effect:

My Lords,

THE Temper of this Houſe, with Relation to your Enquiry into the late intended Invaſion, ſince your Addreſs to her Majeſty to have the Papers laid before you, and ſince they have been upon your Table, is ſo very viſible, I need not take Notice of it, but ought rather to aſk Forgiveneſs for myſelf, that I ſhould dare ſo much as to mention that Matter once more to your Lordſhips; nor ſhould I do it, were it not from an abſolute Neceſſity and Juſtice, which I think is due to myſelf, and thoſe Lords who did me the Honour to ſecond the Motion I made for addreſſing her Majeſty for thoſe Papers; for to me it ſeems too much like Fear or Guilt, to ſit down tamely, under any Reflexion a Man has in his Power to wipe off, and there are ſome which we perhaps may hereafter be reproached with; one is, that theſe Lords, who made you this Motion, never ſo much as looked into the Papers they called for, or have thought on, or mentioned that Matter ſince; perhaps they will ſay too, That they never intended it ſhould come to any Thing, that it was only a Cover to hide ſome Deſign they had under it; nay, I do not know but they may go ſo far as to ſay, that under Hand they were trying how an Act of Grace would reliſh: Should ſuch a Thing be offered, I know myſelf ſo innocent, as in our preſent Circumſtances, I ſhould not give my Conſent to it, for I ſhall always think, that when Horſes are ſkittiſh, vicious, and head-ſtrong, let whoſo will be upon their Back, it is fit they ſhould never be without a good ſtrong Curb in their Mouths: And as to theſe Papers, my Lords, I have looked into them, and thoſe who have done ſo cannot, in my Opinion, but think of them; but that your Lordſhips may not have my Word only for this, I will, with your Lordſhip's Leave, take Notice of ſome Particulars that are in them; and that you may be certain of the Truth of what I obſerve, I beg your Clerk may read for Vouchers the Papers themſelves, as they ſhall be called for.

It will not, I preſume, be denied me, that upon the Twenty-third of *February*, Mr. *Boyle* received certain Intelligence, that the intended Armament at *Dunkirk* was deſigned for *Scotland*; there had been ſeveral Advices before of great Preparations making, and by the great Quantity of Fire-arms it was judged to be for ſome Land Deſign. The States were apprehenſive, and acquainted her Majeſty by their Miniſter with it; and *Scotland* had been in ſeveral Intelligences named, but I do not find there was a certain Account till that of the Twenty-third of *February*, to Mr. *Boyle*.

The Queen, in her Letter of the Twenty-fifth of *February*, to the Council of *Scotland*, thinks it neceſſary to acquaint them with it, and that ſhe does expect they ſhould do their utmoſt for the Protection of her Subjects, and Preſervation of the publick Peace; that nothing on her Part ſhould be wanting; that ſhe has given Orders that ſome of her Troops in *Flanders* ſhould be ready to imbark, in Caſe the Imbarkation at *Dunkirk* ſhould go on: And that her Troops in *England* and *Ireland* are ſo diſpoſed as to give what Aſſiſtance may be neceſſary; in the mean Time authoriſes and impowers them, the Privy-Council, to give ſuch Orders as were proper to put her Forces, Forts, and Gariſons there, in the beſt Order.

This then being allowed, the firſt Queſtion is, What Number of Forces, effective regular Troops I mean, were in *Scotland* at this Time, that is, the Twenty-third or Twenty-fifth of *February*, 1708? I cannot but obſerve to your Lordſhips that there has been a great Deal of Care taken to conceal this from us, although this very Account was particularly aſked for by your Addreſs; yet in all that great Bundle, there is not one Paper from whence we can learn the Number: I was therefore forced to get the beſt Light and Intelligence I could elſewhere, and have very good Authority for what

I am

I am going to ſay, and do affirm to your Lordſhips, that the regular Forces in *Scotland*, upon the Twenty-fifth of *February*, 1708, were not above 1500 Men. If I am miſtaken, I hope ſome Lord here will ſet me right, and take upon him to ſay what the real Number was at that Time.

And ſince there were but 1500 Men, it is certain that was not a Number or Strength that could be thought by any Man ſufficient to ſecure and protect the Kingdom againſt the Invaſion that threatened it; and the Ferment that was then in the Nation was ſuch, that I do not find they durſt ſo much as truſt their Militia with their own Defence. We are therefore in the next Place to conſider, what additional Strength or Augmentation this Handful of Men had, or what Aſſiſtance, either from the Forces from *Oſtend*, or thoſe from *Ireland*, or *Engliſh* Troops from hence.

As to Augmentations or Additions, I find there was little or nothing done, as to that Part: The Parliament indeed had, on the Twentieth of *December*, 1707, raiſed the Eſtabliſhment of the Forces in *Scotland* from 2834 to 5932; but it appears by a Letter from the Earl of *Leven*, to the Earl of *Mar*, of the Seventh of *March*, that little Notice had as yet been taken of what the Parliament had done; for in that Letter to the Earl of *Mar*, he intreats him again to mind the Eſtabliſhment, and let him know if he ſhall give Encouragement to any who ſhould be willing to take Arms to join them; and ſays further, he hopes at leaſt, that ſo much of the Levy Money, as is due ſince the Twenty-fourth of *December*, will be given now; for that would buy ſome Horſes, and levy ſome Men: So that by this Letter it appears there was no Money given to levy Men, or increaſe the Forces in *Scotland*, though there were 3600 Men wanting at that Time, and had been ſo ever ſince the Parliament had voted the Eſtabliſhment in *December*, and tho' our Danger at that Time, from the Want of them, was ſo very great and evident, which ſeems very aſtoniſhing. Nor does it appear that any Directions, or Money for this or any other Service, till the Invaſion was over, was ordered here till the Twelfth of *March*; and then indeed, on the Thirteenth, the Earl of *Mar* writes from hence, to the Earl of *Leven*, that my Lord Treaſurer had ordered the People of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe to anſwer the Earl of *Leven* with Money for Proviſions, and other neceſſary Charges; and further ſays, That my Lord *Marlborough* told him that very Morning, which was the Thirteenth, that the *Scotch* Eſtabliſhment would be ended that Day; he knows not how they have made it, or if they have altered any Thing that we had concerted with *St. John*, or if any Thing be omitted; but he hoped they had not.

It is very true, her Majeſty, in her ſecond Letter, of the Eighth of *March*, to the Council of *Scotland*, recommends to them to give preſent Directions to put her Forts, Garriſons, and Magazines there, in a good Poſture of Defence; and ſays, That what ſhall be expended towards theſe Ends, by their Warrants, ſhall be repaid, for which ſhe has already given Orders: What thoſe Orders were, or to whom given, are not to be found among the Papers; but it is very evident, that there was no Order for one Farthing of Money, to anſwer either the Orders of the Council, or the Earl of *Leven*'s neceſſary Charges, out of any Branch of the Revenue, or otherwiſe; for in a Letter of the Earl of *Leven* to the Earl of *Mar*, of the Thirteenth of *March*, he has theſe Words, which will likewiſe ſhew the Condition of the Nation, at that Time:

'My Lord, ſays he, I leave it to your Lordſhip, to conſider my Circumſtances; here I am, not one Farthing of Money to provide Proviſion, or for Contingencies, or Intelligence, none of the Commiſſions yet ſent down, few Troops, and thoſe almoſt naked; it vexes me ſadly to think, I muſt retire towards *Berwick*, if the *French* land on this Side the *Firth*; and, that you may not have his Lordſhip's ſingle Word for it, the Lord Advocate confirms very much the Truth of this, in his Letter of the Eleventh of *March*, to the Earl of *Mar*; for after he had ſaid, that he was ordered to lay before her Majeſty the incloſed Information, for the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and a particular Account of what it wants, to put it in a Caſe of Defence; and alſo the Caſtles of *Sterling*, *Dumbarton*, and *Blackneſs*, to ſhew their preſent Condition, and what great Diſorder and Want they are in, and that he had formerly ſent a Memorial of Mr. *Slezer*'s, for a Train of Artillery; all which he hopes will be conſidered:' He adds, I believe, ſays he, there was never a Country more deſtitute and defenceleſs, than

we are, nor have we ſo much as a Treaſury, or any Money for incident Charges; ſo that I muſt again, by the Council's Order, lay theſe Things before your Lordſhip, and that at leaſt ſome Order may be given, whereby neceſſary Expences may be defrayed; and the Earl of *Mar*'s Letter of the Thirteenth, from hence, is the firſt Account, we have of any Money, that was ordered for *Scotland*: By all which, it plainly appears, that notwithſtanding the Orders, the Queen mentions in her Letter of the Eighth of *March*, the Council had not a Shilling for neceſſary Expences, on the Eleventh, nay, not ſo much as one Penny ordered, till the Thirteenth; and as to the Eſtabliſhment, notwithſtanding all the preſſing Inſtances, that was not ſettled till after the Invaſion, as appears by the Earl of *Mar*'s Letters, of the Twelfth and Thirteenth of *March*.

This, my Lords, is the true State, as appears from the Papers themſelves given in, relating to the Force of that, I had almoſt ſaid, deſerted, but I may ſay defenſeleſs Nation; few Men, and thoſe almoſt naked; three-thouſand ſix hundred Men wanting of the Eſtabliſhment voted by Parliament, for the Year 1707-8, near three Months before; no Levy-Money, no Eſtabliſhment ſettled, no Commiſſions ſent down, not a Shilling ordered by the Miniſtry, out of any Branch of the Revenue, or otherwiſe, to the Privy-Council or Earl of *Leven*, for neceſſary Expences, or to buy Proviſion, or for Contingencies, or Intelligence, and all this in a Time of the utmoſt Danger.

In the next Place, I ſhall ſhew your Lordſhips, when *Scotland* was in this defenceleſs Condition, what Aſſiſtance they had from *Oſtend*, *England*, and *Ireland*. As to the Tranſports, that were to come from *Oſtend*, though all the Diſpatch was made, that could be made, they did not arrive at *Tinmouth-Bar*, till ten Days after the Enemy were ſeen upon the *Scotch* Coaſt; ſo that the Diſpute, if there had been any, would have been over, and the Enemy, in all human Probability, would have been Maſters both of *Edinburgh*, the Caſtle, and all that was in it, before they could come up to their Aſſiſtance. And the very Orders to *Baker* is ſo extraordinary, a Man cannot but take Notice of it, for, after that he is required and directed to make the beſt of his Way to *Tinmouth-Bar*, with her Majeſty's Ships under his Command, and the Tranſport Ships with Troops, which he brought with him from *Oſtend*, &c. there is a further Order in theſe Words, 'But in Regard there are ſeveral diſmounted Troopers on Board the Tranſports, you are to ſend a Veſſel with them to *Harwich*, if you can conveniently, their Horſes being now in *Eſſex*;' ſo that inſtead of taking the Horſes to *Tinmouth*, the diſmounted Troopers are firſt to be ſent to *Harwich*, to their Horſes, and from thence to proceed to *Scotland*, which, one would think, were a very round-about Way.

And as to our Troops from hence, which were to aſſiſt them, the ſeveral Regiments of Horſe-Dragoons and Foot had not their Orders to hold themſelves in a Readineſs to march till the Eleventh of *March*. The next Day, Orders were given for them to augment, and on the Fourteenth, they were ordered to march Northward; which was certainly too long a Delay, conſidering what a March it is from hence to *Edinburgh*; yet this was all the Readineſs they were in, to aſſiſt them.

But there is one Thing which is moſt amazing, and I muſt again deſire, if I am wrong in Fact, that ſome Lord here, who I am ſure can, will ſet me right.

The Queen, as I ſhewed to your Lordſhips, in her Letter of the Eighth of *March*, which your Clerk juſt now read, told the Council of *Scotland*, Our Troops from *Ireland*, which we mentioned in our laſt, are ready to imbarque in Tranſport Ships, provided in thoſe Places, with all Neceſſaries for that Service; and yet it does appear plainly, That there were no Tranſports provided at that Time here, nor were any Tranſport Ships ordered in *Ireland*; nay, the very Orders to provide Tranſports were not given by my Lord *Sunderland*, till the Twelfth of *March* here, nor by my Lord Lieutenant for *Ireland*, for the Troops to be in a Readineſs to be tranſported, till the Thirteenth; and then my Lord *Sunderland* ſends an Order to the Commiſſioners of Tranſports, telling them, That it is her Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they forthwith take up Shipping, for the Tranſportation of ſix hundred Horſe, that are to imbarque at the *White-houſe* between *Carrickfergus* and *Belfaſt*, and it is left, ſays he, to your Diſcretion, to hire theſe Ships, either at *Whitehaven*, *Liverpool*, or *Cheſter*, as you can do it, with moſt Expedition and Conveniency; and, upon the Thirteenth, his Lordſhip ſends another Letter, acquainting them, That they are to provide a Board thoſe Ships Hay and Oats ſufficient

ſufficient to ſerve ſix hundred Horſe for a Fortnight, and as many Water-Caſks, as may be neceſſary to carry Water, Particulars that were, it ſeems, forgot in the firſt Orders; and in an Extract of the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Letter to the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, of the Thirteenth, he tells them, 'I do not in the leaſt doubt, but that your Lordſhips will iſſue proper Orders for one Regiment of Horſe, and two of Dragoons, to be provided with Neceſſaries ready to imbarque, whenever there ſhall be Occaſion for them; and it is her Majeſty's Opinion, that the Regiments under the Command of Lieutenant General *Langſton*, Major-General *Eccliſn*, and Lord *Tunbridge*, ſhould be on this Service; and I am of Opinion, that it will be for the Service of the Queen, to have theſe three Regiments move with all convenient Speed, and take their Quarters in and about *Belfaſt* and *Carrickfergus*, that they may be in a Readineſs to imbarque: I deſire your Lordſhips to give Directions to the proper Officers, to provide and get ready Hay, Oats, and Water, for at leaſt a Fortnight.'

And here, if we conſider, that theſe Letters were dated the Twelfth and Thirteenth of *March* from hence, that they were to go to the Commiſſioners of Tranſports here, and to the Lords Juſtices in *Ireland*; that after theſe Tranſports were to be agreed for, and Hay, Oats, and Water to be provided, and the three Regiments to be ordered to march, what Time all this would take up: It ſeems very evident, That her Majeſty was not truly acquainted with the Danger ſhe was in; that ſhe thought theſe Things were in a Readineſs, which were not; and that the Orders ſhe had given had not been obſerved, as ſhe concluded they were; and in the laſt Place, that theſe three Regiments muſt arrive in *Scotland*, very late.

But there is one Thing more ſo very new, and without Precedent, that it cannot but be very aſtoniſhing, which is, that in the Earl of *Leven*'s Inſtructions, of the Fourth of *March*, in that Part where he is ordered to *Ireland*, for Aſſiſtance, there is a Blank left, as to the Perſon to whom he is to write; the Words are theſe: 'You are, upon the firſt Appearance of any Squadron of *French* Ships upon the Coaſt, to ſend to *Ireland* to

to advertiſe him thereof, who has Orders to ſend Troops to your Aſſiſtance;' and yet, as was juſt now proved both from Lord *Sunderland*'s Letter to the Commiſſioners of Tranſports, and from my Lord Lieutenant's to the Lords Juſtices, there was not ſo much as Orders given, for any Tranſports here, till the Twelfth, nor any ever in *Ireland*, nor were the three Regiments directed to move, in Order to Imbarquing, till the Thirteenth.

I confeſs, when I read this, I thought it was a Miſtake of the Tranſcriber, till I ſaw theſe Words in the Earl of *Leven*'s own Letter, of the 7th of *March*, to the Earl of *Mar*: 'I 'deſire you, ſays the Earl of *Leven*, to ſend 'down the Name of the Perſon I am to write 'to in *Ireland*, if there be Occaſion; and 'muſt ſtill intreat your Lordſhip, that Orders 'be ſent for ſome Horſe and Dragoons to im-'barque.' And again, in his Letter of the 13th, where he has theſe Words to the Earl of *Mar*, he repeats the ſame Thing, 'Pray 'endeavour to get Orders ſent ſtraight to '*Ireland*, for the Officers there to imbarque, 'for you know I have no Perſon's Name to 'whom I ſhould write.' This convinces me, beyond what any Man can ſay, that his Lordſhip did not know to whom to write; for ſure his Lordſhip would not repeatedly affirm what was not Fact; and whoever conſiders, that there were no Orders lodged any where for any Perſon from *Ireland*, upon Advice from the Earl of *Leven*, of the Appearance of the Enemy, to follow his Direction, and haſten to his Aſſiſtance; nor any Orders at all for Tranſports there; nor any Direction here for Tranſports till the 12th, muſt, I think, be convinced, that this Blank in the Inſtructions did not happen by Chance, but was a premeditated and deſigned Omiſſion.

I would not forget any Care that was taken, and therefore muſt take Notice, that on the 27th of *February*, there were a hundred Barrels of Powder ordered to be ſent from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh*; but the Earl of *Leven* was not writ to about it till the 2d of *March*, which was four Days Delay; and the Order itſelf was ſo very prepoſterous, I had almoſt ſaid ridiculous, much like that of *Baker*'s, that it had full as well been omitted, for, inſtead of ordering the Store-keeper of *Berwick* immediately to carry a hundred Barrels of Powder to *Edinburgh*, they ſent an Order to one Mr. *James Robb*, Deputy Store-keeper of *Edinburgh*, to get Carts, and go with them to *Berwick*, and take three-hundred Barrels of Powder, and bring it to *Edinburgh*; and Mr.

Grieve,

Grieve, Store-keeper of *Berwick* to the Board of Ordnance, writes a Letter, dated *March* 10, 1707-8, hither, That *Robb* was come to *Berwick*, and the Carts would be there that Night. And I appeal to a Lord, who cannot but know whether the Powder came to *Edinburgh* before the Danger was paſt, and the *French* off our Coaſt. And whoever will reflect, that the Earl of *Leven*'s Letter, dated here the 2d of *March*, was to go to *Edinburgh*; that then at *Edinburgh* Carriages are to be taken up for the Powder; then they are to go to *Berwick*, and from *Berwick* they are to return again to *Edinburgh*, will find it could hardly be there ſooner.

The next Thing I ſhall take Notice of to your Lordſhips, is the State of the Gariſons. The Parliament had given, the 20th of *December*, the Sum of 13098 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* for the Gariſons of *North-Britain*, for the Year 1708. But I cannot but think your Lordſhips will be greatly ſurpriſed, when you find in what a wretched Condition they were. I will give your Lordſhips but an Inſtance or two, the reſt are much in the ſame State.

Sterling Caſtle.

THIS is a very conſiderable Poſt, a Place of great Importance; and yet what an Account is there of the Arms and Ammunition in that Place?

One Barrel of Powder.

550 Fire-locks, of which, about a Hundred for Service; and ſome of that Hundred want Ram-rods, and ſome Nails; all the reſt unſerviceable.

780 Muſquets, which may be for Service, when furniſhed with Ram-rods; ſome Nails, and ſome ſhattered in the Stocks.

380 Muſquets, with broken Stocks and Locks, and many wanting Locks, and all unſerviceable.

150 Bundles of Match, all damnified with lying in Rain.

300 Bayonets, moſt of them broken and ſpoiled, altogether unſerviceable.

300 Cartridge-boxes, all broken and unſerviceable.

200 Pikes, damnified by long lying.

40 Cannon-Ball, 18 Pounders.

70 Cannon-Ball, 12 Pounders.

1200 Balls, 9 Pounders.

3400 Four Pounders.

20 Small Bomb-Shells without Mortars.

1200 Hand-Grenado Shells.

50 Stands, Back and Breaſt.

Ordnance Store in *Blackneſs Caſtle.*

TWO Barrels of Corn-Powder, one Hundred each.

100 Yards of Match.

4 Hand-Spikes.

59 Muſquet Barrels, repairable.

7 Scimitar Blades, uſeleſs.

100 Pounds of Muſquet Bullets.

3 Ladles, one ſerviceable, the other uſeleſs.

2 Cannon, 3 Pounders.

1 Train Carriage, unſerviceable.

2 Minions.

3 Falcons on Ship Carriages, unſerviceable.

77 Balls for Minion.

25 Balls for 3 Pounders.

149 Hand-Grenado Shells.

Dumbarton Caſtle, as *per* Memorial.

THERE are ſeveral Breaches in the Wall; there are twelve braſs Guns, none of them mounted, all want Carriages; there is no Powder in the Gariſon, and few Flints; all the Lodgings in a ruinous Condition; no Coals in the Gariſon, nor any other Proviſion: The Fire-locks, being long ſince they were gotten, are ill fixed.

Edinburgh, March 9, 1707-8.

The abovementioned is the true Condition of the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, at preſent.

I need not, my Lords, I think, make any Obſervations upon the Caſtles, after your Lordſhips have ſeen the wretched State of them; and, therefore, in the laſt Place, ſhall only take Notice to your Lordſhips, That after the Invaſion was over, there were Eſtimates made, what it would coſt to put the Fortifications of *Scotland* in good Repair. The Total, as appears by your Schedule, amounts to 23156 *l.* of which there could be but 3000 *l.* laid out this Year; and yet there has been but poor 1500 *l.* expended upon that Service this Year, as appears by your Paper.

I will not trouble you further: I think this Matter is now very plain before your Lordſhips:

ſhips: I could wiſh I had not ſaid one Word of Truth in what I have ſaid to you; but the Vouchers ſhew it to be ſo; and, if all this be true, it is a very ſtrange, a very ſurpriſing, and a very aſtoniſhing Truth.

I ſhall not move any Thing to your Lordſhips further in this Matter; I believe there has been enough now ſaid, to juſtify thoſe Lords for Moving this Enquiry, and ſhall add but this Word, That if there be no greater Care taken for the future, than there was at this Time of ſuch eminent Danger, it will be the greateſt Miracle in the World, if, without a Miracle, the Pretender be not placed upon that Throne.

This is the Subſtance of what was obſerved by that noble Lord, as exactly as I can get it put into a Thread, though there happened ſome Interlocutories between him and another Lord, and the Obſervations were made upon the Papers as they were read.

I cannot ſay, as you do in your Letter, that that the Miniſtry, if you are not very ill informed, have altered ſome of the Papers and Letters laid before the Parliament, leſt their Negligence, or ſomewhat that is worſe, ſhould appear; but I have it immediately from thoſe who have very exactly looked over the Papers laid before the Houſe of Lords, That, though there are a great many more in that mighty Heap which was laid on the Table, than ever were aſked for, by the Addreſs, perhaps to diſcourage the Looking into them, yet ſeveral material Papers that were deſired, have carefully been left out, and ſeveral that are in that Bundle, are very imperfect, being ſuch Extracts as they thought fit to give; and, in ſome, where it was material to know the Point of Time, the Dates are omitted; but as imperfect as they are, and notwithſtanding the Want of many which ſhould have been there, you will find enough to convince you, whether the Obſervations out of them were well grounded, and whether the Conduct of our Miniſtry, in ſuch a critical Juncture of Affairs, is to be paralleled; that you yourſelf may the better judge of the Whole, I ſend you the true Copies of ſo many authentick Papers.

To this Account of what paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, relating to the Invaſion, I ſhall only add, that I hear the ſame Papers being laid before the Houſe of Commons, purſuant to their Addreſs, produced the like Obſervations there; and that the *Scotch* Gentlemen concurred with the *Engliſh*, in blaming the Conduct of the Miniſtry, affirming, it was ſuch as gave great Encouragement to the Enemies of the Government, while its Friends look on their Country to be perfectly given up. This, they ſaid, was their general Senſe. In the Houſe of Commons, ſome Obſervations were alſo made upon the Impriſoning many Perſons in *Scotland* at that Time; ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, of the beſt Quality and Eſtates, were apprehended and ſeized, by Virtue of Warrants ſent from hence, for Suſpicion of Treaſon, and treaſonable Practices: Though it does not appear from the Papers, there was any Cauſe to ſuſpect them, nor that any of their Countrymen (who were the propereſt Perſons to be adviſed with on this Occaſion) were conſulted in it. For the Earl of *Mar*, in his Letter to the Earl of *Leven*, *March* the 9th, writes, that he, with the Dukes of *Queenſberry* and *Montroſe*, the Earls of *Lowdon* and *Seafield*, were ſummoned to the Cabinet, and were there told, that ſince both Houſes had, for Securing ſuſpected Perſons, ſuſpended the *Habeas Corpus* Act, it was fit, Perſons in *Scotland* ſhould be apprehended; and a Liſt was read to them, which they took down in Writing, and Warrants were ready drawn. This was certainly a very extraordinary Way of Proceeding; and the more extraordinary, becauſe the greateſt Part of the Lords and Gentlemen taken up by theſe Warrants, had given undoubted Teſtimonies ever ſince the Revolution (in which, ſome of them had been very active and inſtrumental) of their Fidelity and good Affection to the Government; they had taken all Oaths that have been enjoined for its Security; they had ſat in Parliament, and ſome of them had been in Offices and Employments of great Truſt, in the Reign of King *William*, and of her Majeſty. Others, under the like Circumſtances, were taken up by Warrants, bearing Date the 20th of *March*, when the Danger was over; which made the *Scotch* Gentlemen very free in declaring, that the Taking them up could be for no other Reaſon, than to influence the approaching Elections to Parliament, and for their Diſaffection to the Intereſts ſome Courtiers then promoted, rather than for their Diſaffection to her Majeſty's Perſon and Government; in which they were the more confirmed, becauſe they ſaw there was no Evidence in the Papers againſt

againſt any of them. There was, indeed, ſome Evidence of High Treaſon pretended againſt five Gentlemen, taken up by Warrants from the Privy-Council of *Scotland*; but that was ſuch as the Lord Advocate writes, neither he, nor the other Advocates employed for her Majeſty, did think would convict them; and, therefore, he humbly offered it as their Opinion, that it would be more for the Honour and Service of her Majeſty, and of her Government, that they ſhould not be proſecuted. The Earl of *Sunderland*, in his Anſwer, acquainted him, he had laid his Memorial before her Majeſty, who was well ſatisfied with what he had done, in procuring Evidence againſt the Priſoners; and though poſſibly, upon their Trial, the Evidence might not be ſufficient to convict them by the Law of *Scotland*, yet, conſidering all the Circumſtances of that Affair, and the Noiſe it has made in the World, her Majeſty thought it abſolutely neceſſary for her Service, that it be carried as far as it will bear; accordingly they were brought upon their Trials, and acquitted.

After all, the Obſervations made upon the Papers, the Conſiderations of them ended in the Houſe of Commons, in the Reſolution which you have ſeen in their Votes, *viz.*

'That it appears to this Houſe, That timely and effectual Care was taken by thoſe employed under her Majeſty, at the Time of the intended Invaſion of *Scotland*, to diſappoint the Deſigns of her Majeſty's Enemies, both at Home and Abroad, by Fitting out a ſufficient Number of Men of War, ordering a competent Number of Troops from *Flanders*, giving Directions for the Forces in *Ireland*, to be ready for the Aſſiſtance of the Nation, and by making the neceſſary and proper Diſpoſitions of the Forces of *England*.'

The Gentlemen that were againſt this Reſolution deſired, that all the Papers laid before the Houſe, relating to the intended Invaſion of *Scotland*, might be printed, that the World might ſee and judge, how well grounded it was: But thoſe who had juſtified the Miniſtry in their Debates, and voted for the Reſolution, would not ſuffer the Papers to be printed: So that the Queſtion was carried in the Negative.

The true Account of the Condition of the Caſtle of Dumbarton.

IMPRIMIS.

THERE are ſeveral Breaches in the Wall.

There are 12 braſs Guns.

There are none of the Guns mounted; all of them want Carriages.

There is no Powder in the Gariſon, and few Flints.

All the Lodgings in a ruinous Condition.

There are no Coals in the Gariſon, nor any other Proviſions.

The Fire-locks, being long ſince they were gotten, are very ill fixed.

Edinburgh, March 9, 1707-8. The above is the true Condition of the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, at preſent.

An Account of Remains of Ordnance Stores in her Majeſty's Caſtle of Blackneſs, *in the* North *of* Britain.

Braſs Guns.

TWO Cannon, 3 Pounders, on Train-Carriages, unſerviceable.

Iron Guns.

1 Minion long, 5 Foot 2½ Inches,
1 Minion long, 3 Feet 9½ Inches,
2 Falcons long, 4 Feet 2½ Inches,
1 *Ditto*, long, 3 Feet 8¼ Inches, all on Ship Carriages, unſerviceable.

Round Shot.

77 Balls for Minion.
25 Balls for 3 Pounders.
2 Barrels of Corn-Powder, 100 Pounds Weight each.
149 Hand-Grenado Shells.
100 Yards of Match.
4 Hand-Spikes.
100 Pounds of Muſquet Bullets.
59 Muſquet Barrels, repairable.
3 Ladles, one ſerviceable, and the other two uſeleſs.
7 Scimitar Blades, uſeleſs.

The Contents above is the preſent State of the Stores of Ordnance in her Majeſty's Caſtle

Caſtle of *Blackneſs*, the 16th of *November*, 1708.

T. Dury.

An Account of Arms and Ammunition in the Caſtle of Sterling, March 6, 1707-8.

ONE Barrel of Powder.

550 Fire-locks, of which about 100 for Service, and ſome of that 100 do want Ram-rods, and ſome Nails; all the reſt are unſerviceable.

70 Cheſts of Muſquet Ball.

780 Muſquets, which may be fit for Service when furniſhed with Ram-rods; ſome Nails, and ſome ſhattered in the Stocks.

380 Muſquets with broken Stocks and Locks, many wanting Locks, all unſerviceable.

150 Bundles of Match, all damnified with long Lying, and Rain.

200 Pikes, damnified by long Lying.

40 Cannon Ball, 18 Pounders.

70 Cannon Ball, 12 Pounders.

1200 Ball, 9 Pounders.

3400 Four Pounders.

20 Small Bomb-Shells, without Mortar.

1200 Hand-Grenado Shells.

50 Stands, Back and Breaſt.

300 Bayonets, moſt of them broken and ſpoiled, all wanting Scabbards, altogether unſerviceable.

300 Cartridge-boxes, all broken and unſerviceable.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Sunderland, *to the Commiſſioners for Tranſports.* March 13, 1707-8.

I Have lately writ to you, to take up Shipping for ſix-hundred Horſe, to be brought over from *Ireland*. I am now to acquaint you, that you are to provide, and put on Board the Ships employed in that Service, Hay and Oats ſufficient to ſerve them a Fortnight, and as many Water-Caſks as may be neceſſary to carry Water for them for that Time.

Whitehall, March 13, 1707-8.

SIR,

Mr. Burchet,

I Return you, by the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Command, the Draught of Inſtructions for Rear-Admiral *Baker*, or the Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Ships, coming from *Oſtend* with the Tranſports, with ſome Alterations, as you will find in the Incloſed.

I am, &c.

Tho. Hopkins.

His Royal Highneſs, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, &c. Lord High-Admiral of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, &c. And of all her Majeſty's Plantations, *&c.* And Generaliſſimo of all her Majeſty's Forces, *&c.*

Inſtructions for Real-Admiral Baker.

YOU are hereby required, and directed forthwith, upon your Receipt hereof, to make the beſt of your Way to *Tinmouth Bar*, with her Majeſty's Ships under your Command, and the Tranſport-Ships with Troops, which you brought with you from *Oſtend*; and when you come off the ſaid *Bar*, you are, if you do not find Orders there, to continue there, with the aforeſaid Tranſport-Ships, till further Orders. But if you ſhould be there credibly informed, that the *French* have landed their Forces in the North of *Scotland*, you are then to make the beſt of your Way to the *Frith*, in Order to land the Forces at *Leith*, or as near *Edinburgh* as may be. But, in Regard there are ſeveral diſmounted Troopers on Board the Tranſports, you are to ſend a Veſſel with them to *Harwich*, if you can conveniently, their Horſes being now in *Eſſex*. And, in Caſe Rear-Admiral *Baker* ſhall himſelf proceed with the Tranſport-Ships, and that the Enemy's Ships, ſaid to be in *Flemiſh* Road, were there when he ſailed from *Oſtend*, he is forthwith to return with her Majeſty's Ships off of *Dunkirk*; but, if the Enemies Ships ſhall be gone from *Dunkirk*, when he ſails from *Oſtend*, he is then to make the beſt of his Way to the *Downs*.

But if he has detached any of her Majeſty's Ships, to be Convoy to the Tranſports, and continues himſelf off of *Dunkirk*, then the Commander in Chief of the ſaid Ships is hereby required, after having landed the Troops, to make the beſt of his Way to a proper Station off of *Dunkirk*, and join the ſaid Rear-Admiral *Baker*; and, in Caſe the *Lenox*, *Ipſwich*,

wich, and *Nottingham*, ſhall be in your Company, you are to bring them back with you.

Given under my Hand, the 13th of *March*, 1707-8.

To *John Baker*, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the White, or the Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Ships coming from *Oſtend* with the Tranſports.

By Command of his Royal Highneſs.

J. Burchett.

Extract of the Earl of Pembroke, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland's *Letter, of the Thirteenth of* March, 1707, *to the Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom, concerning ſome Horſe and Dragoons, deſigned to be tranſported from thence to* Scotland.

My Lords,

I Herewith tranſmit your Lordſhips her Majeſty's Letter of the Eleventh Inſtant, and muſt deſire your Lordſhips, to direct an Account of the Horſe and Dragoons to be ſent over, in Order to my laying the ſame before her Majeſty.

I ſhall now acquaint your Lordſhips, That the Officers are all under Orders, and moving to their Poſts in *Ireland*, purſuant to her Majeſty's Commands; and do not in the leaſt doubt, but your Lordſhips will iſſue proper Orders, for one Regiment of Horſe, and two of Dragoons, to be provided with Neceſſaries ready to imbarque, whenever there ſhall be Occaſion for them: And it is her Majeſty's Opinion, the Regiments, under the Commands of Lieutenant-general *Langſtone*, Major-general *Echlin*, and the Lord *Tunbridge*, ſhould be ſent on this Service; and ſince they are to go, as they now ſtand on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, I hope Care will be taken that they be compleat.

And her Majeſty having ordered the Commiſſioners of Tranſports, to take up at *Cheſter*, *Liverpool*, and *Whitehaven*, Tonnage for ſix-hundred Horſe, I am of Opinion, it will be for the Service, to have thoſe three Regiments move with all convenient Speed, and take Quarters in and about *Belfaſt* and *Carrickfergus*, that they may be in a Readineſs to imbarque at the *White Houſe*, which lies between theſe two Places, as ſoon as the Tranſport-Ships ſhall arrive.

And though the Paſſage from the *White Houſe*, to the Place to which they may be ordered, may not be above twelve Hours, yet I deſire your Lordſhips to give Directions to the proper Officers, to provide and get ready Hay, Oats, and Water, for, at leaſt, a Fortnight, &c.

Pembroke.

A true Extract, by

George Doddington.

The Earl of Mar's *Letter to the Lord* Leven.

Whitehall, March 13, 1707-8.

My Lord,

I Writ to your Lordſhip two Letters Yeſterday by a Flying-pacquet, which I hope you will get ſafe. In one of them I told you, that if Major-general *Cadogan* got Intelligence, that the *French* landed at *Aberdeen*, it was probable he would land his Forces at *Leith*; ſince that Time, the Queen thinks it ſo reaſonable that he ſhould do ſo, that I believe there were Orders diſpatched to him laſt Night to that Purpoſe; and her Majeſty thought it worth While to give you Notice of it by this Flying-pacquet, that, in the mean Time, you may be looking for Proviſions and Forage about *Edinburgh* for theſe Forces, againſt they arrive, which will ſurely be e're long: They are about Seven-thouſand; ſo that your Lordſhip will know what to be providing for them. If the *French*, either by Deſign, or be obliged by this Wind, to put into the *Frith*, and land near *Edinburgh*, then Major-general *Cadogan* will land his Forces at *Dunmouth*, and there will be no Occaſion for your providing theſe Proviſions. My Lord Treaſurer has ordered the People of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, to anſwer your Lordſhip with Money for Proviſions, and other neceſſary Charges.

I am glad the Preſbyterian Miniſters have ſhewn themſelves ſo hearty for the Queen on this Occaſion, and ſo zealous againſt the Invaſion; every Body is pleaſed with their Declaring themſelves as they have done, for the Queen, and againſt the Invaſion; and I hope they

they will continue themſelves more and more ſo.

My Lord *Marlborough* told me this Morning, that the *Scots* Eſtabliſhment would be ended To-day. I aſked to meet with Mr. *Walpole* about it, but his Grace deſired me to tell his Grace of any Thing I had to ſay about it. Now this I can hardly do, until I ſee the Eſtabliſhment, for I know not how they have made it, or if they have altered any Thing that we had concerted with *St. John*, or if any Thing be omitted; I hope they have not, but I ſhall ſee it ſoon, and then I ſhall loſe no Time to repreſent any Thing in it, which chances not to be as your Lordſhip expects, though I hope there will be no Occaſion for this. There is no Intelligence To-day, either of the Fleet or otherways, but we expect it every Minute.

I am, &c.

The Duke of *Marlborough* deſired me to write to your Lordſhip, to ſend him an exact and particular Account of your Train of Artillery.

The Earl of Leven's *Letter to the Earl of* Mar, *ſhewing the ſad Circumſtances he is in, and deſiring to know to whom he muſt write in* Ireland.

Edinburgh, *March* 13, 1707-8.

My Lord,

YOU have here a Copy of Letters I received this Morning, which I thought of ſo great Importance, as to acquaint your Lordſhip, and his Grace, the Duke of *Marlborough*, of them by a Flying-packet: I think the Fleets, mentioned in theſe Letters, are two different ones; the Wind is South-weſt, ſo it is not poſſible for them to enter the *Frith*. Some five or ſix Ships were ſeen this Morning near the *May* from the Caſtle, but it has been foggy ever ſince, ſo we can have no further Account of them; I believe it is the *Dunkirk* Squadron, and therefore am ſtill expecting ſome good News of our Fleet's appearing. My Lord, I leave it to your Lordſhip to conſider my Circumſtances; here I am, not one Farthing of Money to provide Proviſions, or for Contingencies, or Intelligence; none of the Commiſſions yet ſent down, few Troops, and thoſe almoſt naked. I beg to hear from you very frequently, and allow me to write freely; I hope you will only read ſuch Parts of them to others, as you judge proper; pray cauſe always to adverti ſe my Son when any Flying-packet is ſent to me, and let *Weems* know too. It vexes me ſadly, to think I muſt retire towards *Berwick*, if the *French* land on this Side the *Frith*. Adieu my Lord.

Pray endeavour to get Orders ſent ſtraight to *Ireland*, to the Forces there to imbarque, for you know I have no Perſon's Name to whom I ſhould write.

A Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Sunderland, *to the Commiſſioners for Tranſports*, March *the* 12*th*, 1707-8.

IT is her Majeſty's Pleaſure, that you forthwith take up Shipping ſufficient for the Tranſportation of ſix-hundred Horſe, that are to imbarque at the *White Houſe*, between *Carrickfergus* and *Belfaſt*, in *Ireland*; but, it being not yet determined where they are to land, you are to make your Contract by the Week, or ſuch other Time as you ſhall think proper. It is alſo left to your Diſcretion, to hire the Ships for this Service, either at *Whitehaven*, *Liverpool*, or *Cheſter*, as you ſhall find you can do it with moſt Expedition and Conveniency.

The Queen's Letter, of *March* the Eighth, to the Council of *Scotland*, takes Notice, that ſhe had ſent one of the Twenty-fifth of *February* before, and adds, We do again recommend to you to get Intelligence, &c. and to give preſent Directions for putting our Forts, Gariſons, and Magazines, in a good Poſture of Defence; and what ſhall be expended herein, by your Warrants, ſhall be repaid, for which we have already given Orders. Our Troops from *Ireland* and *Flanders*, which were mentioned in our laſt, are ready to imbarque in Tranſport-Ships, provided in thoſe Places with all Neceſſaries for that Service. So that the Orders of the Lord *Sunderland* were not given till four or five Days after, and the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to *Ireland* was dated five Days after; which ſhews to me evidently, either that the Queen was not rightly informed of Facts, or, let her Majeſty ſay what ſhe will, the Miniſtry will do what they pleaſe.

The Earl of Mar's *Letter to the Earl of* Leven, March *the* 12*th*, 1707-8.

My Lord,

I Writ to your Lordſhip Yeſterday Morning by a Meſſenger, and ſent you the Copy of General *Cadogan*'s Letters, giving an Account of the *French* Sailing on *Tueſday* Morning by Three of the Clock; we have ſince got Intelligence, that Sir *George Byng* ſailed after them that ſame Day, at Six of the Clock at Night; the Queen came to the Houſe Yeſterday, and, after paſſing ſeveral Accounts, gave an Account, in a ſhort Speech, of the News of the *French* Sailing. There was a Cabinet-council at Night, in the *Cockpit*, where I, and the other Four I formerly writ of, were; the firſt Thing that was talked of, was the Troops to be ſent from *Ireland*; my Lord Lieutenant ſaid, That one Regiment of Horſe, and two of Dragoons, was all that could poſſibly be ſpared from thence; theſe three Regiments will make about ſix-hundred Men. Next, Tranſport-Ships for theſe Forces were ſpoke of, and reſolved on, as the beſt Way, to get them from *Whitehaven*, *Liverpool*, and *Cheſter*, and the Troops to be ſhipped off at the *White Houſe*, between *Carrickfergus* and *Belfaſt*. If the *French* land in the North, about *Aberdeen*, it is thought your Lordſhip will write to theſe Troops to land at *Portpatrick*; but, if the *French* land in the *Frith*, or any where elſe, whereby you think the Troops from *Ireland* can be of no Uſe to you, or whereby theſe Troops would run a Riſque, then it is expected, that your Lordſhip will advertiſe them to land at *Whitehaven*: This was left to me to tell your Lordſhip, and the Duke of *Marlborough* ſaid he would write to you himſelf, and order Copies of the Orders, given to the Troops here, to be ſent you. We talked alſo, how your Lordſhip would diſpoſe of the few Troops you have; but I have nothing of this in Charge to write to you, only for your own Uſe I tell it you, that I thought, that the Men you had were ſuch an Handful, that you would not think of Taking the Field, but that you would divide your Foot, and put good Garriſons in *Edinburgh* and *Sterling* Caſtles, and ſome in *Dumbarton*, to defend theſe, the beſt you could, till Succour come from *Flanders* and *Ireland*; *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*, particularly the firſt (beſides other Reaſons) for the Money there, and the other for a Paſs, and the Fitneſs of it for a Gariſon; and that, with the Horſes and Dragoons, you would endeavour to keep the Country quiet, and from joining with the Enemy.

I believe there are ordered from hence ſeven or eight Regiments of Foot, amounting to about five-thouſand Men, *Northumberland*'s Regiment of Horſe, two Troops of the Horſe-Guards, the Horſe-Grenadiers, and the Half of two Regiments of Dragoons; but you will know the Particulars of this from the Duke of *Marlborough*; this, with thoſe from *Ireland* and *Flanders*, will make ſuch a Force, that the *French*, and all who will join them, will not be able to overcome; ſo there is no Fear of the main Chance, but I am afraid our Country, and particular Perſons, will ſuffer extremely.

All the Officers here were ordered away Yeſterday, and they will be gone To-day; Colonel *Erskin* ſets out this Afternoon, I wiſh he were at *Sterling*, to which Place he will make all the Diſpatch he can. I believe the Troops from *Flanders* were deſigned to land at *Tinmouth*, if the *French* go to the *Frith*; but if they go to the North, I believe they will land at *Leith*, which I think moſt probable. My Lord Treaſurer has promiſed, that Money ſhall be ordered for every Thing that is neceſſary; the Commons have voted, that whatever the Queen expends on this Affair ſhall be made good; they are alſo come to a Reſolution, and are bringing in a Bill upon it, that if any Highland Chieftan join the Pretender, then his Eſtate ſhall belong to his Vaſſal, and they to hold of the Crown, if they do not join; and if any Vaſſal join, that his Eſtate ſhall belong to the Landlord, if he do not. The Bill, for every Body in publick Truſt taking the Abjuration, paſſed Yeſterday, and alſo the Bill, ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, till the Thirteenth of *October* next.

I hope the Powder from *Berwick* is in the Caſtles in *Scotland* before this; I ordered *Holbourn* to ſend your Lordſhip the Cannon Ball, which I hope he did. We long very much to hear from your Lordſhip, and what is doing in *Scotland*.

I had almoſt forgot to tell your Lordſhip, that Yeſterday the Queen gave the Negative for the new Militia of *Scotland*; the Eſtabliſhment for the *Scots* Troops will be adjuſted To-day I believe, or To-morrow. This is all I have

have to ſay now, but if any Thing elſe occur before the Expreſs goes of, I ſhall add it.

I am, &c.

Whitehall, Friday, 12 o'Clock,
March 12, 1707-8.

I conclude your Lordſhip is at *Edinburgh*, ſo I thought it not needful to write to any other of the Queen's Servants.

My Lord Treaſurer has ordered three Months Subſiſtence to be advanced to your Lordſhip's Troops, until other Things be adjuſted; the Duke of *Argyle* ſpoke to the Duke of *Marlborough* for *Finab*'s Independent Company, going into *Argyleſhire*, which his Grace thinks reaſonable, and the Duke of *Argyle* deſired me to ſhew this to your Lordſhip.

The Lord Advocate's Letter to the Earl of Mar, *ſhewing the deſtitute Condition of* Scotland, *at that Time; never a Country more deſtitute and defenceleſs; and that at leaſt, ſome Order may be given, whereby the neceſſary Expence may be defrayed.* March *the* 11*th*, 1707-8.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

THE Council met again Yeſterday, and diſpatched their Orders, for Calling in ſuſpected Perſons, to appear before them, with the Proclamation for the Faſt, of all which, your Lordſhip had a full Account; there was preſented to the Council the Memorial here inclaſed for the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, a large and particular Account of what it wants, to put it in a Caſe of Defence, and Memorials alſo, for the Caſtles of *Sterling*, *Dumbarton*, and *Blackneſs*, to ſhew their preſent Condition, and what great Diſorder and Want they are in; and all theſe Memorials I am ordered to lay before your Lordſhip, for her Majeſty's Information: I ſent Mr. *Stezer*'s Memorial formerly for a Train of Artillery, and I hope, all will be conſidered, for I believe there was never a Country more deſtitute and defenceleſs than we are, nor have we ſo much as a Treaſury or any Money, for incident Charges; ſo that, I muſt again, by the Council's Order, lay theſe Things before your Lordſhip, and that at leaſt ſome Orders may be given, whereby neceſſary Expences may be defrayed,

I am, &c.

The Earl of Mar's *Letter to the Earl of* Leven, *to ſecure the Bank.* Whitehall, March *the* 9*th*, 1707-8.

My Lord,

THE Queen called a Cabinet-Council laſt Night, where ſhe was pleaſed to call the Dukes of *Queenſberry* and *Montroſe*, the Earls of *Loudon*, *Seafield*, and me; we gave an Account there, of what Orders the Queen had ſent to *Scotland*, ſince the News of the Invaſion, and the Letter now to the Council was read, of which you have a Copy: It is expected, that the Council of *Scotland* will ſecure the Horſes and Arms of thoſe, they think diſaffected, and alſo will be aſſiſting to give their Advice and Directions, for Securing the Money, in the Mint and Bank; in Caſe of a Landing, or any apparent Danger, certainly the Enemies will have a Deſign of Seizing that. It was told us, that ſince both Houſes had addreſſed the Queen, to apprehend and ſecure ſuch Perſons, as ſhe had Cauſe to ſuſpect, and are now upon a Bill for Suſpending the *Habeas Corpus* Act; it was fit, that ſuſpected People in *Scotland* ſhould be apprehended and ſecured. There was a Liſt of them read to us, which we took down in Writing; there were Warrants ready drawn conform to the Stile here, which was thought inconvenient to be altered, but, as to the Way, they are ordered to be put in Execution, &c.

ANNE R.

The Queen's Letter to the Council of Scotland, March *the* 8*th*, 1707-8.

Right Truſty, &c.

WE did by our Letter of the Twenty-fifth of *February* laſt, acquaint you with the intended Invaſion, on ſome Part of our Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and with our Royal Pleaſure on that Occaſion; we doubt not, but you have uſed the utmoſt Care, purſuant to our Command: We have ſince further Confirmation of our Enemy's Deſigns; the pretended Prince of *Wales* is at *Dunkirk*, with ſome Battalions

talions of *French* and *Iriſh* Papiſts, ready to imbarque for *Scotland*, and our Enemies give out, that they have Invitations from ſome of our Subjects there: We are hopeful, that this deſperate Attempt will, by the Bleſſing of God on our Arms and Councils, be diſappointed, and turned to the Confuſion of all concerned in it. But that Nothing be omitted on our Part, for Preventing the leaſt Danger, which threatens our People: We have emitted a Proclamation, by Advice of our Privy-Council of *Great-Britain*, which we herewith ſend to you, and we do require you, to cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed at all Places needful, as Proclamations of our Privy-Council in *Scotland* have been publiſhed.

We think it neceſſary, that the Landlords in the High-lands, and Chieftans of Clans, be called to *Edinburgh*, to give the Security, appointed by Law, for Preſerving the Peace and Order, and we do require you forthwith to do the ſame.

We do again recommend to you, to get Intelligence of the Deſigns of our Enemies, and evil-affected People there, and to give preſent Directions, for Putting our Forts, Gariſons, and Magazines in a good Poſture of Defence; and what ſhall be expended towards theſe Ends by your Warrant ſhall be repaid, for which we have already given Orders.

We take this Occaſion to let you know, that our Fleet is now at Sea, and much increaſed ſince our laſt: The *Dutch* Fleet is in great Forwardneſs, and both are ſo diſpoſed, that our Enemies cannot reaſonably hope to eſcape an Engagement; our Troops from *Ireland* and *Flanders*, which we mentioned in our laſt, are ready to imbarque in Tranſport Ships, provided in thoſe Places, with all Neceſſaries for that Service: The Troops from *England* are alſo poſted in the beſt Way, for the Relief of our People in *Scotland*, if our Enemies ſhall have the Boldneſs to purſue their Deſign.

We have diſpatched the Earl of *Leven* from hence, to command our Forces there, and given him ſuch Inſtructions, as we judged neceſſary on this Occaſion, to whom you will give your Advice, Aſſiſtance, and due Encouragement.

We expect that you will aſſemble frequently in Council, and uſe ſuch Vigour in your Proceedings, as hath been done on like Occaſions formerly; which will be acceptable to us, and may prevent the Miſleading of our People, and their Conjunction with *French* and *Iriſh* Papiſts, the irreconcileable Enemies of their Religion and Liberties.

We do alſo require you, to tranſmit to us full and conſtant Accounts of the State of Affairs there, and not doubting of your Zeal and Diligence, We bid you heartily Farewel.

Given at our Court, at *Kenſington*, the Eighth Day of *March*, 1707-8. And of our Reign the ſeventh Year.

By her Majeſty's Command,

Counter-ſigned

MAR.

The Earl of Leven's *Letter to the Earl of* Mar, *to preſs for Orders to* Ireland *for the Troops, and that he may know, to whom he muſt write.*

Stamford, March 7, 1707-8, *Sunday*, Ten o' Clock.

My Lord,

YOU will have a Memoir, by the Earl of *Weems*, which I ſent from *Stilton*. I muſt again intreat you, to mind the Eſtabliſhment, and all my Concernments, both Perſonal, and what relates to the Gariſons; I deſire the three Commiſſions for the three Adjutants, to the Grenadiers and Dragoons, as I gave in the Liſt; I deſire you to ſend down the Name of the Perſon, I am to write to in *Ireland*, if there be Occaſion; although I muſt ſtill intreat your Lordſhip to preſs, that Orders be ſent to ſome Horſe and Dragoons to imbarque. By my Letters from *Scotland*, I underſtand that there is a great Ferment there, and particularly, in the *Weſt-Country*; and that the *Jacobites* are very uppiſh; my Letter alſo ſays, That the Officers can hardly get Money for the Bills ſent from *London*; therefore, I pray you, repreſent it ſo, that ſome Method may be taken, to ſend Money down, for you may be ſure, if the Invaſion be, there can none be got there; and how inconvenient the Want of it will be, is obvious. My Lord, Adieu.

Pray, write by every Occaſion, and let me know, if I ſhall give any Encouragement to any,

any, who ſhall be willing to take up Arms to join us; I hope, at leaſt ſo much of the Levy-Money, as is due ſince the Twenty-fourth of *December*, will be given now, for that will buy ſome Horſes, and levy ſome Men.

ANNE R.

Inſtructions to our right truſty and well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, David, *Earl of* Leven, *Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of our Militia, and of all our Forces, in that Part of our Kingdom of* Great-Britain, *called* Scotland.

YOU are to repair to *Scotland*, with all convenient Diligence, and to take the Advice of our Privy-Council, in all Things, you ſhall judge neceſſary, for Preſerving the Peace of that Part of our united Kingdom.

And whereas we have Intelligence, that there are Preparations at *Dunkirk*, for Invading that Part of our Kingdom of *Great-Britain*: You are to oppoſe their Landing, as much as you can, and in Caſe they ſhall land, you are to hinder, as much as poſſible, our Subjects, from Joining them, and to fall upon, and diſperſe any, who ſhall tumultuouſly riſe in Arms, and endeavour to join them.

You are to make ſuch a Diſpoſition of the Troops, as you ſhall judge moſt for our Service in this preſent Juncture.

You are to take Care to put *Edinburgh* Caſtle, in ſuch a Poſture of Defence, as your Time will allow; and provide Proviſion for the Gariſon, for three Months, and to adviſe with the other Governors of Gariſons, that they be in like Manner provided, and put in an Order of Defence.

You are to diſpoſe of the Ammunition, you are to receive, to the Gariſons and Troops, as you ſhall judge moſt for our Service.

You are to apply to our Privy-Council in *Scotland*, for giving the neceſſary Orders for Providing of Horſes, both for the Baggage and for the Train of Artillery, in Caſe you ſhall be obliged to take the Field.

You are impowered to call Councils of War as often as you ſhall think fit, and to take their Advice, in any Manner of Difficulty.

You are to advertiſe us from Time to Time, either by Expreſs, or the ordinary Packet, of the Poſture of Affairs there, and of what Intelligence you ſhall receive of the Deſigns and Condition of the Enemy, and obey ſuch further Inſtructions, as we ſhall think fit to give therein.

You are, upon the firſt Appearance of any Squadron of *French* Ships upon the Coaſts, to ſend to *Ireland* to ————, to advertiſe him thereof, who has Orders to ſend Troops to your Aſſiſtance.

Given at our Court, at *Kenſington*, the Fourth Day of *March*, 1707-8; and of our Reign, the ſixth Year.

Counter-ſigned

MAR.

ANNE R.

The Queen's Letter to the Council, concerning an Invaſion.

RIGHT Truſty, &c. Whereas we have Intelligence, that there are Preparations at *Dunkirk* for fitting out a Squadron of Ships: And that theſe Intelligences do likewiſe give an Account of Embarking ſome Troops, Arms, and Ammunition, which may be deſigned for Invading and making Diſturbance within that Part of our Kingdom of *Great-Britain* called *Scotland*: We have therefore thought it neceſſary to acquaint you of this, and we do expect that you will uſe your utmoſt Care and Diligence for the Protection of our Subjects, and the Preſervation of the publick Peace there.

We are unwilling to believe that any of our Subjects will give Aſſiſtance or Encouragement to any ſuch Invaſion, which would prove of ſuch dangerous Conſequence to their Religion and Liberties, and make their Native Country a Scene of Blood and Confuſion; however, we doubt not but that you will take all the neceſſary Meaſures to diſcover and diſappoint any ſuch bad Practices and Contrivances, and to ſecure ſuch as you ſhall find concerned therein.

We are hopeful, with the Aſſiſtance of God, to prevent and defeat this Deſign of our Enemies, and for this End nothing ſhall be wanting on our Part; we have fitted out a Fleet ſuperior to any they can have in thoſe Parts; we have alſo given Orders that ſome of our

Troops

Troops in *Flanders* be ready to embark, in caſe the Embarkation at *Dunkirk* ſhall go on, and our Troops in *England* and *Ireland* are ſo diſpoſed as to give you what Aſſiſtance may be neceſſary. In the mean Time, we hereby authoriſe and impower you to give ſuch Orders as are proper, to put our Forces, Forts, and Gariſons there, in the beſt Order.

We ſhall continue to inform you from Time to Time of what further Intelligence we may receive, and therefore we think it neceſſary, that you appoint all our Privy-Counſellors there to attend at *Edinburgh*, for Receiving and Obeying our Orders, except ſuch as you judge more uſeful for the publick Service to be in the Country; and having intire Truſt and Confidence in your Loyalty and Conduct, in this Juncture, we bid you heartily Farewel.

Given at our Court at Kenſington *the* 25*th Day of* February 1707-8, *and of our Reign the ſixth Year.*

By her Majeſty's Command,

Counter-ſigned, *Loudon.*

An Account of the late terrible Earthquake in *Sicily*, with moſt of its Particulars. Done from the *Italian* Copy printed at *Rome*. *London*: Printed for *Richard Baldwin* near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. 1693. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages.

The TRANSLATOR to the READER.

THIS Account of the late terrible Earthquake in Sicily, *I thought, deſerved to be put in* Engliſh. *The Author, who is a Prieſt, has wrote it in a very plain Style; and I have ventured to leave out ſeveral Things that are in the Original, eſpecially that relate to Miracles, and other Fopperies his Profeſſion leads him to believe. As to the reſt, I have tranſlated it as near the* Italian *as I can, and with the ſame Simplicity of Expreſſion, which is more to be valued in Accounts of this Nature, than Flouriſhes of Rhetorick.*

THE late Earthquake, that fell out in *Sicily*, is of ſo aſtoniſhing a Nature, as can be eaſilier imagined, than expreſſed; and ſuch a one as can hardly, if at all, be paralleled in any preceding Age. It is true, that Iſland has been often the Scene of ſuch Kind of Tragedies, and the Irruptions of Mount *Ætna* have been no News in the World for near Two-thouſand Years paſt: But whether, as an Effect of the Anger of Heaven, or of the Crazineſs of this Globe of the Earth, which ſeems to begin to yield to the Injuries of Time, as all other Things do; certain it is, that this laſt Earthquake, for the Suddenneſs of it, and the mighty Deſolations it has produced, is the moſt aſtoniſhing one that ever was.

Philoſophers will be inclinable to ſearch for the natural Cauſes of ſuch a *Phænomenon*, in the Quality and Temper of the Summer that went before: And I am willing ſo far to humour them, as to ſuppoſe, that the many great Rains and intenſe Heats, ſucceeding ſo often one another this laſt Summer in all the Southern Parts of *Sicily*, might contribute to this affrightful Irruption: For the imperceptible Chaſms, thereby made into the Bowels of the Earth, might probably give Room for the Vapours of the Atmoſphere, to inſinuate themſelves into thoſe ſubterraneous Cavities, which afterwards dilating themſelves, and requiring greater Room, muſt needs force their Way through all Obſtacles that penned them in.

But

But leaving this Diſquiſition to others; it would ſeem this Earthquake carried along with it ſome more than ordinary Marks of an immediate Stroke of Heaven. And as ſeldom the Divine Vengeance exerts its Power upon us Mortals in any national Calamity, without giving us ſome previous Warnings; ſo this late Stroke was uſhered in with unwonted Preſages, of which it were hard, if not impoſſible, to give any natural Cauſe, though perhaps, I be as little a Votary to Superſtition, as any Man can be, notwithſtanding the World is pleaſed to tax our Order with it; yet the Strangeneſs of one or two Omens, that preceded this Earthquake, may juſtly prevail with me, to give here a ſhort Account of them.

Paſſing over that mighty loud Warning from Mount *Ætna*, that happened for three Days together in *June* laſt, which is always remarked as a Forerunner of ſome Irruption, either of the Mount itſelf, or of ſome Part thereabouts; this following ſtrange *Phænomenon* fell out at *Syracuſa*, on the Fifteenth of *May* before:

About two Hours before Sun-ſetting, the Atmoſphere being very clear, the Heavens appeared, on a ſudden, all on Fire, without any Flaſhes of Lightning, or the leaſt Noiſe of Thunder, which laſted about a Quarter of an Hour. About which Time were ſeen in the Air, as it were perpendicularly above the City, two Rainbows, after the uſual Manner, with Points towards the Earth, and a Third tranverſed; the Colours of all three being extremely bright. This was by all Spectators thought the more ſupernatural, that during the whole Time theſe Rainbows appeared, there was not one ſingle Cloud to be ſeen in any Part of the Horizon.

In *July* thereafter, at *Catanea*, the neareſt Town to Mount *Ætna*, there fell out another as ſurpriſing Preſage: In the Church of the *Minims* there, one Father *Baletti* lies buried; a Man who was believed by the People of that Country to have, by his Prayers, ſtopped the Progreſs of that fearful Irruption of *Ætna*, which happened about a Hundred and twenty Years ago. The Story goes, that a Flood of bituminous Matter, like burning Oil, being thrown out of the Mountain, was carried down with a mighty Rapidity, to the very Gates of *Catanea*, bearing every Thing before it in its Way. Every Body expected to be immediately devoured by this Sulphureous Inundation, when this holy Man, by his Exorciſms and Prayers, in Preſence of all the People, put a Stop to its Career. Now this Tomb being ever ſince held in greateſt Veneration by the People of *Catanea*, and notwithſtanding his Name was never in the Calendar, yet daily Prayers and Offerings ceaſed not to be offered at his Shrine. It fell out, as I have ſaid, in *July* laſt, that one Morning when the Doors of the Church came to be opened, the Statue of the Saint, that was placed upon his Monument, was fallen down, and lay flat on the Ground. This was at firſt thought to be but an ordinary Accident; but the Statue, every Time it was ſet up upon its Baſis again, for ſeven or eight Nights together was conſtantly found fallen down to the Ground in the Morning, and at laſt was forced to be laid flat upon the Tomb, in which Poſture it lay till this late Deſtruction both of it, and the Town itſelf.

A third Preſage, that ſeemed to foretel this Earthquake, happened in a little Village, within three Miles from *Catanea*, named *Alari*, where uſed to grow as good Wine as any in *Sicily*. In *February* laſt, about Sun-ſetting, all the People of the Country about ſaw, as they thought, this Village all in Flames. The Fire, they imagined, began from leſs to more, increaſing for about a Quarter of an Hour together, and then all the Houſes of the Village appeared as in one Flame, which laſted for about ſix Minutes, till it ſeemed to decay for Want of more Fewel. A great many People, that lived near the Village, when they ſaw the Fire firſt begin, came running [illegible] friendly Office of Helping to [illegible] Fire; and, all along the Road, [illegible] almoſt within the very Village [illegible] gined they ſaw the Fire extend itſelf [illegible] more; but, being entered, they found [illegible] a Deception of the Sight, if not a Preſage [illegible] that Calamity that, ſome Months after, [illegible] the Place.

But I come to the dreadful Earthquake itſelf, a greater than which we read not of, in either Ancient, or Modern Hiſtory. It is here indeed, that I can neither give myſelf, nor others, the Satisfaction I could wiſh, there being ſo many little Places, and even ſome conſiderable Towns deſtroyed, where there are no Inhabitants left to give us an Account of the Manner how theſe Places were ſwallowed up: ſo that, of theſe, we can have no other Narrative,

rative, but what People at a Diſtance, and in a Hurry themſelves, for Fear of ſinking into the ſame Ruin, have been able to give us.

This Earthquake diffuſed itſelf into all theſe three Diſtricts, or Diviſions, into which the Iſland of *Sicily* is ordinarily divided; which are, 1. *Valli di Noto*, comprehending principally the Eaſtern Parts of the Iſland. 2. *Mazara*, containing the Weſtern and Southern Parts; and, 3. *Mono*, which confines itſelf to the North and North-Eaſt Parts of the Iſland. The greateſt Shaking reached, from Mount *Ætna*, all along to Cape *Paſſaro*, the *Pachynus* of the Ancients. In all this vaſt Tract of Land, nothing ſtood the Shock, but all fell under the Weight of a general Ruin.

It was on the Seventh of *January*, 1693, about Ten at Night, that Mount *Ætna* began to utter thoſe hideous Roarings, which commonly uſher in ſome Tragedy of the Nature of what followed. Thoſe loud Bellowings continued till the Ninth, when, about Twelve of the Clock, they began to ceaſe, or rather fall lower. Within an Hour after, the Inhabitants of *Catanea*, which was the next Town to the Mountain, began to perceive a Shaking under them, about three Minutes together. This did little other Hurt, than affright the People, and give them Fears of ſome further Hurt. It was remarkable, that, during the three Minutes this Shake continued, and an Hour before, there was not the leaſt Noiſe heard from Mount *Ætna*, but, within leſs than a Minute after the Shake was over, not only did the Noiſe redouble, infinitely more terrible than it had been before, but the whole Top of the Mountain appeared all in Flames, which, the Wind blowing from the Weſtward, carried with it a vaſt Quantity of burnt Aſhes, which have always been found to be the ordinary Attendants of thoſe flamy Irruptions. It is not certain how far this Shake of the Ninth diffuſed itſelf, but it is probable, that more or leſs of it was felt through moſt of the South Parts of this Iſland; for the Inhabitants of the Cities of *Mineo*, *Palaonia*, *Ragoſa*, and the Town of *Licodia*, felt all of them the ſame Shake, and at the very ſame Minute of the Day, as *Catanea* had done.

All this was but the Forerunner of the horrideſt Shake of all, which fell out on the Eleventh: This affected the whole Iſland, but very unequally; and, by the exacteſt Computation that can be made, the whole Period of it laſted not above ſix Minutes, from *Meſſina* Northwards, to Cape *Coio*, the fartheſt Point of *Sicily* to the South.

Catanea is thought to have been the firſt that fell under the Weight of this heavy Calamity: This City, which is as ancient as moſt in *Sicily*, ſeated in a pleaſant and rich Soil, inhabited by ſeveral of the Gentry thereabouts, endowed with an Univerſity, and containing about twenty-four Thouſand Souls, was ſunk out of Sight in a Moment. There happened ſome Fiſher-boats to be at that Time in the Bay that lies South of the Town, and within a League's Diſtance, who give an Account, That they ſaw the City ſink down, with the Noiſe, as it were, of ſome Thouſand Pieces of great Ordnance diſcharged all at once. After it was thus vaniſhed out of their Sight, the Fiſhermen ſay, That, ſome Minutes thereafter, to the Eaſtward, near where the City ſtood, there roſe up a little Mountain, which, lifting itſelf up ſeveral Times a conſiderable Height above the ordinary Level of the Ground thereabouts, ſunk at laſt likewiſe out of their Sight. The Fiſhermen do likewiſe declare, That, during all this horrid Tragedy, which they ſaw befal the City *Catanea*, they themſelves were every Moment expecting to be ſwallowed up in the Bay, by Reaſon of the ſtrange violent Agitations of the Sea; and ſcarce was this Heaving up of the imaginary Mountain on the South-ſide of *Catanea* over, but they felt the Sea calm. It is thought there have not eſcaped, of the Inhabitants of *Catanea*, above Two-thouſand in all: Thoſe, that eſcaped, came away either after the Shaking of the Ninth, or the Morning of the Eleventh; and the hideous Roaring of Mount *Ætna*, which uſes to be the Forerunner of ſome Calamity on that Side, gave them Warning to flee: But they were the better Sort of People only, that had the Opportunity to make ſo happy an Eſcape, the reſt falling under the univerſal Ruin. In the Place, where *Catanea* ſtood, appears now at a Diſtance a great Lake, with ſome great Heaps of Rubbiſh appearing here and there above the Water.

I had almoſt forgot one Circumſtance very remarkable, which the Fiſhermen, that were in the Bay of *Catanea*, at the Time of this laſt Shake, do poſitively affirm: They ſay, That both before, and ſome Minutes after the Earth-

quake

quake happened, Mount *Ætna* appeared more than ever in Flames, and the Noiſe was greater than it had been ſince its firſt Irruption of the Seventh. But, a few Minutes after *Catanea* was ſwallowed up, there was neither Flames to be ſeen, nor the leaſt Noiſe to be heard for the Space of five or ſix Hours together. And then the Mountain began a new again to roar and throw out Flames more duſkiſh and ſmoky than at any Time before.

The ſame Shake, that utterly deſtroyed *Catanea*, did lay in Heaps more than Half of *Saragoſa*, the ancient *Syracuſa*. This City, once the greateſt of *Sicily*, and if we will believe ſome ancient Hiſtorians, particularly *Strabo*, the largeſt once in the World, may contend with any in *Europe* for Antiquity, having been the Seat, for a great many Ages, of a flouriſhing Commonwealth, and the Scene of a great many warlike Actions. It retained ſtill ſome Marks of its ancient Greatneſs, and, with the Advantages of a rich Soil, and pleaſant Situation, and a ſtrong Caſtle to defend it, might contain about ſixteen-thouſand People. This ancient City ſuffered much by the Shake of the Ninth, moſt of the beſt Buildings, and the greateſt Part of the Caſtle being rent in ſeveral Places. Upon the Tenth at Night, it underwent another conſiderable Shake with a mighty Tempeſt of Wind, ſo that the great Bell in one of its Churches was heard ſeveral Times to make a Sound, through the violent Trembling of the Steeple. A great many were killed by the Fall of Houſes the Time this Shake and Tempeſt happened; and moſt that were able, or had the Opportunity, fled out of Town that Night, which was the Occaſion of their Safety.

But the Shake of the Eleventh brought with it a ſudden and inevitable Deſtruction, throwing down, in a Moment, more than two Parts in three of the whole City, and burying in its Rubbiſh above four Parts in Five of the People that were left. The leaſt Computation that can be made of the Loſs of the Inhabitants of it, is above Seven-thouſand, the reſt eſcaping, as I have ſaid, the Night before, and ſome Hundreds were digged out of the Ruins alive, but lame and bruiſed, ſo that few of them, it is thought, will recover. Moſt of the Magiſtrates, and People of beſt Faſhion, ran into the great Church for Shelter, where they met with Death by the Fall of the Stone Roof and the Steeple both together.

The City of *Noto* had yet a worſe Fate than *Syracuſa*, ſcarce any Part of it now ſtanding. This Place is one of the ancienteſt of *Sicily*, and once contended for the Preheminence with *Syracuſa* itſelf. It is ſituate on a very high Rock, almoſt inacceſſible on all Sides, but by one narrow Paſſage; having under the Cape *Paſſaro*, one of the beſt and largeſt Harbours of the whole Iſland, and being the Key of *Sicily* on that Side. The mighty Hardneſs of the Rock on which *Noto* ſtood, ſeemed to ſecure it from the Hazard of Earthquakes, but it felt that Shake on the Ninth, with more Violence than any other Place of the Iſland. That of the Eleventh laid it, in a Moment, in Heaps, the Manner whereof we cannot attain, by Reaſon none of the Inhabitants are left, but ſome few that left the Place on the Ninth. There is ſeen yet ſtanding a Part of the Church of a *Benedictine* Monaſtery, and ſcarce any more of the whole Town; the Inhabitants being computed about ſeven-thouſand Souls.

Auguſta, a City well ſituated, having a large Proſpect into the Sea, and adorned with very large and ſafe Harbours, a Place of good Trade for Corn: This Place ſuffered conſiderably by the Shake of the Ninth; many of the Inhabitants, to the Number of about Six-hundred, were bruiſed to Death with the Fall of the Houſes. On the Tenth, there was another Shake, which obliged moſt of the People of Note to betake themſelves to the Caſtle for their Security, which proved as unlucky to them, as the great Church had been to them of *Syracuſa*; for, there happening great Flaſhes of Lightning, which ſeemed to ſet the whole Heavens on fire, one of them fell on the Magazine of Powder kept there, and blew up the Caſtle and all the People within, amounting to about Eleven-hundred. The Shake on the Eleventh put an End to the Cataſtrophe, by overturning the Town, and burying the reſt of the Inhabitants in it; ſo that there ſcarce remains any Thing of the ancient *Auguſta*, but the Name. The Inhabitants were reckoned near Six-thouſand, of whom we have Account of none left.

Lentini, the ancient *Leontium*, famous for the beautiful Lake on which it ſtood, a Place of about three thouſand Families, and a Place of tolerable Trade by Fiſhing and Salt Mines, underwent the Misfortune of its Neighbour, and ancient Rival, *Syracuſa*. The Shake of the Eleventh reduced it to Aſhes, and it is not

known if any of the Inhabitants be ſaved. There are now to be ſeen ſeveral great Heaps of Earth in the Lake, where there was none before: And the Peaſants, who live on the other Side oppoſite to the Place where *Lentini* ſtood, have reported, That ſince this Earthquake, the Lake, which was formerly clear and limpid, and wonderfully ſtored with all Variety of Fiſh, is now become brackiſh, and of a ſalt and bituminous Taſte, and vaſt Number of Fiſh are found every Day dead upon the Shore.

Some better Fate had *Calatgirone*, a pretty Town, containing above ſeven thouſand People, and well built, moſt of hewn Stone. The Shake of the Ninth was very little perceptible there; and that of the Eleventh was much leſs than any where within ſome Miles of it. It was not ſo little, but that it overturned about the fifth Part of the Town, and two Monaſteries, and, it is thought, deſtroyed in all no fewer than two-thouſand Souls.

Mineo felt both the Shakes of the Ninth and the Eleventh, and there ſeemed but little Difference betwixt the Violence of either, or the Damage each did. At both Times ſeveral Houſes, and a pretty large Church, were overturned, and it is thought near four-thouſand of the Inhabitants are periſhed. It was remarkable, that the Time of the Shake of the Ninth, the Heavens about this Town were very ſerene, ſcarce a Cloud appearing above the Horizon: But that of the Eleventh was attended with a mighty Storm of Thunder, Lightning, and Hail, which laſted above ſix Hours together.

Monreal, commonly called *Morreal*, received ſome Damage in its Buildings, and ſome few of the Inhabitants periſhed by their Fall. The Shake of the Eleventh did greatly ſhatter the Cathedral Church, which is, indeed, one of the beautifulleſt Structures in the World. The Dome, which ſtands above the high Altar, fell, and cruſhed in Pieces four curious Pillars of Braſs, with ſeveral Statues of Saints of as good Workmanſhip as any in *Chriſtendom*. Neither was the Archbiſhop's Palace free, it being ſet on fire by Lightning, and a conſiderable Part of it burnt down.

Palermo, the Seat of the Viceroy, felt little or nothing of the Shake of the Ninth, though ſeveral ſmall Shakings they had had ſome Days before. But that of the Eleventh was almoſt as terrible as in any other Place, except *Catanea*, *Syracuſa*, and *Auguſta*. A great many Houſes were ſhattered, and ſome fell to the Ground. The Cathedral ſuffered extremely in its Roof, and a Church, belonging to the *Carmelite* Monaſtery, was totally deſtroyed. The Viceroy, with all his Family, and the Archbiſhop, retired a-board the Gallies in the Harbour, where, by the violent Motion of the Water, they expected every Moment to be ſwallowed up: Some Part of the great Mole built of Stone, that ſecures the Port, being ſhattered within a few Feet of their Galley. It is ſaid, there were not above one-hundred People in all killed at *Palermo*, and thoſe moſtly that lived in a Suburb built of Wood.

The Town of *Paſceni*, it is not known whether the Shake of the Ninth, or the Eleventh, deſtroyed it. It was a pretty Place, conſiſting of about two-hundred Families, and thoſe thought the richeſt of any little Town of *Sicily*, by Reaſon of the Goodneſs of its Wine and Silk exported thence to the Sea in conſiderable Quantities. Now there is not one ſingle Houſe left ſtanding, nor one ſingle Perſon ſaved. A new Lake takes up now that ſpacious Valley on the Eaſt-ſide of the Town, which was all, hitherto, covered with the beſt of Vines; and the Water thereof is of a blackiſh Colour, and a bituminous Taſte.

Patuzolo, a bigger Place than *Paſceni*, though not ſo happily ſituated, nor ſo rich, fell under the ſame Fate with it. None of the Inhabitants, for any Thing is yet known, were ſaved, the Number of which might probably amount to about one-thouſand People at leaſt.

Furla, a Town about the Bigneſs of *Paſceni*, and ſeated on a riſing Hill amidſt Quarries of Stone, much of the Nature of Marble, was Nothing more fortunate, we having no other Account of its Ruin, but what thoſe, who ſaw it at a Diſtance, could give. It may be worthy of Remark, That in ſeveral Parts of the Mountain about *Furla*, the Rocks, which formerly were almoſt as white as *Genoa* Marble, in the Chinks that the Earthquake made amongſt them, the Stones are now of a burnt Colour, as if Fire and Powder had been uſed to rent them aſunder. The Fountains of freſh Water, wherewith theſe Mountains abound, have loſt their Clearneſs, and have both a ſulphureous Smell and Taſte. The Inhabitants of *Furla* were reckoned to be near a thouſand Souls.

A Town much greater than any of the three laſt, *Sciorti*, ſituated in a pleaſant Valley, and

and a rich Soil, where the beſt Rock ſalt is digged, was likewiſe totally demoliſhed by the Shake of the Eleventh, and now nothing but vaſt Heaps of Rubbiſh; and, which is ſtrange, a Church belonging to a *Benedictine* Nunnery, yet intire, are to be ſeen, where *Sciorti* once ſtood. We know of none of the Inhabitants that have ſaved themſelves from this Calamity, and they are reckoned to amount to two-thouſand Souls.

The ſame Fate befel *Militello*, no inconſiderable Town, whereof the Inhabitants were eſteemed pretty rich, by the Means of one of the moſt conſiderable Manufacturies of Silk that was in *Sicily*. It is probable this Place was deſtroyed before the Shake of the Eleventh; for the Country People, who dwell on the neighbouring Ridge of Mountains, do affirm, that it was not to be ſeen upon the Eleventh in the Morning: But at what preciſe Time it was ſwallowed up, they cannot tell, ſeeing, for three Days before, they could not ſee ſo far as *Militello*, by Reaſon of a thick Fog, which continued from Twelve of the Clock of the eighth Day, till the Morning of the Eleventh. It is ſcarce to be imagined what a ſurpriſing Change this Place has undergone: For a conſiderable Part of the Mountain, that lay on the North-ſide of the Town, has been, through the Violence of the Earthquake, torn aſunder, and the one Half has overwhelmed the Town: There being a vaſt Chaſm now to be ſeen betwixt it, and the other Part of the Mountain that remained ſtill in its firſt Poſture. *Militello* might probably contain about ſix-thouſand People, whereof no one is left to give Tidings how its Calamity came about.

Lucchela had not altogether ſo bad a Fate as the former. This Place felt the Shake of the Ninth very ſeverely, inſomuch that a great Part of the Houſes fell by it. The Inhabitants over and above this, and ſome former Shakes, had another Prognoſtick of the Ruin that was coming on the Place, which influenced a conſiderable Number of them to leave the Town upon the Ninth at Night. There was an old Caſtle, which ſtood upon a riſing Ground, about two Miles from *Lucchela*, ſaid to have been built by the *Romans* in the Time of the *Punick* War. This Caſtle was, in the View of the People of *Lucchela*, ſwallowed up in a Moment, and no remaining Veſtige was to be ſeen where it ſtood; but, inſtead thereof, there guſhed up a prodigious Quantity of Waters, which, in a few Hours, made up a very conſiderable Lake where the Caſtle had ſtood. So that it is to the affrightful View of this Caſtle's being overturned, that more than the Half of the People of the Town owe their Safety, as having fled the Town upon Sight thereof. The reſt of the Town and Inhabitants were utterly deſtroyed on the Eleventh; and now there remains nothing but vaſt Heaps of Rubbiſh where the Town formerly ſtood. *Lucchela* might probably contain two-thouſand People, whereof near the Half are deſtroyed.

Palonia, a very pretty little Town, very well built, and endowed with one of the beautifulleſt Churches in the whole Iſland, felt ſeveral Shakes, of which thoſe of the Ninth and Eleventh were the moſt terrible. The Church was ſhattered in a thouſand Places; and the Dome was on the Eleventh thrown down, which broke the high Altar to Pieces, and cruſhed to Death ſome three-hundred People, with the Prieſt that was ſaying Maſs. There was little other Damage done in *Palonia*; moſt of the People having betaken themſelves to the Fields, upon the Accident that befel the Dome of the Church: So that the Loſs has not been ſo great, neither in the Fall of Houſes, nor Death of People, in *Palonia*, as it was in moſt other Towns about it.

Buchino, a conſiderable Village, eſcaped very near as well as the Town of *Palonia*, moſt of the Houſes being thrown down; but ſcarce any of the People killed, though ſome much bruiſed.

Seodia, a Burgh, about the Bigneſs of the other, was greatly ſhaken on the Eleventh, and about one-hundred and fifty People killed by the Fall of the Church in the Time of Maſs. Within a Mile of this Village, there was a Lake about two Miles about, and very deep. The Shake of the Ninth was ſeen clearly to occaſion the Leſſening of the Water of the Lake, ſo that it was dry for ſome Paces round the Banks. But ſo ſtrange was the Effect of the Shake of the Eleventh upon this Lake, that near the Midſt of it, there opened a large Chaſm, which ſwallowed up all the Water, and left the whole Channel dry Land, which continues ſo.

Another Village, called *Chiaramonte*, had yet a worſe Fate. The Shake of the Ninth ſhattered the Houſes; but that of the Eleventh

overturned them altogether, and buried the Inhabitants in their Ruins, which were computed to be between three and four Hundred.

Monteruſſo was conſiderably ſhaken, both on the Eleventh and Ninth; but the only Loſs of the People was of about two-hundred that fled into the Caſtle, ſtanding upon an Eminence for Shelter, who were, with the Caſtle itſelf, buried in the Ground, and the Place where it ſtood is now a Pool of Water of a briniſh Taſte.

The beautiful Town of *Vizzini* underwent a Fortune like that of *Catanea*. Scarce any Place ſeemed more ſecure from ſuch Accidents than it; for it lay on a riſing Hill, made up of nothing but hardeſt Stones, of the Nature of Marble; yet, on the Ninth, and ſome Days before, it felt ſeveral Shakes, which did no great Damage, by Reaſon of the Buildings being all of Stone. However, the Inhabitants began to fear the worſt, and moſt of the People of Quality and Faſhion went out of Town, and ſettled themſelves in Tents upon the Hill above the Town, But thinking the Hazard was over, as finding no Shakes all the Tenth, they returned Home on the Eleventh in the Morning, and within ſome Hours thereafter, they and the Town were ſwallowed up. The Inhabitants were reckoned to amount to three-thouſand five-hundred Souls.

The large Village of *Modica*, containing about one-thouſand four-hundred People, was ſo ſuddenly ſwallowed up on the Ninth, that no one Perſon eſcaped; and it was indeed the only Place of the whole Iſland, that received not its full Ruin by the Shake of the Eleventh. This was not the firſt Time that *Modica* has been laid in Heaps by Earthquakes; for within theſe hundred Years, it has twice changed its Seat; though, till now, the People were all ſo happy as to ſave themſelves, and to ſeek for new Seats.

Within two Miles of this Place, there runs a ſmall River along a very narrow and fruitful Valley, which in ſome Places admits of high Cataracts, through the great Inequality of the Channel. By the Shake of the Eleventh, there is a Hill thrown over, or rather athwart one of theſe Cataracts, for about twenty Paces Breadth, ſo that in that Place, the River is not to be ſeen, but creeps under the Hill, and comes out again in its own ordinary Channel below. The ſame Accident has happened to ſeveral Rivulets in *Sicily*; the Earth being torn from the Brink, and thrown over the Rivulet, as it were, in Form of a Vault, or natural Bridge.

The Village *Biſenti* felt all the Shakes that happened, but received no other Damage than the Fall of ſome of the Houſes, and the Bruiſing to Death of about a hundred Perſons.

Francofonte, a very pretty Town, and well inhabited, but built moſt of Timber, received little Damage by the Earthquake, though it ſhook down ſome Houſes; but what the Earthquake did not, the Lightning and Thunder did: For never was there ſeen ſo terrible a Storm of both theſe laſt, than *Francofonte* felt for three Days together. The Spire of the Steeple, which was built of Wood, and covered with Lead, was burnt down, and the Nunnery of the *Carmelites* was almoſt utterly deſtroyed, and that ſo ſuddenly, that five of the Nuns were ſtifled to Death in their Beds. If the Wind had been high, as it was not, certainly the whole Town had been burnt to Aſhes; but by Reaſon of the Calmneſs of the Wind, and the Care of the Inhabitants, there were not above twelve or fourteen Houſes burnt.

Carlontini, a Town of good Trade, and very well inhabited, was greatly ſhaken on the Ninth, ſeveral Houſes being thrown down, and the People buried in their Ruins. On the Tenth, the Biſhop and Magiſtrates exhorted the Inhabitants to remove out of the Town to the Fields, for even then were ſome ſmall Tremblings of the Earth felt almoſt every half Hour. The People began to get out of Town on the Tenth, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, and moſt were gone with the beſt Things they could carry with them; when the Shake of the Eleventh overturned the whole Town in a Moment, with what remained of the Inhabitants. The Place might contain about four-thouſand People, and, it is thought, about a ſixth Part have periſhed in the Earthquake.

There ſcarce can be found in any Part of the World a more beautiful Town than *Raguſa*: Its Situation, Buildings, Churches, Monaſteries, and Territories about it, combine to make it a Sort of terreſtrial Paradiſe. It felt a great many ſmall Shakings on the Eighth, with a mighty Tempeſt of Lightning and Thunder. The Shake of the Ninth did ſome, but

but no great Hurt; but that of the Eleventh overturned the Town-houſe, a very ſuperb Edifice, two Churches, and a great many Houſes. One Street, the biggeſt of the Town, and inhabited by the beſt Merchants and Tradeſmen of the Place, was overwhelmed in leſs than the Second of a Minute, the Earth ſinking down, and leaving a vaſt Chaſm where the Street was. One of the Churches ſunk after the Manner the Street had done, but the other fell down. It is not yet known how many People periſhed in *Raguſa*; but the leaſt Calculation that has been made of them, amounts to eight-thouſand Souls, of whom the Citizens of the beſt Quality make up a great Part of the Number. There are to be ſeen from the Brink of the Chaſm I mentioned, the Tops of ſome of the Houſes, a great Way below the Superfice of the Ground; and out of this Cavity there comes a ſulphureous Smell, like to choak any Body that comes near it. One of the Churches that are ruined was that of *Sancta Barbara*, famous through all *Sicily*, for the Miracles done at the Shrine of that Saint, and in which was ſome of the beſt Sculpture, eſpecially that of the Altar-piece, that could be ſeen in any Place of the Chriſtian World.

The Town of *Scodia* felt the Shakes of the Ninth and Eleventh, as fiercely as any. Yet, which was ſtrange, the Town itſelf received no Damage; but the Biſhop's Palace, a very beautiful and new Building, was overturned on the Ninth, and about twenty-four Perſons periſhed in its Ruins. The Biſhop had not gone out but an Hour before, having held a Meeting of his Diocele in the Chapel of his Palace in the Morning, ſo that he and they were all ſaved.

Specafurno, a Town of a conſiderable Bigneſs, lying on the South-ſide of a Hill, all planted with Vineyards, and very well inhabited, fell under the common Calamity. The Shake of the Ninth did it but little Hurt, only the Convent of the *Capuchins* was deſtroyed; but all the Tenth, from Morning till Night, there never was heard ſo violent a Storm of Thunder and Lightning, as if Heaven and Earth had been mixing together. By the Lightning, the Town-houſe, a very regular Building, was burnt down to the Ground, with ſeveral other Houſes. Some few of the Inhabitants fled out of the Town on the Tenth at Night, and ſo eſcaped the Deſtruction that befel the reſt upon the Eleventh. That Shake brought over the whole Town in a Moment's Time; and there now remains nothing but vaſt Heaps of Rubbiſh where *Specafurno* ſtood. To the South-ſide of the Town, about a Mile, there lies a very pleaſant freſh Water Lake, abounding with Fiſh, which now is almoſt all dry Land; only what Water remains in one End of it, is of a briniſh Taſte, and of a black Colour, the Fiſh being all dead on the Shore. It is remarked by the Peaſants that live on the Hills about this Town, that the Thunder and Lightning which happened on the Tenth, has ſo far burnt all the Vines, that they expect no Grapes to grow on them next Year: Not only ſo, but they ſmell a Sort of ſulphureous Smell, and feel a Kind of a bituminous Dew upon the Ground all thereabout. The People that periſhed in *Specafurno*, are computed to amount to three-thouſand five-hundred, at leaſt, there being about three-hundred only that ſaved themſelves by a timely Flight the Day before.

Sicily could not brag of a better built Town, and a Place of better Trade, conſidering its Diſtance from the Sea, than the Town of *Scichilo* was. This Place ſeemed to be deſigned by Nature to fall by an Earthquake, for within theſe fifty Years, it has been in Hazard eight Times. Five Years ago it had a very conſiderable Shake, which damaged ſeveral of the Houſes, and overturned a Church dedicated to St. *Roch*. But all this was nothing to what befel it in this laſt Earthquake. The Trembling of the Earth began to be felt on the Eighth at Night, and within twenty-four Hours Time, there ſucceeded above twenty Shakes one after another, the laſt ſtill exceeding the firſt in Violence. At laſt, the Shake of the Eleventh, inſtead of overturning the Town, as in moſt other Places, the Earth here ſunk down, and in leſs than two Moments, the Town vaniſhed out of Sight. In its Room, there is now a ſtinking Pool of Water, where the Dome of the Church of St. *Stephen*, with a Part of the Steeple of St. *Salvator*, ſtands above the Water. It is thought there was no one ſaved of all the Inhabitants of this pleaſant Town; and they were calculated to be about the Number of ſix or ſeven-thouſand Souls.

There ſtood a very ſtrong Caſtle, built after the *Gothick* Faſhion, on the Eaſt-ſide of the

the Town, belonging to the Family of *Cantelmi*; it is now all in Heaps, and about thirty People buried alive in them.

Cefamero, a Village, containing about two-hundred Houſes, and ſeated on a riſing Ground, was much ſhaken on the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth; but the Shake of the Eleventh overturned the Church, whither moſt of the People had fled for Shelter, and to implore the Aid of St. *Catharine* of *Sienna*, whoſe Chapel there was held in the greateſt Reverence; they were all cruſhed to Death with the Fall of the Roof, being of Lead, and little other Damage done in the Village itſelf. It is thought there were near two-hundred People periſhed in the Church, and about twenty in the Village.

Santo Croce, another Village, ſomething bigger than *Cefamero*, was as ill ſhaken as the other, though there were not ſo many People killed. The Church here ſtands intire, and only the Houſes that were made of Timber have ſuffered, and, in them, near a Hundred of the Inhabitants, the reſt having fled to the Fields without the Town.

The little Town of *Giamontano* was greatly ſhaken on the Eleventh, that whole Quarter, that lay neareſt the River, being quite overturned, and all the People killed; the reſt of the Town eſcaped, only a ſmall Hoſpital, near the South-gate, was ſunk into the Ground, with the People in it, which might amount to Forty. Thoſe that periſhed in the Quarter neareſt the River, were about three-hundred and fifty Souls.

The Tower of *Licodia* underwent very near the ſame Fate. All the Houſes of Timber were overwhelmed by the Shake of the Eleventh, and in them about three-hundred of the Inhabitants. The Houſes of Stone ſtand yet, though much ſhattered, and the Dome of the Church was burnt down by Lightning the Day before. There is one Thing more remarkable fallen out near this Town: About a Mile and a half from it, there is a pretty high ſteep Hill, famous for Pine-trees of a vaſt Bigneſs, that grow upon it: The Lightning and Thunder has burnt down and ſcorched moſt of thoſe Trees, and on the Top of the Hill there is a *Vulcano* opened, out of which there aſcends conſtantly a very thick Smoke, which is the more ſtrange, in that there was no ſuch Thing heard of in that Part of *Sicily* before.

Jaci, a very big Town, was greatly ſhattered, eſpecially in the Fall of two Churches on the Ninth, the Time of Divine Service. Many of the Houſes of the Town were overturned on the Eleventh, together with two Convents; and particularly that of the *Minims*, where was kept St. *Peter*'s Net, in which he took that vaſt Quantity of Fiſh mentioned in the Goſpel. By the Fall of the Houſes and Churches, there periſhed in all about Two-thouſand People, whereof more than the half died by the Fall of the two Churches.

La Motta, a Village, the moſt famous of the whole Iſland, and the ordinary Retirement in the Summer-time of the Citizens of *Palermo*, was totally overturned on the Ninth, and now there remains no Veſtige of it, a ſalt Pool ſucceeding in its Place. The Inhabitants were reckoned to be about two-hundred People.

The laſt Place of *Sicily* I ſhall name, that felt this Earthquake, was *Meſſina*, a City of great Trade, ſuperb Buildings, and great Riches. The Shake of the Ninth was here felt ſo ſenſibly, that it ſtruck a Terror into the Inhabitants, and more than half of them forſook the City, and betook themſelves to the Fields. Thoſe that remained betook themſelves to their Devotions, and all the Churches were thronged with the Multitudes of People, young and old, that flocked to them. The Archbiſhop of *Meſſina* had ordered forty-eight Hours Prayers to be ſaid through the whole City, and ſeveral Relicks to be carried in Proceſſion, to appeaſe the Wrath of Heaven. On the Eleventh, the whole City was ſo terribly ſhaken, that twenty-ſix Palaces were overturned, and a great many of the Timber-Houſes. Every body expected immediate Death, and, in vaſt Multitudes, run to the Cathedral, where the Archbiſhop of *Meſſina* preached, and ſaid Maſs, and thereafter gave Abſolution, as did all the Prieſts through the reſt of the City by the Archbiſhop's Command. After Abſolution given, every body made the beſt of the Way they could to eſcape from the common Danger, and betook themſelves to the Fields, where they were not out of Hazard through the Violence of the Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, that continued three Days together. The Archbiſhop retired with the reſt, and, at laſt, the People did ſet up Tents to protect them from the Injuries of the Weather. There are but few People killed in *Meſſina*, but moſt of the

the Churches are ſhattered more or leſs, and the Chapel of the Archbiſhop's Palace overturned.

This mighty Stroke of God was not only on the Land, but was felt alſo on the Sea. For ſeveral Ships and ſmaller Veſſels were drowned all along the Coaſt of the Iſland, and even in Harbours, by the violent Agitation of the Water. Neither was there ever ſeen ſo high, and ſo impetuous a Tide as that of the Tenth, being above three Feet higher in moſt Parts, than ever was heard of before.

In ſhort, a more aſtoniſhing, a more univerſal, or a more ſwift Deſtruction, was never known. And *Sicily*, that was one of the beautifulleſt, richeſt, and fruitfulleſt Iſlands in the World, is now a Heap of Rubbiſh, and a continued Deſolation.

It is impoſſible to make a Computation of the immenſe Loſſes of Money, Merchandiſe, Houſes and Lands. It may modeſtly be computed to at leaſt ſix Millions of Ducats; and it will take an Age to repair the Damages it has made. The Number of the Inhabitants, that periſhed in this affrightful Calamity, may be ſafely reckoned to come to one-hundred and twenty-thouſand Souls, over and above a vaſt Number bruiſed by the Fall of Churches and Houſes, whereof many are dead ſince, and ſome continue yet in Hazard, which may amount to twenty-thouſand more.

This terrible Earthquake has communicated itſelf to the Iſland of *Maltha* on the one Side, and to *Calabria* on the other; and the Deſolations, it has made in both thoſe Places, are very great.

A Letter from Sir *Henry Sidney*, to his Son, Sir *Philip Sidney*, conſiſting of Rules, in his Conduct in Life. *MS.*

Son *Philip*,

I Have received two Letters from you, the one written in *Latin*, the other in *French*, which I take in good Part, and will you to exerciſe that Practice of Learning often, for it will ſtand you in Stead, in that Profeſſion of Life which you are born to live in; and now, ſince that this is my firſt Letter that ever I did write to you, I will not, that it be all empty of ſome Advices, which my natural Care of you provoketh me to with you, to follow as Documents to you in this tender Age. Let your firſt Action be the Lifting up of your Hands and Mind to Almighty God, by hearty Prayer, and feelingly digeſt the Words you ſpeak in Prayer with continual Meditations and Thinking of him to whom you pray, and uſe this at an ordinary Hour, whereby, the Time itſelf will put you in Remembrance to do that Thing which you are accuſtomed in that Time.

2.

Apply your Study ſuch Hours as your diſcreet Maſter doth aſſign you earneſtly, and the Time I know he will ſo limit, as ſhall be both ſufficient for your Learning, and ſafe for your Health; and mark the Senſe and Matter of that you read, as well as the Words; ſo ſhall you both inrich your Tongue with Words, and your Wit with Matter; and Judgment will grow, as Years grow on you.

3.

Be humble and obedient to your Maſter, for unleſs you frame yourſelf to obey, yea, and to feel in yourſelf what Obedience is, you ſhall never be able to teach others, how to obey you hereafter.

4.

Be courteous of Geſture, and affable to all Men with Univerſality of Reverence, according to the Dignity of the Perſon; there is nothing that winneth ſo much with ſo little Coſt.

5.

Uſe moderate Diet, ſo as after your Meat you may find your Wit freſher, and not duller;

ler; and your Body more lively, and not more heavy.

6.

Seldom drink Wines, and yet ſometimes do, leſt being forced to drink upon the ſudden, you ſhould find yourſelf inflamed.

7.

Uſe Exerciſe of Body, but ſuch as is without Peril of your Bones or Joints; it will much increaſe your Force, and inlarge your Breath.

8.

Delight to be cleanly, as well in all Parts of your Body, as in your Garments; it ſhall make you grateful in each Company, and otherwiſe loathſome.

9.

Give yourſelf to be merry, for you degenerate from your Father, if you find not yourſelf moſt able in Wit and Body to do any Thing, when you be moſt merry; but let your Mirth be ever void of all Scurrility and biting Words to any Man, for a Wound given by a Word is harder to be cured than that which is given by a Sword.

10.

Be you rather a Hearer and Bearer away of other Men's Talk than a Beginner, or Procurer of Speech, otherwiſe you will be accounted to delight to hear yourſelf ſpeak.

11.

Be modeſt in each Aſſembly, and rather be rebuffed of light Fellows for a maiden Shamefacedneſs, than of your ſober Friends, for pert Boldneſs.

12.

Think upon every Word you will ſpeak before you utter it, and remember how Nature hath, as it were, rampired up the Tongue with Teeth, Lips, yea, and Hair without the Lips, and all betoken Reins and Bridles to the Reſtraining the Uſe of that Member.

13.

Above all Things tell no Untruth, no not in Triflès, the Cuſtom of it is naught; and let it not ſatisfy you, that the Hearers for a Time take it for a Truth, for afterwards it will be known as it is to Shame, and there cannot be a greater Reproach to a Gentleman than to be accounted a Lyar.

14.

Study and endeavour yourſelf to be virtuouſly occupied, ſo ſhall you make ſuch a Habit of well doing, as you ſhall not know how to do Evil though you would.

15.

Remember, my Son, the noble Blood you are deſcended of by your Mother's Side, and think, that only by a virtuous Life, and good Actions, you may be an Ornament to your illuſtrious Family, and otherwiſe through Vice and Sloth you may be eſteemed *Labes Generis*, one of the greateſt Curſes that can happen to a Man; well my little *Philip*, this is enough for me, and I fear too much for you at this Time, but yet if I find that this light Meat of Digeſtion do nouriſh any Thing the weak Stomach of your young Capacity, I will, as I find the ſame grow ſtronger, feed it with tougher Food. Farewel; your Mother and I ſend you our Bleſſing, and Almighty God grant you his; nouriſh you with his Fear, guide you with his Grace, and make you a good Servant to your Prince and Country.

Your loving Father,

Henry Sidney.

A true

A true Copy of the Petition of the Gentlewomen, and Tradeſmen's Wives, in and about the City of *London*, delivered to the honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, aſſembled in Parliament, on *February* the Fourth, 1641; together with their ſeveral Reaſons, why their Sex ought thus to petition, as well as the Men; and the Manner how both their Petitions and Reaſons were delivered: Likewiſe the Anſwer, which the honourable Aſſembly ſent to them, by Mr. *Pym*, as they ſtood at the Houſe-Door. *London*, printed for *J. Wright*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

To the Honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, aſſembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of the Gentlewomen, Tradeſmen's Wives, and many others of the Female Sex, all Inhabitants of the City of London, *and the Suburbs thereof.*

With loweſt Submiſſion ſhewing,

THAT we alſo, with all thankful Humility, acknowledging the unwearied Pains, Care, and great Charge, beſides Hazard of Health and Life, which you, the noble Worthies of this honourable and renowned Aſſembly have undergone, for the Safety both of Church and Commonwealth, for a long Time already paſt; for which not only we your humble Petitioners, and all well affected in this Kingdom, but alſo all other good Chriſtians are bound now and at all Times to acknowledge; yet, notwithſtanding that many worthy Deeds have been done by you, great Danger and Fear do ſtill attend us, and will, as long as Popiſh Lords and ſuperſtitious Biſhops are ſuffered to have their Voice in the Houſe of Peers, and that accurſed and abominable Idol of the Maſs ſuffered in the Kingdom, and that Arch-enemy of our Proſperity and Reformation lieth in the *Tower*, yet not receiving his deſerved Puniſhment.

All theſe, under Correction, give us a great Cauſe to ſuſpect, that God is angry with us, and to be the chief Cauſes, why your pious Endeavours for a further Reformation proceed not with that Succeſs, as you deſire, and is moſt earneſtly prayed for, of all that wiſh well to true Religion, and the flouriſhing Eſtate, both of King and Kingdom; the Inſolencies of the Papiſts and their Abettors raiſeth a juſt Fear and Suſpicion of ſowing Sedition, and breaking out into bloody Perſecution in this Kingdom, as they have done in *Ireland*, the Thoughts of which ſad and barbarous Events make our tender Hearts to melt within us, forcing us humbly to petition to this honourable Aſſembly, to make ſafe Proviſion, for yourſelves and us, before it be too late.

And whereas we, whoſe Hearts have joined chearfully with all thoſe Petitions, which have been exhibited unto you, in the Behalf of the Purity of Religion, and the Liberty of our Huſbands, Perſons, and Eſtates, recounting ourſelves to have an Intereſt in the common Privileges with them, do with the ſame Confidence aſſure ourſelves to find the ſame gracious Acceptance with you, for Eaſing of thoſe Grievances, which, in regard of our frail Condition, do more nearly concern us, and do deeply terrify our Souls; our Domeſtical Dangers, with which this Kingdom is ſo much diſtracted, eſpecially growing on us, from thoſe treacherous and wicked Attempts, already are ſuch, as we find ourſelves to have as deep a Share, as any others.

We cannot but tremble at the very Thoughts of the horrid and hideous Facts, which Modeſty forbids us now to name, occaſioned by the bloody Wars in *Germany*; his Majeſty's late Northern Army, how often did it affright our Hearts, whilſt their Violence began to break out ſo furiouſly, upon the Perſons of thoſe, whoſe Huſbands or Parents were not able to reſcue? We wiſh we had no Cauſe to ſpeak of thoſe Inſolencies, and ſavage Uſage and unheard of Rapes, exerciſed upon our Sex in *Ireland*; and have we not juſt Cauſe to fear, they will prove the Fore-runners of our Ruin, except Almighty God, by the Wiſdom and Care of this Parliament, be pleaſed to ſuccour us? Our Huſbands and Children, which are as dear and tender unto us, as the Lives and Blood of our Hearts, to ſee them murdered and mangled, and cut in Pieces before our Eyes; to ſee our Children daſhed againſt the Stones, and the Mothers Milk mingled with the Infants Blood, running down the Streets; to ſee our Houſes, on flaming Fire, over our Heads: Oh how dreadful would this be! We thought it Miſery enough, though Nothing to that we have juſt Cauſe to fear, but few Years ſince, for ſome of our Sex, by unjuſt Diviſions from their Boſom Comforts, to be rendered, in a Manner, Widows, and the Children, Fatherleſs; Huſbands were impriſoned from the Society of their Wives, even againſt the Laws of God and Nature, and little Infants ſuffered in their Fathers Baniſhments: Thouſands of our deareſt Friends have been compelled to fly from Epiſcopal Perſecutions, into deſert Places, amongſt wild Beaſts, there finding more Favour than in their native Soil; and in the midſt of all their Sorrows ſuch hath the Pity of the Prelates been, that our Cries could never enter into their Ears or Hearts, nor yet, through Multitudes of Obſtructions, could never have Acceſs, or come nigh to thoſe Royal Mercies of our moſt gracious Sovereign, which we confidently hope would have relieved us; but, after all theſe Preſſures ended, we humbly ſignify, that our preſent Fears are, that unleſs the bloodthirſty Faction of the Papiſts and Prelates be hindered in their Deſigns, ourſelves here in *England*, as well as they in *Ireland*, ſhall be expoſed to that Miſery, which is more intolerable than that which is already paſt, as namely, to the Rage, not of Men alone, but of Devils incarnate, as we may ſo ſay, beſides the Thraldom of our Souls and Conſciences, in Matters concerning God, which of all Things are moſt dear unto us.

Now, the Remembrance of all theſe fearful Accidents afore-mentioned do ſtrongly move us, from the Example of the Woman of *Tekoa*, to fall ſubmiſſively, at the Feet of his Majeſty, our dread Sovereign, and cry, Help O King, Help, O ye, the noble Worthies, now ſitting in Parliament: And we humbly beſeech you, that you will be a Means to his Majeſty, and the Houſe of Peers, that they will be pleaſed to take our Heart-breaking Grievances into timely Conſideration, and add Strength and Encouragement to your noble Endeavours; and, further, that you would move his Majeſty, with our humble Requeſts, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed, according to the Example of the good King *Aſa*, to purge both the Court and Kingdom of that great idolatrous Service of the Maſs, which is tolerated in the Queen's Court; this Sin, as we conceive, is able to draw down a greater Curſe upon the whole Kingdom, than all your noble and pious Endeavours can prevent, which was the Cauſe, that the good and pious King *Aſa* would not ſuffer Idolatry in his own Mother; whoſe Example, if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty's gracious Goodneſs to follow, in putting down Popery and Idolatry, both in great and ſmall, in Court and in the Kingdom throughout, to ſubdue the Papiſts, and their Abettors, and by taking away the Power of the Prelates, whoſe Government, by long and woeful Experience we have

have found to be againſt the Liberty of our Conſcience, and the Freedom of the Goſpel, and the ſincere Profeſſion and Practice thereof, then ſhall our Fears be removed, and we may expect, that God will pour down his Bleſſings, in Abundance, both upon his Majeſty, and upon this honourable Aſſembly, and upon the whole Land.

For which your new Petitioners

Shall pray affectionately, &c.

The Reaſons follow:

IT may be thought ſtrange, and unbeſeeming our Sex, to ſhew ourſelves, by Way of Petition, to this Honourable Aſſembly; but the Matter being rightly conſidered, of the Right and Intereſt we have, in the common and publick Cauſe of the Church, it will, as we conceive, under Correction, be found a Duty commanded and required.

Firſt, Becauſe Chriſt hath purchaſed us, at as dear a Rate, as he hath done Men; and therefore requireth the like Obedience for the ſame Mercy, as of Men.

Secondly, Becauſe in the free Enjoying of Chriſt, in his own Laws, and a flouriſhing Eſtate of the Church and Commonwealth, conſiſteth the Happineſs of Women, as well as Men.

Thirdly, Becauſe Women are Sharers in the common Calamities, that accompany both Church and Commonwealth, when Oppreſſion is exerciſed, over the Church or Kingdom, wherein they live, and an unlimited Power hath been given to the Prelates, to exerciſe Authority over the Conſciences of Women, as well as Men; witneſs *Newgate*, *Smithfield*, and other Places of Perſecution, wherein Women, as well as Men, have felt the Smart of their Fury.

Neither are we left without Example in Scripture, for when the State of the Church, in the Time of King *Ahaſuerus*, was, by the bloody Enemies thereof, ſought to be utterly deſtroyed; we find that *Eſther* the Queen and her Maids faſted and prayed, and that *Eſther* petitioned to the King, in the Behalf of the Church; and though ſhe enterpriſed this Duty, with the Hazard of her own Life, it being contrary to the Law, to appear before the King, before ſhe were ſent for; yet her Love to the Church carried her through all Difficulties, to the Performance of that Duty.

On which Grounds, we are emboldened to preſent our humble Petition unto this honourable Aſſembly, not regarding the Reproaches, which may, and are by many caſt upon us, who do, well weighing the Premiſſes, ſcoff and deride our good Intent. We do it, not out of any Self-conceit, or Pride of Heart, as ſeeking to equal ourſelves with Men, either in Authority or Wiſdom; but according to our Places, to diſcharge that Duty we owe to God, and the Cauſe of the Church, as far as lieth in us, following herein the Example of the Men, which have gone in this Duty, before us.

A Relation of the Manner how it was delivered, with their Anſwer, ſent by Mr. Pym.

THIS Petition, with their Reaſons, was delivered the Fourth of *February*, 1641, by Mrs. *Anne Stagg*, a Gentlewoman, and Brewer's Wife, and many others with her, of like Rank and Quality; which when they had delivered, after ſome Time ſpent, in Reading of it, the honourable Aſſembly ſent them an Anſwer by Mr. *Pym*, which was performed in this Manner.

Mr. *Pym* came to the Common's-door, and called for the Women, and ſpoke unto them, in theſe Words: Good Women, your Petition and the Reaſons have been read in the Houſe, and is thankfully accepted of, and is come in a ſeaſonable Time.

You ſhall, God willing, receive from us all the Satisfaction, which we can poſſibly give to your juſt and lawful Deſires. We intreat you to

to repair to your Houſes, and turn your Petition, which you have delivered here, into Prayers at Home for us; for we have been, are, and ſhall be, to our utmoſt Power, ready to relieve you your Huſbands and Children, and to perform the Truſt committed unto us, towards God, our King, and Country, as becometh faithful Chriſtians and loyal Subjects.

The Quakers Remonſtrance to the Parliament, *&c.* touching the Popiſh Plot, and Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Murder. Much of which being not unſeaſonable at this Juncture, it is now reprinted: As alſo to ſhew, that the Quakers were formerly as zealous againſt Popery, as any others; notwithſtanding they have ſo much appeared to the Contrary of late. Licenſed, the Fifteenth of *June*, 1689. *London*, printed 1689, and ſold at ſeveral Bookſellers. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

IT is not a Time now to diſpute, but to act, and that vigorouſly too, or *England*'s loſt. Popery, that Enemy to God, by ſetting up Idols; to Chriſt, by its new-found Mediators; to the Holy Ghoſt, by putting a Pope in his Place; to the Scriptures, by its Legends and corrupt Traditions; to Reaſon, by its impoſed Abſurdities; to common Senſe, by its moſt fooliſh, but moſt idoliſed Tranſubſtantiation; to all tender diſſenting Conſciences, by Fire and Faggot; and to all Civil Governments, that refuſe to be ſubject to it, by Plots, Aſſaſſinations, and horrid Maſſacres, its uſual and notorious Steps to worldly Advancement. This monſtrous Popery, this common Enemy to Mankind, that hath ſo often contrived our Ruin, and ſeveral Times been at the very Point of effecting it, has once more attempted us, and with that Violence and Deſign, that it looks like the laſt Time: Nay, the great Sticklers of it are got within our Works, and promiſe themſelves the Gariſon; becauſe, they ſay, they have Friends in Diſguiſe among us. It is true, they have loſt ſome Men in the Attempt, but they are not much daunted at that; for the whole Papal World, they brag, have conſpired their Succeſs, and the Air rings with the Thouſands of Maſſes, that are daily ſaid for the Proſperity of the Deſign, as if their Intention were to convert the World, and not to kill the King, garble the Parliament, ſhamble all good and ſober Proteſtants of every Party, fire and plunder Cities, and, finally, change the Government and Religion of the Kingdom, which is the Plot.

Nor will the more Impudent of them deny the Thing in General, but much the Contrary, inſulting to us with *Tertullian*'s *Implevimus omnia* againſt the old *Pagans*. We fill your Courts, your Armies, your Navies, it muſt take, you cannot avoid it; it is a juſt Cauſe to extirpate Hereticks, Root and Branch.

But one (and may be the worſt) Part of the Plot has failed them; they reſolved to ſurpriſe you, to make a Night's Work of it, to let you and your's never ſee Day more (for ſuch Deeds become Darkneſs) as they did in *France* and *Ireland*, in thoſe moſt bloody Maſſacres of poor harmleſs Proteſtants. But God, the infinitely good and gracious God, that hath always watched over this poor Iſland, an hundred Times deſigned to Deſtruction, and whoſe Eye pierceth through the Secrets of Men, hath, notwithſtanding the Greatneſs, as well as Multitude of our Sins (not to be equalled by any Thing but his Patience and Compaſſion) diſcovered this impious Conſpiracy,

cy, we hope, too early for the Plotters Purpoſe; he has beaten up our Quarters, and given us the Alarm, if we will take it; methinks we ſhould, when the Noiſe of Fire and Sword is in our Ears; when we cannot walk the Streets without Danger of being ſtabbed, nor ſleep in our Houſes for Fear of being burned; witneſs the dreadful Fire of *London*, the Fire of *Southwark*, and that, the other Day, of *Limehouſe*, where three poor Souls were burned quick, to ſay nothing of forty Attempts they have made in other Places. To which let me add the Deſign, in general, of maſſacring all the beſt People in the Kingdom, begun, and amply confirmed, in the moſt barbarous Murder of that worthy Knight, and judicious Magiſtrate, Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; and here I muſt ſtay a While. Murder is a great Sin againſt God and our Neighbour; But, alas! what induced them to it here? Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was one of the mildeſt Men to theſe bloody Papiſts, that was in Commiſſion for the Peace; for, though he hated Arbitrary Power, and Popery, as the Cauſe or Effect of it, yet a Man for a due Liberty to all ſober People, pretending Tenderneſs of Conſcience, and ſaved them from many a Pinch on that Score; hoping, as many more did, that, after an hundred Years Experience, Intermarriages, Converſation, and large Indulgence, they were grown wiſer, if not more Chriſtian, than to cut their Way to Government through Blood, and kill for Religion; (pardon me the Uſe of the Word about Popery, that has nothing of Religion, but the Name) but Gratitude reſtrains not Men of this Stamp, their Principle knows no Kindred, no Obedience, no Obligation, that ſtands in the Way of their conſpired Dominion. Well, but was it that they would be revenged of him, for having Courage, Courage I ſay, as the World goes, to take Depoſitions, upon Oath, of their deviliſh Plot? But where is the Crime here, which can properly give their Act the Term of Revenge, ſince Examination is neither Judgment nor Execution? Even a Saint is not injured to be examined, much leſs a Papiſt: Innocency gets on Trial, if falſly accuſed; but that is not the Caſe, for Truth ſeeks no Corners, nor yet Ditches to lay a murdered Man in, after having ſtrangled him in the Houſe for the Purpoſe. What then can be the plain *Engliſh* of the Buſineſs but this, that they concluded, his former Kindneſs, thus abuſed, would for ever diſingage him for the future; and that, ſince he could not be prevailed upon to ſtifle the Evidence he had, and might yet have produced (for he acknowledged to ſome, he had been both tampered with and menaced) they would ſtrangle him; which is ſuch a Demonſtration, that their Folly, as well as Malice, hath given of the Whole to be true, that none can now deny it to be a Plot, but thoſe that are of it, or will loſe by the Diſcovery.

But ſome ſay, He killed himſelf. That is a likely Buſineſs indeed; For what I pray? a ſober, charitable, judicious Man. O, but he was melancholy; that is, he was a ſerious Man. But why now more melancholy than ever? Becauſe he had wronged the innocent Papiſts. Is that it? Where is the Wrong? Is it, That he heard what Perſons, upon Oath, declared of the moſt horrid Conſpiracy that ever was on Foot in the World, but the Murdering of the Son of God? But, be this Depoſition true or falſe, it was his Duty and Place to take it, he was ſworn to do it, it was a great, and the beſt Part of his Office; he had deſerved a Plotter's Puniſhment to have refuſed the Thing. Here is no Virulency, Suborning of Evidence, Condemning, or Murdering them, in all this. Where is the Sin then, that ſhould trouble his Conſcience? But they, that will murder, will lye to cover it.

Beſides, it is plain that he was ſtrangled, and his Neck broke before ſtabbed, becauſe he could neither ſtrangle himſelf, nor break his Neck, after he was ſtabbed through his Heart, nor ſtab himſelf after he was ſtrangled, and his Neck broke: Moreover, had he been ſtabbed before dead, or ſoon after, Blood would have appeared on the Hilt of his Sword on which he lay, or on the Ground, it being a dry Place, or on his Cloaths; but no Blood was to be ſeen, and when the Sword was drawn out of his Body, which his Murderers put in to palliate the Butchery, nothing iſſued from him but a dark Water, as is uſual, where Blood is congealed, as his doubtleſs was, before he was ſtabbed; for, we are of Opinion, there was a good Time betwixt ſtrangling and ſtabbing him, and that the latter was upon great Deliberation, and that on Purpoſe to hide the Actors, and caſt the Murder upon himſelf. O Lord God! that ever Men ſhould be ſo much

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the Children of the Devil, as firſt to murder, then charge it upon the innocent Soul murdered. But the Devil was ever a Fool, and ſo in this; for, beſides what we have obſerved, this further is to be ſaid, they that killed him would have us think it was himſelf, becauſe neither Cloaths, nor Money, nor Rings, were taken away. True, but though they that are concerned in the Plot wanted neither his Cloaths, nor Money, nor Rings, to carry it on, yet they took what they wanted, and they wanted what they took with a Witneſs, and that was his Pocket-book of Depoſitions and Examinations; which puts it out of Doubt, that they, that were ſo much concerned in them, both murdered him and took it; for none can think that Father *Conyers*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Confeſſor, taking the Air over Hedge and Ditch to *Primroſe* Hill, dropt juſt upon him, and pickt his Pockets of the Book. Well, but why may he not have hanged himſelf, and his Kindred, to ſave his Eſtate, ſtabbed him afterwards, and carried him thither? This is deadly cunning; But why was his Pocket-book only wanting, wherein the Plotters were concerned? Tricks will not do here. Furthermore, Why did they not keep his Gold, Silver, and Rings, that were found in his Pocket, but expoſe them? Why not ſtrip him in ſome Degree, make Wound in his Sword-arm, and hack, bend, or break his Sword, that it might look like Robbery? But, laſt of all, Why ſhould they carry him out exactly as he uſed to go, quite dreſſed, and want a Band, eſpecially ſince they were ſo punctual as to take his Sword, Belt, Gloves, and Stick, with them? He went out, in the Morning, with a great laced Band, none was found, as well as the Book of Examinations; of that we have already ſpoke; for the Band, it is a plain Caſe they ſtrangled him, and being a long-necked Man, and wearing an high ſtrong Collar, he ſtruggling to ſave himſelf, and they ſtriving to diſpatch him that Way, the Band was torn in the Fray, and, to have let it go ſo, had been to have told the Story too plainly; that is, that the Man was ſtrangled to Death by Violence, and that the Stab of his own Sword was an After-trick to cover the Buſineſs.

Thus this poor Gentleman, but worthy and brave Patriot, ended his Days, by the aſſaſſinating Hands of Papiſts, whoſe Butchery made him the common Martyr of his Religion and Country, and his Death is to us the Earneſt of their Cruelty; in him they have maſſacred us all, we muſt take it to ourſelves, and can no more be unconcerned in his Death, than diſintereſted in the Cauſe of it.

The Plot is opened, the Tragedy is begun, our Wives are affrighted, our Children cry, no Man is ſure of his Life a Day; the Choice is only, what Death we ſhall die, whether be ſtabbed, ſtrangled, or burned. This Conſternation and Inſecurity muſt needs obſtruct all Commerce, ſcare People from following their lawful Occaſions, deter all Officers of Juſtice from their Duty, and, in fine, diſſolve Human Society, and reduce the World into its firſt Chaos.

For the Lord's Sake, let us conſider our Condition, let us all turn to the Lord with unfeigned Repentance, let us look and cry to him for Help, that he, who has diſcovered, would confound this bloody Conſpiracy, and ſhew Mercy, and bring us Deliverance, that we may yet ſee his Salvation, and ſerve him all the Days of our Lives; and, in Order to our Security, theſe Things are earneſtly requeſted of you:

1. Take effectual Care to preſerve the King; they ſay, and we believe, he is not for their Turn; we would not have him, for his Sake and ours: In Order to this, pray find out the *Ahithophels*, the dangerous Men about him; you know who they are, be free and bold, prize your Time, the Conjuncture is great.

2. Vote an Addreſs to the King, to baniſh all *Iriſh* Papiſts out of the Army, Navy, and Kingdom, by ſuch a Day, and all Papiſts out of the City of *London*, whoſe groſs Ignorance, and baſe Deſperateneſs, renders them the fitteſt Men for Aſſaſſinations. Beſides, it is a Shame, that the Children and Kindred of *Iriſh* Rebels, if not ſome of them the very Men themſelves that were Actors in that horrid Maſſacre, in the Year 1641, about thirty-ſeven Years ſince, in which above three-hundred Thouſand Proteſtants were murdered in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, without Regard to Age or Sex, ſhould be employed either in the *Engliſh* Army or Navy; but more ſcandalous is it, that St. *James*'s ſhould be their Head Quarters, and the Park turned into an *Iriſh* Walk. What do ſo many *Iriſh* Papiſts, Teigs, and

and Rebels, do ſwarming there? No Good to be ſure; their Parts, Courage, and Skill, can invite no Man of any Worth to entertain them; it muſt only be their Ignorance, and cowardly Cruelty, which makes them Inſtruments of Miſchief, and fit to be uſed by thoſe that love foul Play. But, that poor diſſenting Proteſtants ſhould be daily moleſted and pillaged, for the Sake of their peaceable Conſciences, whilſt Teagues, and *Iriſh* Rebels, go by whole Droves under the Noſe of King and Duke, in their Royal Park, and Walks of Pleaſure, is almoſt inſupportable. Is this to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, and diſcountenance Popery? *Ex pede Herculem.*

3. For God's Sake, call for the Plot, look thoroughly and ſtrictly into it, fear, nor favour no Man, *fiat Juſtitia*, but fear God; do what you do, as in his Preſence, to whom you muſt render an Account; it is the great Action of your Life, diſcharge your Truſt, and quit yourſelves now like Men. This has been the perpetual Troubler of our Proteſtant *Iſrael*; as you would ſee God with Comfort, and ſecure your Poſterity from Civil and Spiritual Tyranny, ſlip not this Opportunity God has ſo wonderfully caſt into your Hands; be not found Deſpiſers of his Providence, neither be you careleſs, or fearful, of improving it; now or never: Had they you on this Lock, and at this Advantage, you nor yours ſhould never ſee Day more. What once you could not have ſo well done, they have now made eaſy and neceſſary for you to do; and, what before you ſcarcely might do, is now become your Duty. Be not cheated by a Sacrifice; let not the Lives of two or three Plotters be the Ranſom of the reſt, or your Satisfaction; it is not Blood, but Security, Proſpect, future Safety, an eternal Prevention of the like Miſeries for the future; otherwiſe, we ſhall only ſit down with the Peace and Joy of Fools, and fat ourſelves Sacrifices with more Security againſt their next Slaughter. Therefore,

4. Raiſe the Trained-bands, and let them be put not ſo much as into the Hands of Men Popiſhly affected; for thoſe Men, that would pull off the Vizard, in Caſe Popery prevailed; that otherwiſe keep their Credit by not diſcovering themſelves, are the moſt dangerous to be truſted; I fear Popery thus entering, more than any other Way. Examine the Counties well for ſome of baſe Principles are intruſted.

5. Let there be Power given to raiſe Auxiliaries, that ſuch honeſt Proteſtant Gentlemen, as are willing, at their own Charges, voluntarily to ſerve their Country, by raiſing Troops or Companies, or ſerving in them, may be permitted and encouraged ſo to do.

6. Let every Proteſtant Family be well armed, and every Popiſh Family be utterly diſarmed; they have tried our Uſage of Arms with Eaſe, we theirs with Cruelty enough.

7. Let there be an Act, with a ſtrict Penalty, that, after ſuch a Day, no Gun-ſmith ſhall ſell Guns or Piſtols; Cutlers, Swords or Daggers; and Dry-Salters, Gunpowder or Bullets, without Licenſe of the Aldermen of the Wards in *London*, or ſome chief Officer, if in any other Corporation; and that the Perſon ſo buying them ſhall, before the ſaid Officer, ſubſcribe a ſufficient Teſt againſt Popery, but, more eſpecially, that no Papiſt be ſuffered to make or ſell any ſuch Implements of War.

8. That Care be taken to prevent fraudulent Conveyances of Eſtates by Papiſts, to eſcape the Law, where they have done Miſchief; for this is to cheat the Government, and invalidate the Law.

9. That it ſhall be Treaſon for any Papiſt to entertain a Prieſt, Jeſuit, or Seminary in their Houſe, becauſe mortal Enemies, by Principle and Practice, to the Civil Government. Conſider of the *Swediſh* Law, or ſome other Way to clear the Land of all of them; let us buy them out to be ſafe.

10. That in all Schools, particularly in Univerſities, Care be taken to educate Youth in a juſt Abhorrence of *Romiſh* Principles, eſpecially the Jeſuits immoral Morals, ſhewing the Inconſiſtency thereof with human Nature, Reaſon, and Society, as well as pure and meek Chriſtianity, of which there has been great Neglect.

11. That our Youth be not ſuffered to travel Abroad, but between Twelve and Sixteen, and that under the Conduct of approved Proteſtants; for the preſent Way of Education is chiefly in Pleaſure and Looſeneſs, which makes Way for Atheiſm or Popery, no Religion or falſe Religion.

12. That ſpeedy Care be taken to releaſe all oppreſſed Proteſtants in this Kingdom; and, ſince the Papiſts mark all Proteſtants out for one Fate, and eſteem them one Body of Hereticks, that they may be as one Body of Pro-

teſtancy againſt that common Enemy. This is the Language of God's preſent Providence; thoſe, that withſtand it, are ſuch as love *Rome* better than *London*; every Proteſtant, Diſſenter or not, has the ſame Thing to ſay againſt Popery. Agree then ſo far, and let a general Negative Creed be concluded upon, and from thence let ſome general poſitive Truths be conſidered of, in order to a better Underſtanding among them. For this Purpoſe, let there be a ſelect Aſſembly of ſome out of all Perſuaſions, in which theſe two Propoſals may be duly weighed, That whoſoever believe, and own what ſhall be therein contained, ſhall be reputed and protected as true Proteſtants.

Laſtly, and more eſpecially, Let all the Laws in Force againſt Immorality be ſpeedily and effectually executed: It is Sin, which is the Diſeaſe and Shame of the Nation; we have forgotten God, and caſt his Law behind us, and we deſerve not this Beginning of Deliverance. Our Pleaſures have been our Gods, and to them we bow, and have little or no Religion at Heart; therefore it is that Iniquity abounds, and in that Variety too, and to ſuch a Degree, as no Kingdom can parallel. Bluſh, O Heavens, and be aſtoniſhed, O Earth! A People loved of God, and ſo often ſaved by his wonderful Providences, are become the *Tyre* and *Sidon*, the *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* of the World. Let us repent in Duſt and Aſhes; let us turn to God, from the Bottom of our Hearts, with the fervent Love and good Works of our martyred Anceſtors; or their Life, Doctrine, and Death will riſe up in Judgment againſt us, and God will yet ſuffer their and our Enemies to ſwallow us up quick. And be aſſured, as Looſeneſs and Debauchery were deſigned by the Papiſts, as a State-trick, to diſpoſe the Minds of the People to receive, or at leaſt ſuffer Popery, that, to ſay true, cannot live with better Company; ſo the Diſcouragement of it, and Cheriſhing of all virtuous Perſons, with a ſerious and hearty Proſecution of the forementioned Propoſals, will ſtop, and in Time wear it out of the Kingdom; for Popery fears nothing more than Light, Inquiry, and ſober Living. Hear us, we beſeech you, for *Jeſus Chriſt's* Sake; take Heart, we will never leave you, do not you leave us: Provide for the King, provide for the People; for God alone knows, when we lie down, if we ſhall ever riſe, or, when we go forth, if we ſhall ever return. Remember the Maſſacre of *Paris*, in which ſo many Thouſands fell, and, with them, that brave Admiral, *Coligni*: Infamy enough, one would think, to ſhame the Party, did they know ſuch a Thing; but, inſtead of that, it was meritorious, yea, it is a Subject of Triumph: Look into the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and, among the other rare Feats performed by Chriſtian Kings againſt Infidels, this Maſſacre of *Paris*, now about an hundred Years old, is to be found; and ſo careful was the Deſigner to do it to the Life, that he has not omitted to ſhew us, how the noble Admiral was flung dead out of the Window into the Street, to be uſed as People uſe Cats and Dogs in Proteſtant Countries, but good enough for an Heretick, whom the worſe they uſe, the better they are. But, to ſhew they own the Plot, and glory in the Action, for Fear one not read in the Story ſhould take *Coligni* for *Jezabel*, they have gallantly explained the Action upon the Piece, and writ his Name at large.

But there is a Cruelty nearer Home, no leſs barbarous, the *Iriſh* Maſſacre in 1641; nay, it exceeded, *Firſt*, in Number; there were above three-hundred Thouſand murdered. *Next*, in that no Age or Sex was ſpared; and, *laſtly*, in the Manner of it: It was general, throughout the Kingdom; and, as they were more ſavage, ſo more cruel; they ſpared not either Sick, or lying-in Women; they killed poor Infants, and innocent Children, toſſing ſome upon their Swords, Skeens, and other Inſtruments of Cruelty; flinging others into Rivers, and, taking ſeveral by the Legs, daſhed their Brains out againſt Walls or Rocks. O Lord God, avenge this innocent Blood; it ſtill cries. But, that theſe Actors of this Tragedy, or their bloody-minded Off-ſpring, ſhould ſwarm in *England*, be Penſioners here, as if they were the old Soldiers of the Queen, Men of Eighty-eight, Cripples of Loyalty, laid up for their good Services, and *St. James's* their Hoſpital, this ſcandaliſes us: We think them the worſt Cattle of their Country, and pray, that there may be an Exchange, that you would prohibit their Importation, inſtead of more uſeful Beaſts. For the bloody Maſſacre of *Piedmont*, you have it at large deſcribed by Sir *Samuel Morland*.

But we muſt never forget the horrid Murder of *Henry the Third*, and of *Henry the Fourth* of

of *France*, our King's renowned Grandfather. And would to God our King would conſider, that all his Humanity to them can never ſecure him from their Stroke; they were both better Catholicks, and yet both aſſaſſinated: The firſt a bred Papiſt, yet becauſe he would not murder all the *Hugonots* or Proteſtants of his Kingdom, and his known beſt Subjects, they did as much for him: The laſt was their Convert, all they ſeemed to deſire of him, and all they can expect from our King, yet how did they uſe him? They did twice aſſaſſinate him, and the laſt Time killed him. What Security then can any Prince promiſe to himſelf from Men, that make not the Profeſſion of the ſame Religion a Protection to them that own it, but upon Humours or Suſpicions of their own, or to introduce another Perſon or Family, more immediately under their Influence, and diſpoſed to their Turn, will make no Scruple of killing him? What Slaves are Kings with ſuch Men, and under ſuch a Religion? Let not the Mildneſs of our Prince be thus abuſed; ſhew yourſelves his great and beſt Council in this Conjuncture, and deliver him from theſe Men of Ingratitude: Men that will never be contented, but with that which they muſt not have; of ſuch Qualifications, that what may be eſteemed Ambition, Revenge, or Intereſt, in all other Parties, is a ſettled Principle with them: This their greateſt Doctors tell us, and to excite Men in the Purſuit of it, they declare all ſuch Acts more than ordinarily meritorious: But what Hold can we have of ſuch Men, that have no Conſcience? This Concluſion looks hard, and beſides their Practice, for if that were always to caſt the Scale, it would go hard with many Proteſtants too; it is their avowed Doctrine, they glory in it, and make it our Reproach to have any ſuch Thing. I ſay, that Papiſts have no Conſcience, or no Uſe of Conſcience in their Religion, which is the ſame Thing; for what is Conſcience, but the Judgment a Man makes in himſelf of religious Matters, according to the Knowledge given him of God; but this is out of Doors with them, it is Hereſy; Authority rules them, not Truth; as if a Man were to be credited for his Age, not for his Reaſon. Conſcience is a domeſtick and private Judge, dangerous to the Chair, the Pope; for it rather hinders than helps Subjection; the leſs there be of it, the ſooner Men turn Captives to their Myſteries: So that Putting out the Eyes of our Mind, and a Blind before our Underſtanding, beſt fit us for Popiſh Religion; as if Religion had not ſo great an Enemy as Reaſon; nor Faith as Knowledge. It is ſtrange, that a Man cannot be a Papiſt, without renouncing the only Diſtinction of a Man from a Beaſt: Therefore it is, we pray to be ſecured from Papiſts, becauſe at beſt they unman us, and are not their own Men. It is true, as Proteſtants do not always live up to their good Principles, neither do Papiſts to their bad ones: Breeding, good Humour, Generoſity, and a better Principle they know not of, may byaſs ſome of them to worthy Things, but this is not accotding to their Principles; for if they will be true to them, they muſt abandon Choice, and obey their Superior, right or wrong, and every Immorality he commands is Duty, upon Damnation; the more contrary to their Reaſon, and averſe to their Nature, the greater the Merit. Heſitation is Weakneſs; Diſſent, Schiſm; Oppoſition, Hereſy; the Conſequence, Burning.

From this Religion, O Lord God, deliver us; O King and Parliament, protect us: It is your Duty to God, and your Obligation to the People. We beſeech you, excuſe us, and take all in good Part; our Fears are great, we fear juſtly, and our Deſires reaſonable: Remember our dreadful Fires, conſider this horrid Plot, and think upon poor, yet worthy, Sir *Edmundbury Godfry*; let not God's Providence, and his Blood, riſe up in Judgment againſt you; God of his great Mercy animate you by his Power, and direct you by his Wiſdom, that the Succeſſion of his Deliverances, from Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Days, may not be forgotten, nor his preſent Mercy ſlighted; let us do our Duty, and God will give us that Bleſſing, which will yet make *England* a glorious Kingdom, the Joy of her Friends, and Terror of her Enemies, which is the fervent and conſtant Prayers of yours, *&c.*

A Voice from the Dead : Or, The Speech of an old noble Peer : Being the excellent Oration of the learned and famous *Boetius*, to the Emperor *Theodoricus*. *London*, printed, and sold by *Richard Janeway*, 1681. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

SIR,

I Am not ignorant, that we are in a Time, wherein it is, as it were, much easier to fly, than to speak of the State of this Empire without Offence to any ; and that all Discourse, which at this present may be framed, will ever be suspected by those, who have made even our Thoughts criminal to your Majesty.

Yet, must I needs say, it is a Matter very hard to be silent in so great Revolutions of Affairs, since Nature hath not created us like Crocodiles, who are said to have Eyes to weep, and not a Tongue to complain. I perceive we lose, as it were, all that which we have of *Roman* in us, and that in this universal Disaster, where all the World should strengthen their Arms against Violence, Men are contented to do, as in Thunder, every one prays the Thunder-bolt may not fall upon his own House, and very little regards the Danger of his Neighbour : So likewise we see many Senators, whose Dignity ought to put into their Mouths good and forcible Words for the Defence of Justice, satisfying themselves to avoid the Blow, and expecting Safety in common Ruins.

As for myself, I freely protest, that being born of Blood which never learned to flatter any Man, and seeing myself in a Rank where my Silence may prove injurious to the Publick, since I cannot uphold Liberty, already too much leaning to its Ruin, I will, at least, support the Image of it, and in so general a Servitude, speak something, wherein I will either discharge my Conscience for the present, or comfort my Ashes for the Time to come.

Alas ! Sir, when I behold you sitting upon the Throne of Glory, whereunto the Hand of God seemeth to have raised you by a Miracle, fortified you by Discretion, and blessed you with so many Prosperities ; I cannot chuse but remember, with the most tender Resentments of my Heart, the Calms of the first Years, when you took into your Hand the Stern of this large Empire : Whoever saw divers Metals so happily commixed, as we then beheld different Nations united into one intire Body under your Authority ? What Consent in Affections ? What Correspondence in all Orders ? What Vigour in Laws ? What Obedience in Subject ? What Agreement in the Senate ? What Applause amongst the People ? What Policy in Cities ? What good Fortune in Arms ? What Blessing in all the Success of your Affairs ?

Seemed it not, that God had affixed to your Standards and Edicts some secret Virtue, which made the one triumph in War, and the other become prosperous in Peace, with so much Terror and Reputation, that even Things opposite of their own Nature, knit themselves firmly together for your Benefit ?

O, Sir ! What is become of that golden Face of your Government ? Who hath metamorphosed it into this leaden Visage ? Perhaps, you thought it was a Part of the Greatness of your Majesty, to hold a Senate under, to whom all the good Emperors have so much ascribed, that they esteemed them as necessary for their Greatness, as Leaves about the Rose to set out its Beauty.

I could tell you, Sir, how much these Counsels are pernicious, were it not that the Experience of the Years of your Reign hath taught you more than all the Malignity of Men can deface. If you will be pleased to call as yet to Counsel your Wit and Understanding, which God hath replenished with so many fair and noble Lights ; believe me, you shall find this People is as the Herb *Basil*, which rendereth a good Savour, as it is said, when gently handled, and createth Scorpions when rudely crushed. Hold us in the Estimation and Condition, wherein you have hitherto retained us, and you

shall

ſhall ſee nothing more tractable than the *Roman* People; but, if you proceed with theſe Violences, by which ſome daily pervert your Good-nature, it is to be feared, leſt this Severity produce at laſt Poiſon, even for thoſe who hope out of it to derive Sweetneſs.

Our Enemies ceaſe not to exaſperate you, upon Want of Reſpect due to your Majeſty; and yet, God knows, we have ſo regarded Royal Authority, that ſeeing it in moſt unjuſt Hands, where it loſt its Luſtre, we ſuffered it not to loſe the Fruit of our Obedience.

Allow, Sir, the Liberty, which ever hath been the moſt precious Inheritance of this Empire; you have placed Men over our Heads, who, to become great, and unwilling to ſeem any Thing leſs than what they are, ſeek to ſmother in our Miſeries the Baſeneſs of their own Birth, and believe the Means to juſtify their own Carriage, is to take away Eyes from thoſe who have them, and to render Tongues mute, leſt they may learn a Truth. Now-a-days, to be born rich is to become a Prey, and to arrive at Government with ſome Super-eminencies of Wit, is to raiſe Enemies; all great Actions are ſuſpected; and it ſeemeth, that to find Safety, we muſt ſeek it either in Ignorance or Idleneſs.

We have ſo learned to obey, that we would not, hitherto, ſo much as enter into Conſideration of the Diſtribution you made of your Favours, leaving them more free, than are the Sun's Rays, and contenting us to honour the Character of your Majeſty, as well on Rocks, as Marbles and Silver. But now, when we ſee the precious Intereſts of the Kingdom, in Hands leſs pure than we wiſh, What elſe can we do in ſo publick a Calamity, but here moſt humbly remonſtrate that which the Subtle diſſemble, the Miſerable ſuffer, the Good deplore, and even the very Stones relate?

Where is the Time, Sir, when we heard thoſe noble Words to proceed from your Mouth, That the Flock may be ſheared, not flayed; that a Body overcharged ſunk to the Ground; that there was no Tribute comparable to the precious Commodities derived from the Love of Subjects. Now, all the Cities and Countries bewail the rigorous Conceſſions they feel, to ſatisfy, with their Sweat and Blood, the Avarice of ſome Particulars, who are, notwithſtanding, as greedy as Fire, and more inſatiable than the Abyſs.

I exaſperate not here our Miſeries, by an Amplification of Words; I have, Sir, made you to ſee, when you pleaſed to hear me in your Cabinet, the Tears of Provinces, which ſoftened your Heart to Compaſſion, and opened your Hands to Liberality; ſo that if your good Affections be not altered by ſome, you are capable enough to diſcharge Heaven of all Promiſes, which it hath made unto us, by the Happineſs of your Empire.

Unſeal thoſe Eyes, which you ſo often have opened for the Comfort of your poor Subjects, and in what Part ſoever you turn them, you ſhall behold Nothing but Miſeries. Is it not a ſtrange Thing, that Slaves being ſometimes ſold to courteous Maſters, ſweeten the Sharpneſs of their Condition by ſome gentle Uſage, and that there ſhould be none, but the People of *Rome*, who yearly buy out their Bondage? None but the People of *Rome*, who were made accountable for the Goods pulled from them, and tributary for the Shipwreck of their Poverty?

From thence the Way is taken to the Oppreſſion of Magiſtrates, and ſome are perſuaded, that, thoroughly to mow the Meadow, you muſt humble the Heads of Plants moſt eminent. *Paulinus* is diſpoiled, *Albinus* is guilty of Treaſon: They are culpable enough, ſince they are rich and powerful. It is ſaid, there can be no Safety found but in their Diſgrace: And who ſeeth not, that theſe Proceedings tend to the Ruin of that moſt noble Body, which almoſt thirty Years maintained your Royal Crown?

But, alas! Sir, if we exclaim againſt Witches, who poiſon Fountains: How can we be ſilent, ſeeing Endeavour is uſed to invenom the Soul of the Prince, who is the Source of all Counſels, to the End we may hereafter find Poiſon, where we hope for Remedies?

Sir, only behold and imitate yourſelf, reaſſume that Spirit, which made you reign in our Hearts, as well as in your Provinces: Diſtinguiſh Flatterers from true Friends; hearken to thoſe, whoſe Loyalty you have known in the Succeſs of ſo many Proſperities.

Remember yourſelf, that you were made to reign over Men, not as a Man, but as the Law; to bear your Subjects in your Boſom, and not trample them under Foot; to teach by Example, and not conſtrain by Force; to be a Father of Citizens, and not a Maſter of Slaves.

Remember

Remember yourſelf, Kings are given by Heaven, for the Uſe of People, and that they ought not to have ſo much Regard to the Extent of their Power, as not to conſider the Meaſure of their Obligations. Handle the Matter ſo, that the Greatneſs of your Majeſty may appear in its Goodneſs; and that this Word, which you heretofore had in your Mouth, may ſtick eternally in your Heart, when you ſaid, A Good Prince ought not to fear any Thing ſo much, as to be too much feared.

Boetius, who made this Oration, was Author of that incomparable Philoſophical Diſcourſe, *De Conſolatione*, being Conſul of *Rome*, under the ſaid *Theodoricus*, the firſt Emperor of the *Gothiſh* Race, about the Year of our Lord 500. And this Speech was firſt publiſhed long ſince in *Cauſin's Holy Court*, *Fol.* 290. in theſe very Words, as any Perſon may find, that pleaſes to examine it. But *Obſequium amicos, veritas odium parit*; the Upſhot of the Buſineſs was, That the Emperor was much offended at this his Freedom; and, being ſpurred on by his three miſchievous Favourites, *Trigilla*, *Congiaſtus*, and *Cyprianus*, firſt baniſhed, and afterwards murdered the wiſe and faithful *Boetius*, who had ſerved him many Years with an intire and irreproachable Loyalty. And ſoon after *Theodoricus* himſelf died diſtracted, and the Empire, in a very few Years, was ſnatched from his Succeſſor, by the victorious Arms of *Juſtinian*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

A Narrative of the late Proceedings at *White-hall*, concerning the *Jews*: Who had deſired by Rabbi *Manaſſes*, an Agent for them, that they might return into *England*, and worſhip the God of their Fathers here in the Synagogues, *&c.* Publiſhed for Satisfaction to many in ſeveral Parts of *England*, that are deſirous and inquiſitive to hear the Truth thereof. *London*, printed for *L. Chapman*, at the *Crown* in *Pope's-head* Alley, 1656. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

To the READER.

Becauſe many good People in divers Parts of this Nation, who have often prayed heartily for the Jews *Converſion, have heard a Rumour of a late Debate at* White-hall, *about the* Jews *having a Liberty to return into* England, *and are very deſirous to know the Truth of Things in thoſe Proceedings, and what is the Iſſue of thoſe Debates; and hence, from ſeveral Parts, Letters have been written up to their Friends in* London, *deſiring more fully to be certified herein: For their Satisfaction, and for Help to others that would ſend the Narrative to their Chriſtian Friends, this Collection thereof, by one that was preſent at all the Debates, is yielded to be publiſhed.*

BY

BY Letters from *Oliver*, the Lord Protector, ſeveral Doctors, and other Preachers, godly Men, and ſome Merchants and Lawyers convened with him, and others of the Council, [the Fourth of *December* laſt, 1655, and ſo on two or three Days weekly, to the Eighteenth] to conſider of Propoſals in Behalf of the *Jews*, by Rabbi *Manaſſes Ben Iſrael*, an Agent come to *London* in Behalf of many of them, to live and trade here, and deſiring to have free Uſe of their Synagogues, *&c.*

The Things being ſpoken unto *Pro* and *Contra*, at ſeveral Meetings, ſome more private, and ſome more publick, at *Whitehall*, and elſewhere.

The moſt did fear, that if they ſhould come, many would be ſeduced and cheated by them, and little Good would be unto them. Hence divers of the Preachers judged, that though never ſuch Cautions to prevent thoſe Evils were preſcribed, yet they would not be obſerved; and therefore they could not conſent to their Coming.

2. The major Part judged that there might be ſuch Pledges or Sureties, *&c.* to keep due Cautions [viz. againſt their Blaſpheming Chriſt, and the Chriſtian Religion, and againſt Seducing, and Cheating, *&c.*] as they may be obſerved, and then they may come.

3. Some judged, that due Cautions warranted by holy Scriptures being obſerved, it is a Duty to yield to their Requeſt of Coming hither; conſidering,

1. It is God's Will there be Dealing courteouſly with Strangers, and Perſons in Affliction, *Exod.* xxiii. 8.

2. Eſpecially Reſpect is to be had to the *Jews*, *Iſa.* xiv. 3, 4.

1*ſt*, *Becauſe, their Debtors we are*, Rom. xv. 27. as the *Gentiles*, *Macedonians*, and other *Gentiles*, were in the Apoſtles Days (which was not, becauſe thoſe believing *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* adminiſtered ſpiritual Things to thoſe believing *Gentiles*, which they did not) but becauſe we partake of the *Meſſias*, and Promiſes, and Salvation, that was to the *Jews*, as natural Branches of the Olive-tree, *Rom.* ix. 4, 5. *Eph.* iii. 8. *Rom.* xi. 17, 24.

2*dly*, Becauſe their Brethren we are; of the ſame Father *Abraham*; they naturally after the Fleſh, we Believers after the Spirit.

3*dly*, Becauſe we believe thoſe natural Branches ſhall return; and it ſhall be great Riches and Glory to the *Gentiles*, eſpecially to ſuch where they are, and who deal kindly with them, *Rom.* xi. 12, 18, 25, 26. and we hope the Time is near.

Becauſe many *Jews* are now in very great Streights in many Places; Multitudes in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Pruſſia*, by the late Wars by the *Swedes*, *Coſſacks*, and others, being driven away from thence: Hence their yearly Alms to the poor *Jews*, of the *German* Synagogue, at *Jeruſalem* hath ceaſed; and of ſeven-hundred Widows, and poor *Jews* there, about four-hundred have been famiſhed, as a Letter from *Jeruſalem* to their Friends relates.

Alſo, the *Jews* in *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and in the *Indies*, under the *Spaniſh*, &c. if they are profeſſed *Jews*, muſt wear a Badge of it, and are expoſed to many Violences, Mocks, and Cruelties; which, to avoid, many diſſemble themſelves to be *Roman* Catholicks; and then, if in any Thing they appear *Jewiſh*, they forfeit Goods, if not Life alſo. Now ſome of theſe intreated Rabbi *Manaſſes* to be their Agent, to intreat this Favour for their Coming to *England*, to live and trade here, *&c.*

And it ſeems to ſome, that it would be very acceptable to the Lord, if Favour be ſhewed them, ſo far as is lawful herein. As it was very diſpleaſing to the Lord, when for their Sin he caſt them out of *Canaan*, that others added to, or heaped on their Affliction, *Zach.* i. 15, 16.

And that *Edom* looked on, and was as one of their Enemies, *Obad.* ver. 12, 14. and Did not hide, and entertain his Outcaſts, as he charged *Moab* to do, *Iſaiah* xvi. 3, 4. Now *England* hath as much Cauſe as any Nation, if not more, to favour and relieve the *Jews* in this their Suit; conſidering,

1. The *Jews* that dwelled in *England* under *Richard the Firſt*, and King *John*, *Henry the Third*, and *Edward the Firſt*, ſuffered very great Injuries, Cruelties, and Murders, by Kings, by the Barons, by *Londoners*, *Yorkers*, People of *Norwich*, *Stamford*, &c. as our

own

own Chronicles ſhew, eſpecially *Stow's Survey of* London, and *Annals*.

And if, after *Saul's* Death, the Lord plagued *Iſrael* Year after Year, till ſome Satisfaction was given to the ſurviving *Gibeonites*, for *Saul's* Slaying many *Gibeonites* in his Zeal for God; it is feared, it may offend the Lord, if we yield not to the *Jews* this Courteſy which they deſire; and it may be accounted ſome Kind of Satisfaction to them.

2. In no Nation, there have been more faithful frequent, and fervent Prayers for the *Jews*, than in *England*.

3. None are more more likely to convince them by Scripture, and by holy Life, than many in *England*: And *Gentiles*, being called a fooliſh Nation, muſt provoke *Jews* to Jealouſy, or Emulation; and happy is *England*, if it be inſtrumental in ſo bleſſed a Work.

The Perſon, that ſpoke to that Effect, had written thus:

Many of the *Jews* in *Jeruſalem* being now very cruelly dealt withal, and perſecuted by the *Turks* (as their Letters thence, deſiring Relief from other *Jews* in *Germany*, *Holland*, *&c.* ſent thither by the Hand of Rabbi *Nathan Stephira*, their Meſſenger, do manifeſt:) Other *Jews* in ſeveral Nations perſecuted by Papiſts, unleſs they will turn Papiſts: Many of theſe deſiring by their Letters to Rabbi *Manaſſes Ben Iſrael*, as he ſaid he had ſhewed to the Lord Protector, that he would intreat Favour of our State,

1. That *Jews* might have Leave to come into *England*, to live and trade here: And,

2. That here they might have their Synagogues, *&c.*

provided that due Care be had in Reſpect of theſe, as much as is, or ought to be, in Reſpect of our own, and other Nations, to prevent

Blaſpheming the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*;
Adoring the Law; Seducing others;
All Unrighteouſneſs, *&c.*

Some of us do thus believe upon Scripture Grounds:

1. That it is not ſinful or unlawful to ſuffer their Coming hither, their Living and Trading here, and Worſhiping the true God here, and Hearing his holy Law, and his Prophets read unto them every Week, publickly.

Firſt Reaſon, Becauſe this is againſt no Law, neither of the Land [as the Lawyers here affirmed] nor of God, as not being forbidden in the Old or New Teſtament.

And, therefore, it is no Sin nor Tranſgreſſion: For where there is no Law, there is no Tranſgreſſion, *Rom.* iv. 15.

Second, That it is ſo far from being a Sin, that it is a Duty, in ſuch Caſe, to receive and harbour them.

This may appear thus:

Firſt Reaſon. It is a Duty commanded, and commended of God, in general, to be kind to Strangers, harbouring them, *&c. Exod.* xxii. 21. and xxiii. 8. *Levit.* xix. 34. *Deut.* x. 19. *Gen.* xviii. 1, 2, 3. xix. 1, 2, 3. 1 *Tim.* v. 10. *Heb.* xiii. 2. Such Favour we permit and grant to other Strangers.

Second. The Lord requires this Duty, as well, or more, towards *Jews*, even when for their Sins the Lord had caſt them out, as to any other Strangers; for, concerning theſe, he thus gives a Charge in *Iſaiah* xvi. 3, 4. Hide my baniſhed ones, bewray not him that wandereth. Let my Outcaſts dwell (or ſojourn) with thee *Moab*: Be thou a Covert to them from the Face of the Spoiler.

Third. Yea, even after their rejecting *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Lord's rejecting them, yet the Apoſtle ſaith of them, That they are beloved for their Fathers Sakes, *Rom.* xi. 28. And for the Lord's Covenant Sake with their Fathers, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, after this Sin and Scattering, the Lord will reſtore them, as he ſaith, *Levit.* xxvi. 41, 44, 45. *Micah* vii. 19, 20.

Fourth. When for their Sins the Lord was diſpleaſed with the *Jews*, yet he hath a ſpecial Eye to them; obſerving all the unkind Carriage of others towards them, and is fore-diſpleaſed againſt all ſuch as help on their Affliction; *Zach.* i. 15. By Speaking proudly againſt them, or Looking on as one of the Afflicters, or that deliver them up to ſuch, *&c.* Obad. ver. 11, 12, 14.

3. That the Lord may require and expect this Kindneſs towards diſtreſſed *Jews*, as much

or

of this Nation, as, or more than, of any other Nation.

Conſidering,

1*ſt*, That the Lord hath exalted *England* in ſpiritual and in temporal Mercies and Deliverances, as much as, or more than, any other Nation under Heaven: And all this only for the Sake of our Lord *Jeſus*, who, concerning the Fleſh, came of the *Jews*, Rom. ix. 5. and by whom the Covenants and Promiſes made to the *Jews*, are made over to us that are faithful, *Rom.* xi. 16, 18, 24. *Eph.* iii. 6. *Eph.* ii. 12, 13, 19.

2*d*, In our Nation, the good People generally have more believed the Promiſes touching the Calling of the *Jews*, and the great Riches and Glory that ſhall follow to *Jews*, and us *Gentiles*; and have, and do ſtill, more often, and earneſtly pray for it, than any other Nation that we have heard of.

3*d*, Many of the good People here, being perſecuted in Queen *Mary*'s Days, and under the Prelates ſince, have been kindly harboured Strangers in other Lands; and, therefore, ſhould the more pity and harbour perſecuted Strangers, eſpecially perſecuted *Jews*, *Exod.* xxiii. 8.

4*th*, Many cruel and inhuman Injuries have formerly been done in our Nation againſt the *Jews* (that intruded not *England*, but had been called, and invited to come and dwell here:) Cruelties by ſeveral Kings, by Lords, and by Occaſion of the Merchants urging their Baniſhment, Multitudes of them were drowned in the *Thames*, or in the Sea.

Cruelties by *Londoners*, eſpecially at *Richard the Firſt*'s Coronation; and ſoon after by *Yorkers*, by People of *Norwich*, *Stamford*, *&c.* as *Stow*'s *Survey of* London, and his *Annals*, and *Hollingſhead*, and other *Engliſh* Chronicles fully ſhew.

For ſuch groſs Injuries, the Lord may be very ſore diſpleaſed with *England*, as ſometimes he was with *Iſrael* in general, for the Injuries that had formerly been done by *Saul* their King, in his Zeal againſt the *Gibeonites*; until ſuch Satisfaction was made, as the ſurviving *Gibeonites* deſired of *David*, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1, 2. And Then (and not till then) the Lord was intreated for the Land, ver. 14.

Now if the Favour of Harbouring the afflicted *Jews*, which now they intreat, be granted to the ſurviving *Jews*, it may be accounted as ſome Kind of Satisfaction. But if this be denied them, it is feared the Lord may ſhew his Diſpleaſure to be great againſt *England*: That this Denial may alſo occaſion the more Hardſhip unto them, by others that ſhall hear thereof.

Another of the Preachers ſaid to this Effect: Though the *Jews* are now in Hardneſs of Heart, and worthy of Puniſhments; yet we had need beware, leſt we be Occaſions of hardening them, or Inſtruments of puniſhing them. It is very remarkable what worthy *Beza* ſaith, in his Notes on *Rom.* xi. 18. on thoſe Words, *Glory not againſt the Branches*: He ſaith thus: 'To glory in the Lord (that is, for God's 'Benefits to rejoice) we ought; but not ſo 'that we deſpiſe the *Jews*, whom rather we 'ſhould excite to that excellent Emulation: 'And for the Neglect of this Duty, without 'Doubt, they are and ſhall be puniſhed, that 'at this Day call themſelves *Chriſtians*, and 'moved only by Wickedneſs, and Perverſe-'neſs of Mind, do by all Means vex; and 'propoſing Examples of ſo many filthy Ido-'manies, do more and more harden them. But 'as for me, willingly every Day I pray for 'the *Jews*, thus: O Lord Jeſus, thou, indeed, juſtly revengeſt the Contempt of thy-'ſelf, and Worſhip, upon this ungrateful 'People, whom thou puniſheſt moſt ſevere-'ly. But, O Lord, remember thy Covenant, 'and reſpect them now in Miſery for thy 'Name's Sake. And grant this to us (the 'moſt unworthy of all Men, to whom yet 'you haſt vouchſafed thy Mercy) that we, 'going on in thy Grace, may not be Inſtru-'ments of thine Anger againſt them; But ra-'ther, both by the Knowledge of thy Word, 'and by the Examples of holy Life, by the 'powerful Virtue of thy holy Spirit, we may 'recal them into the right Way, that by all 'Nations, and Peoples, thou mayeſt once be 'glorified for evermore. *Amen.*'

This is *Beza*'s Prayer, that he expreſſeth in his Notes; it is a remarkable Digreſſion, that he would not have this left out. There is not the like in all his Notes, ſhewing his great Affection for the *Jews* Converſion.

Some others, though deſiring heartily the *Jews* Converſion, yet feared greatly it would prove the Subverſion of many here, if *Jews* were ſuffered to return hither, becauſe ſo many here are ſoon carried aſide to new Opinions.

Some answered, That now Persons are carried away under a Notion of further Light, or of new Discoveries of Christ, or the Gospel: But are not like to be taken with the *Jewish* Religion, that deny Christ, and deny the Gospel; and have nothing in their solemn Worship that is so taking, but rather much that is very ridiculous: Therefore they are not so like to seduce others.

To this it was replied, That the Offering Children to *Moloch*, and other Idolatry, might seem not to be taking; yet how it took with the *Jews*. And the Opinions of the Quakers, and of the Ranters, are not so taking to some, yet many are carried away by them.

One humbly proposed this, as a Medium, That seeing, if the *Jews* Coming hither be denied, we seem to deal more hardly with *Jews*, than with *Turks*, whose Coming hither to trade and converse we deny not: And, if they do come upon Terms and Agreements, there may be Inconveniences, and Offending of many: That, because the Lawyers say, there is no Law against their Coming, there may only be a Connivance and Permission of them; and, if afterwards there be Inconveniences, there may be Proceedings against them, and no just Cause of Exceptions.

Some questioned whether the *Jews* Conversion shall be of the Nation; or but here and there one, as of *French*, *&c.* or not until Christ appear unto them, as in converting *Paul*. And though we should shew Mercy to *Jews*, yet begin at Home, and not so infect ourselves, or wrong our Merchants. The Merchants said, such an Inlet would be to inrich Foreigners, and impoverish *English* Merchants. [Merchants, especially, had caused the *Jews* Departure from *England*, whereby some Thousands of *Jews* perished in the *Thames*, by the Cruelty of a Ship-master, that was to transport them; partly otherwise.]

Some judged, seeing the *Jews* deal chiefly in Way of Merchandise, and not in Husbandry, nor Buying Houses, nor in Manufactures, that the *Jews* Coming, and so Trading, might tend to the Bringing lower the Prices of all Sorts of Commodities imported; and to the Furtherance of all that have Commodities vendible to be exported; and to the Benefit of most of our Manufactures, where they shall live, by their Buying of them. And thus, though the Merchants Gains were somewhat abated, it might tend to the Benefit of very many in our Nation, even in outward Things, besides the Hopes of their Conversion; which Time, it is hoped, is now at Hand, even at the Door. [This last was spoken of at a more private Meeting.] One of the Lawyers rehearsed from Records the History of the *Jews* in *England*, and many of their Sufferings here in the Time of *Constantine the Great*, and of some Kings before the Conquest, and then of *William* the Conqueror's Calling them to *England*, and their Sufferings, and other Proceedings since that Time, until *Edward* I's Reign, when many Thousands of them were urged to leave *England*, and a great Part of them were drowned in the *Thames*, or in the deep Waters. And, now that they are gone, they wished not their Return hither again. Also, the Lawyers said, That there is no Law that forbids the *Jews* Return into *England*.

All having been heard, the Lord Protector on the Eighteenth of *December*, and before, professed that he had no Engagement to the *Jews*, but only what the Scripture holds forth; and that

He had hoped by these Preachers to have had some Clearing of the Case, as to Conscience: But seeing these agreed not, but were of two or three Opinions, it was left the more doubtful to him and the Council; and he hoped to do nothing herein hastily or rashly; and had much Need of all their Prayers, that the Lord would direct them, so as may be to his Glory, and to the Good of the Nation.

And thus was the Dismission of that Assembly.

The Preachers sent unto, that met, were these:

1. Dr. *Tuckney* of *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Whichcock*; Mr. *Newcomen* of *Essex*, Dr. *Wilkinson* of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Rowe* of *Westminster*.

2. Mr. *P. Nye*, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Caryll*, Dr. *Cudworth*, Mr. *Bridge*, and Mr. *Ben* of *Dorchester*.

3. Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Mr. *Jessey*, and Mr. *Dike* near *Essex*.

Of Merchants: The Lord Mayor, the late Lord Mayor, and the two Sheriffs of *London*; Alderman *Tichburne*; Mr. *Gresset*, Master of the *Charter-house*, and Mr. *Kiffen*.

Lawyers: The Lord Chief Justice *Glyn*, and the Lord Chief Baron *Steele*.

The Protector shewed a favourable Inclination towards our Harbouring the afflicted *Jews*, professing he had no Engagements, but upon Scripture

Scripture Grounds, in ſeveral Speeches that he made: So did ſome of his Council, though ſome inclined not to their Coming hither. *The Counſel of the Lord, it ſhall ſtand.* What ſhall be the Iſſue the moſt Wiſe God knows, and he will order all for the beſt.

Rabbi *Manaſſes Ben Iſrael* ſtill remains in *London*, deſiring a favourable Anſwer to his Propoſals; and, not receiving it, he hath deſired, if it may not be granted, that he may have a favourable Diſmiſſion, that he may return.

But, other great Affairs being now in Hand, and this being a Buſineſs of very great Concernment, no abſolute Anſwer is yet returned unto him, unto this preſent Day of the Concluſion hereof, being vulgarly the Firſt of *April*, 1656, Old Stile, but, according to the holy Scripture, the Fourteenth or Fifteenth of *Abib*, the firſt Month (called alſo *Niſan*, *Exod.* xiii. 4. *Eſth.* iii. 7.) at which Time the *Jews* Feaſt of Paſſover was to be kept, *Numb.* xxviii. 16, 17.

Many *Jewiſh* Merchants had come from beyond Seas to *London*, and hoped they might have enjoyed as much Privilege here, in Reſpect of Trading, and of their Worſhiping the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob* here in Synagogues publickly, as they enjoy in *Holland*, and did enjoy in *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, and other Places: But, after the Conference and Debate at *Whitehall* was ended, they heard by ſome, that the greater Part of the Miniſters were againſt this; therefore they removed hence again to beyond the Seas, with much Grief of Heart, that they were thus diſappointed of their Hopes. *Jews* muſt be planted into their own Olive, and great Riches ſhall that be to the believing *Gentiles*, *Rom.* xi. 12, 15. *Iſa.* lx. 1, 2, 3. *Pray for the Peace of* Jeruſalem; *they ſhall proſper, that love it*, Pſal. cxxii. 6.

Here followeth Part of a Letter, written at Leghorn, 1652, *and ſent by the Preacher in the* Phœnix *Frigate to a Friend in* London.

Leghorn, *a-board the* Phœnix, 19 *of the* 1, 1652.

Dear Brethren,

WE have great Cauſe to rejoice, that the Lord carrieth on the Endeavours of his People to long after the Good of the poor blind *Jews*. Some of us were deſirous to ſee their Synagogue; and, coming, they were at their Service; but their Glory we forbear to mention, their Lamps, their Candleſticks, their Mitres, their Bells, *Aaron*'s Bells they ſay.

We ſpoke to one that could ſpeak a little *Engliſh*, a very grave proper Man, and aſked him the Meaning of ſuch and ſuch Things; and we, as we durſt, ſpoke of the *Meſſias*, and his Actings.

But he ſaid, The *Meſſias* was not come; moreover, That the *Jews* are naughty Men now, but they ſhall be good. We aſked, When? They anſwered, It is about ten Years firſt.

They long to hear that *England* would tolerate them; ſurely, the Promiſes of *Jehovah* will be performed, and he will give them Favour in all Nations: O that *England* may not be ſlack herein! Shall they be tolerated by the Pope, and by the Duke of *Florence*; by the *Turks*, and by the *Barbarians*, and others? And ſhall *England* ſtill have Laws in Force againſt them? When ſhall they be recalled?

Truly, we are perſuaded, the Antichriſtian State muſt have a great Fall before their Converſion. O that the poor *Jews* might have Toleration to come into *England*, *out of her*, that they may be ſuccoured in that terrible Day!

A Poſtcript, to fill up the following Pages, that elſe had been vacant: Containing,

1. *The Propoſals of Rabbi* Manaſſes Ben Iſrael, *more fully,*
2. *Part of his Letter, written* Anno 1647.
3. *The late Progreſs of the Goſpel amongſt the* Indians *in* New-England.

SECT. I.

THE Subſtance of the late Propoſals by Rabbi *Manaſſes Ben Iſrael* was to deſire heſe Favours:

1. That the *Hebrew* Nation may be received here, and be protected from all Wrongs, as the *Engliſh* are, or ſhould be.

2. To have publick Synagogues allowed in *England*, &c. to obſerve their Religion as they ought.

3. To have a Burying-place out of the Town, without being troubled by any about their Burials.

4. To traffick as freely in all Sorts of Merchandiſe, as other Strangers.

5. To the End that the *Jews* that come over may be for the Profit of this Nation, and prejudice or offend none; that a Perſon of Quality may be aſſigned by the Lord Protector, to receive their Paſſports, and their Oath of Fealty to him.

6. To prevent Trouble to our Judges and others, that Matters of Differences amongſt the *Jews*, may be accorded and determined by the Heads of Synagogues, and others with them, amongſt themſelves.

7. To repeal any Laws, if any ſuch be, as are againſt *Jews*, for their greater Security.

This was the Subſtance of the Propoſals.

The Protector, when the Propoſals had been read, ſaid, If more were propoſed than it was meet ſhould be granted, it might now be conſidered, 1. Whether it be lawful at all to receive in the *Jews*. 2. If it be lawful, then upon what Terms is it meet to receive them?

His further ſpeaking in Favour of that Nation, and the Expreſſions of others, *Pro* and *Contra*, are before related.

SECT. II.

Here followeth Part of a Letter written by Rabbi Manaſſes, *from* Amſterdam, *in* September, 5407, *or* 1647, *to one in* England, *whilſt the Sword in our late Wars conſumed many Thouſands.*

Senhor,

NO *puedo enar*. That is, Sir, I cannot expreſs the Joy that I have, when I read your Letters, full of Deſires to ſee your Country proſperous, which is heavily afflicted with Civil Wars, without Doubt, by the juſt Judgment of God: And it ſhould not be in vain to attribute it to the Puniſhment of your Predeceſſors Faults, committed againſt ours; when ours, being deprived of their Liberty under Deceitfulneſs, ſo many Men were ſlain, only becauſe they kept cloſe unto the Tents of *Moſes*, their Legiſlator, *&c.*

SECT. III.

Of the Proceedings amongſt Indians *in* New-England.

IN *Martin's Vineyard*, Southerly from *Boſton* and from Cape *Cod*, the fourth Book, publiſhed by Mr. *Whitfield*, 1651, the Lord began with one *Hiacome*, 1643, whom his King did ſtrike on the Face, becauſe he ſpoke for the *Engliſh*; *Hiacome* was patient, and ſaid to one afterwards,

afterwards, I had one Hand for Injuries, and the other laid greater Hold on God.

1645, and 1646, *Indians* obſerved, that God's Hand, by a Sickneſs, was far more on them, than on *Hiacome*'s Houſe and Friends; and met, and would know Things of Religion. He ſpoke of one God, *&c.* A great *Indian* ſaid, that had thirty-ſeven Gods, Shall I throw away thirty-ſeven Gods for one? *Hiacome* ſaid, I have done it, and you ſee I am now preſerved: That *Indian* ſaid, I will throw away all my Gods too, and ſerve that one God with you.

1647, *Sagamar Towanquatick*, turning from Paganiſm, was ſhot by a deviliſh *Indian* in the Night; the next Morning Mr. *Mahew*, that preacheth to thoſe *Indians*, found him praiſing God that he was not killed.

1649, many *Indians* came to *Hiacome* to learn more of God, and were encouraged not to fear their *Pawaw* Witches.

1650, by *Hiacome*'s Means, *Humanequem* turned from Paganiſm.

In the fifth Book, called *Strength out of Weakneſs*, Mr. *Mahew* relates, 1651, three converted from being *Pawaws*, loſing thoſe Gains, Friends, *&c.* there is a Conference with an *Indian*.

In the ſixth Book, called *Tears of Repentance*, 1653, Mr. *Mahew* ſets down the Covenant to ſerve *Jehovah*, that thoſe *Indians* made, 1652; that about thirty *Indian* Children were then at School. Theſe praying *Indians* were ſhortly to be gathered into one Town.

Mr. *Elliot* relates the Confeſſions and Repentance of about fifteen *Natick Indians*, in *New-England* Bay: Their own Words *Engliſhed*, and the hopeful Words of two *Indian* Children, under three Years of Age, before they died, as, *God and* Jeſus Chriſt *help me*; *God and* Jeſus Chriſt *bleſs it*, before it would eat. The other, when its Bawbles were brought it, being in Pain, putting them away, it ſaid, I will leave my Baſket, for I am going to God; I will leave my Spoon and my Tray, for I am going to God.

In the Seventh, and laſt Book, called *A late and further Manifeſtation of the Goſpel's Progreſs amongſt* Indians *in* New-England, Mr. *Elliot* relates the Examination of the *Indians* at *Rockſbury*, the Thirteenth of the fourth Month, 1654, before an Aſſembly of the Elders in and about the Bay, and others, concerning their Knowledge in the Grounds of the Chriſtian Religion: The Narration whereof is judged fit to be printed, that God may have Praiſes for his free Grace wonderfully manifeſted; as it is atteſted by,

H. Whitfield,
Ed. Calamy,
Simon Aſhe,
and *J. Arthur.*

The *BRITISH* BELLMAN.

Printed in the Year
Of the Saints Fear.

Anno Domini, 1648. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages.

ORDERED,

That a competent Number of theſe Books be forthwith printed, for the Service of the King and Kingdom, and be diſperſed through all Counties, Cities, Boroughs, and Towns Corporate, and all other Market-Towns whatſoever, within this Realm of England, *and Dominion of* Wales; *and that all, who love their King and Country,*

and

and hate Rebellion and Treaſon, do forthwith make all Proviſion and Speed that may be, to riſe, and take by Force, or otherwiſe, all Garriſons they can, in all Parts of the Kingdom, and ſummon in the Country to them, for the ſpeedier Suppreſſion of theſe abominable malicious Rebels and Traitors, this prevailing Party in the Parliament Houſes, and their Army, who, by wicked Craft and Subtlety, have undone three flouriſhing Kingdoms already, and yet would again engage us in another War with our Brethren of Scotland. *It is alſo deſired, that our Brethren of the Aſſociation would keep their Men in the Field, and, when* Cromwell *is gone for* Wales, *fall upon the other Part of the Army, remaining in the Country near us, with all the Power of Horſe and Foot they can make, and we will endeavour, in the City, to ſecond them to the Utmoſt of our Power; now is the Time for us to free ourſelves from Slavery, and put an End unto Taxations, we ſhall never have a Settlement elſe.*

O Yes, O yes, if any one can give me Notice of four great Ships, laden with Money, lately at *Graveſend*, to be paſſed without Search, by Ordinance of Parliament, and can help to take them, he ſhall be well paid for his Pains, and have many Thanks.

O yes, O yes, if there be any more Fools or Knaves, that will go Soul and Body to the Devil, for an heretical, perfidious Piece of a Parliament, Incendiaries, Boutifeu's, *Faux*'s of Faction and Sedition, with brazen Faces, and ſeared Conſciences; having nothing but Perjury and Lyes in their Mouths; Falſhoods, Treaſons, and Miſ-religions in their Hearts; daily Murders, Robberies, and Oppreſſions in their Actions; let them repair to the red-noſed Rebel, Theiſtenant *Oliver* or his black General *Tom*.

Who helps to diſthrone the King, to change Monarchical Government, to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion, and Laws of our Land, to cry down Preſbytery and Crown, the Kinglings, the Buffoons, the Mountebanks of *Weſtminſter*?

Who ſaves the lordly *Lurdanes*, after ſeven Years Miſrule, undoing of the Kingdom, impriſoning, and abuſing of the King, and ſuffering *Haman* to ſtrike him, from taking Leave of their Allies at *Tower-hill* and *Tyburn*?

O yes, Who ſacrifices the City and Country another ſeven Years to their inſatiable Avarice?

Who helps them to pill and poll them by their ravenous Implements, the Committees and their Subſtitutes, for more Money to ſend beyond Sea?

O yes, Who buys Biſhops, Malignants Lands? Who buys *Paul*'s Steeple? Who buys the King's caſt Shoes and Boots? Who buys his Guards Coats? Who buys Sun and Moon?

O yes, Who ſends them Thanks for their Ordinance for forcing Taxations for their four laſt Bills and Declaration againſt the King?

Who beats the Boys from Cats-pellet, and Stool-ball? Who fights with *Poyer*, with the Lord *Inchequin*, with Colonel *Jones* of *Dublin*, and our Brethren of *Scotland*? Who, and they ſhall have new Snap-ſacks in Hand, blue Bonnets, and Capon Tails, when the *Scotch* and *Welch* be conquered, Promiſes enough for the preſent, and as much Pay at laſt as thoſe that have been turned off with nothing.

In the Beginning of this Hell-ſpewed Seſſions, we had as large Promiſes of happy Acquirements to this Church and Nation as ſubtle Treaſon could in fly and ſpecious Language poſſibly ſuggeſt. We had them uſhered in with a Proteſtation in the firſt Place; in which our Religion, our Laws, our King's Honour, his Parliaments Privileges, our own Liberties and Properties were the common Themes. We had them waited upon with an Oath after, and a Covenant, which nevertheleſs were only to be as the Paſſages at which *Jephtha*'s Soldiers tried the liſping *Ephraimites* in their *Sibboleth*: Witneſs your Anſwer of the Twenty-ſixth of *May*, 1646, unto our *City Remonſtrance*, in the latter End of Page 2.

We had many Pamphlets commended daily unto us, The Integrity of a Parliament, how that it could have no ſiniſter End; as if a Multitude could be void of Knaves to contrive, and of Fools to concur in Miſchief. Many Plots were diſcovered daily againſt our Religion and our Laws, in which ye *Machiavels* of *Weſtminſter*, ye *Malevola*'s might have claimed the chiefeſt

chiefeſt Livery, as *Beelzebub*'s neareſt Attendants in that Kind; but they muſt be fathered ſtill upon our old Juſticers, and indeed they can do little, that cannot bely an Enemy. Ye thought it beſt to cry Whore firſt, that in them you might by little and little undermine our King and us; and ſacrifice our Religion, our Laws, our Goods, our Lives and Liberties, yea, our very Souls too, for ye have ſilenced almoſt all our able Guides, and daily burn their Eſcripts, unto your own boundleſs Luſts, Ambition, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Pleaſure. Theſe were the Originals, the Springs of your after acted Villainies; not that Candour and Zeal ſo often diſſembled in your gloſſy Declarations. It is now ſufficiently manifeſt by your Actions, the trueſt Interpreters of Men's Intentions. How would you have us think you really intend as you pretended, when the Courſes you run conduce to the very contrary Ends? Whilſt the King and his Faithfuls retained their Places of Dominion, we enjoyed ſuch golden Days of Peace and Plenty, as we muſt never ſee again, ſo long as you Harpyes, you ſucking Purſe-Leeches and your Implements be our Maſters.

Were we not enough damnified with your Soldiers, during the Time of the War, but you muſt ſtill burden us with them, now it is ended? Did not Taxations then light heavy enough upon us, but you muſt continue them ſtill? How could you conſume more than twenty Millions of Money upon ſuch ſlender Armies in ſo few Years? The Soldiers have had little, elſe, ſave Bread and Cheeſe, which have come from the Country, over and above thoſe vaſt Sums; oh! your Coffers are not yet full enough; ſome of your Monkey Brats are not yet provided for; but hye you hence, it is beſt, you Urchins, you Caterpillers of our Commonwealth, to *New England* and the *Spaw*, after our Gold you have ſent away, leſt on a ſudden we ſend you to *Styx* without a Penny in your Mouths to pay your Paſſage to your God *Pluto*: Our Brethren of *Scotland*, and the Lord *Inchequin*, will find you more Work than the Boys in *Moorfields* and the *Strand*: Your goodly Gloſſings and Rabble-ſerving Colluſions have been but like Watermen upon the *Thames*, looking one Way and rowing another; and now you ſee your holy Cauſe will not ſucceed by Oppoſition, you come up, and would cloſe, ſince Money will not work upon our Brethren of *Scotland*, with our City in the Presbyterian Government, in the Reſtitution of the Militia and *Tower*; but for the Proteſtant Religion, and our old Rubrick, you ſtill wave them.

I pray you let me aſk your Honeſties a Queſtion? Could *Say* and his Confederates have their nocturnal Meetings ſo frequently, and not have ſome treaſonable Deſigns, which the reſt of the Houſes and ourſelves might not be privy to? We may ſee now the Reaſon of your Bill, to ſit as long as you liſted; we truſted, ſuch rare Men were you in leading our Faith and Belief ſo in a String, the Ground thereof had been the redreſſing of the many Grievances of the Kingdom, and Tranſaction of the *Iriſh* Affairs, as was pretended; but it proves otherwiſe; that which, had you been honeſt, would have made this Nation the happieſt under Heaven, you have made the Bane and Ruin of all good People: You have demeaned yourſelves meet, as an aged Gentleman ſaid of you, when he heard the King had ſigned you that Bill: You would, ſaid he, grow ſo ambitious that you would ſet all the Kingdom on Fire; and when once you had got your Fingers, into its Purſe, you would become ſo infatiably covetous, that you would never ſeek the Settlement of Peace; whether this Man gueſſed aright or no, let any who hath his five Senſes judge.

We likewiſe call to Mind your other Bill for his Majeſty's referring the Choice of his Privy-Council unto you, coloured by your Outcries againſt thoſe his old Faithfuls, and your diſhoneſt Proceedings againſt them; your framing ſcandalous Petitions amongſt yourſelves, and ſending them Abroad for Hands; a notable Way to work upon exaſperated Minds, and to exaſperate Minds to work upon againſt them; but a Way which may deſtroy any innocent Man: While the Shepherd had his Dogs, you Wolves could not raven his Flocks; but ſince you ſupplanted them, what Pranks you and your Creatures, your Subſtitutes have plaid, we have ſeen and felt; and you or they, or all of you, may one Day anſwer for; we may ſay now, as no Kingdom or State ever yet could, there is ſcarce one honeſt Man in Office amongſt us; but no Marvel: We know the Proverb, *Like Maſter, like Men.*

Oh, but we wrong you, you are ſpecial Patriots; it is you Preſbyterians may be no further truſted, you be the Honeſties, there is no Nay, and take it as granted, though nothing more queſtioned, or ſo queſtionable. We thought your Excluſion of Biſhops out of the

Upper

Upper Houſe, and bedaubing them with the goodly Habiliments of Arminianiſm and Popery, had been for ſome other End, than that for which you expelled the eleven Members; to paucify the Number of thoſe you conceived would countervote you, that you might eaſily do what you luſted, and lead the left Shallowlings, *nolens volens*, in the Trace of Darkneſs; and that you might unqueſtioned, *adhinnire*, after freſh Maidenheads, and Neighbours Beds. Ill Courſes cannot endure good Diſcipline; for this very Cauſe, had the Prophets and Fathers of old, nay, our bleſſed Saviour and his Apoſtles, lived here in *England* in theſe Days, they had certainly been made new Papiſts by this Quinteſſence of Villainy, this wicked Piece of a Parliament, and their helliſh Helpers. We thought your Votes againſt Pluralities had been for Promotion of the Goſpel, not Diviſion of the Clergy, and to make the Wiſeakers, the look-like Geeſe, the naughty Part of them (that will be any Thing for Preferment, *omnium horarum homines*) for you; neither did we, till now of late, imagine your Poſſeſſing yourſelves of his Majeſty's Shipping and *Cinque Ports* (ſo finely ſhadowed with the Remembrance of the late ſpoiled *Spaniſh* Fleet, and your Deſires of the Kingdom's Safety) had been the Prologue to this treacherous Tragedy you have ſince acted, much leſs ourſelves ſhould be the laſt Scene thereof; yet herein we muſt needs acknowledge Heaven juſt in our Puniſhment, for it was we, Preſbyterians, that inabled you to your impious illegal Courſes of Slaughter, Plunder, and Sequeſtration, contrary to the known Laws of this Realm, yourſelves know it very well, againſt the King and his Servants, who, I am now perſuaded in my Conſcience, being farther diſcerning than ourſelves, aimed at nothing, but bringing you to the Trial of the Law for your Treaſons, that we might enjoy the Benefit of the Laws of our Land, and the Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood eſtabliſhed by our Law. God forgive us our Amiſneſſes.

I pray you, if a Man might aſk your High and Mightineſſes a Queſtion, What meant your Diſplacing of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and your after Poiſoning him; (for it is certain you did ſo, many of us know it, deny it as much as you will) and your Putting of your ſcoundrel Army, and their mechanick Captains, under the Command of *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, two atheiſtical Independents? What meant your late Force done upon our City, and the eleven Members, your Diſplacing and Impriſoning our Lord Mayor and Aldermen? For it was you that went away to the Army that ſet on them, though now you ſay, you knew nothing of the laſt Plot. Had thoſe that were Cavalieriſh plaid us ſuch Tricks of *Leger-de-main*, we would have caſt in their Teeth——What not?

But you, our dear Brethren, are Men of another Stamp, yet it is hard to ſay, Whether Barrel better Herring. I hope you did it out of Simplicity, with a good, charitable, pure Intent, to promote and ſet forward the holy Cauſe. You would fain ſay ſomething for yourſelves, but I know not what: You meant well; but the Ape hath diſcovered himſelf to be ſo, by cracking of Nuts. Thus doth Malice, Ambition, and indiſcreet Zeal, make many Men loſe their Wits they know not where. Indeed, ſuch Tricks befit well your Independent Cauſe, not to be promoted, but by Colluſion; but your tranſported ſaucy Spirits may haply, in the End, be taught to be more ſubmiſs, and ſparing in abuſing them, from whom you had your Power. You would fain come off with us now, but ſtay a little, good Mr. *Muſſties*; you thought it eaſy to inſlave us *Engliſh* to ſtrangle in the Birth our claſſical Projects, our conſiſtorial Practices, and conventual Deſigns of zealous Brethren in the Land; ſuch Illuminates you counted us; you ſure thought our Brains made of the Pap of an Apple, and our Hearts of Aſpen-leaves: Religion, which ſhould be the Rule, muſt be only a Reſult of Policy, a Stalking-horſe to catch Fools, and be pretended only to ſerve *Babylonian* Turns. But go you, ſerve *Baal* and *Aſhtaroth*, if ye like it; we will no popular Cantonings of diſmembered Scripture; none of your Miſſives prophetical Determinations in their heretical Conventicles; we will not build our Salvation upon the facing Impudence of ſuch light Skirts, ſuch heliſh Impoſtors; let the Truth they teach, and your Parliamentary Proceeding, come to ſcanning, the *Turkiſh* Alcoran, and *Cade*'s, and *Ket*'s, and *Percy*'s, and *Nevil*'s Actions will be as warrantable, as ſuitable with the Word of God, and Law of this Land. Though you have eclipſed the Lamp of Light, you muſt not think us as Geeſe, which, when they are driven on by Night, and a long Staff held over them, will go without Noiſe or Reluctancy, holding

holding down their Heads: We, Proteſtants, are not ſo Creſt-fallen, as that we ſhall go on, as you Independents would diſpoſe us; if your gifted Men, with their new Learning, for old they have none, can teach us more than yet we know, or you, with your new Policy, can contrive us better Laws than thoſe we have, we will yield, and thank them for ſuch Inſtructions, you for ſuch Legiſlations. I beſeech you, Will your Wiſdoms, or common Senſe, or Underſtanding, or what you will call it, approve of nothing in our Common-Prayer Book, that you preſent us with an *inane nihil*, a new Directory of a noddy Synod, or find you ſo many Deficiencies in Monarchical Government, that you ſhould ſeek to introduce an Ochlocracy, a People Sway? You know the King can do no Wrong, and we know, that by him we had Redreſs, which very few could obtain from you or your Officers, of Wrongs, Why then fought you to depoſe him, and to change the Regal Government? O, it was to crown yourſelves, and undo us. But hear ye, *Sequitur ſuperbos ultor à tergo Deus*, If you believe there is one, Pride will have a Fall. Lo! even the very Touching of the Crown hath already cruſhed you, hath made the People every where forſake you, and all the Wiles and Flatteries in your Boſoms will not regain them. Would you not give the Maker Leave to diſpoſe of his Creature? Shall not he govern by what Subſtitutes he pleaſes, but they muſt be ſupplanted by you? Behold, ye miſborn Elves of *Lucifer*, your impious Actions; in this very Thing ye join yourſelves unto *Apollyon*, ye incamp againſt God that made you, and know aſſuredly, that, Though ye may eſcape Puniſhment in this Life, ye muſt die, and riſe, and come to Judgment; but we hope our Brethren of *Scotland* will ſhew you the Suburbs of Hell in this World. Our People ſee enough now your Jugglings, and how you turn Cat in the Pan, and ſhift off Things from yourſelves to your Army. Yet, while ye ſeemed to look and run two ſeveral Ways, and now ye do ſo again, but, like *Sampſon*'s Foxes, ye joined together in the Tail. We obſerved, how that the Army, when the Kingdom murmured at the Surpriſal of the City, profeſſed themſelves your Servants, and your Carriage of thoſe Buſineſſes, and that you, and the Heads of your Army, have ſince taken an Oath, to live and die together; and that you ſhift off the Impriſonment of our Lord Mayor and Aldermen from yourſelves to *Fairfax*, and he to [illegible] again; but they muſt lie in Priſon howſoever, they muſt not be reſtored unto their Places. I pray you, Whoſe Hands then will the Militia and *Tower* be in, if they be reſtored, Preſbyterians or Independents? Take Notice, my fellow Citizens, of this Slur; if we ſhould aſſiſt them in another War, we ſhould again be baffled and muffled by them.

We remember that Ordinance of yours, in or about *Auguſt* laſt, wherein you threaten Impriſonment, Plunder, and Slaughter, by *Fairfax* and his Army, unto thoſe that ſhall refuſe to pay any of your illegal, and, now that the War is ended, unneceſſary Impoſitions, by Way of Exciſe, Loan, Mizes, Weekly and Monthly Aſſeſſments; though, to go after the reſt of Levies, the Advancement of yourſelves and Implements, and your Brats, not publick Service of the Kingdom. I pray you, may I aſk your Knaveſhips (neither better nor worſe, but even ſo) How ſtands that Ordinance with our Liberties and Properties, the two wonted Sons of your former Declarations? And you have, the other Week, ſtopped the Payment of Debentures, and Penſions, to thoſe that have loſt their Limbs and Huſbands in your Service, to let us ſee which Way our Monies muſt go, and your Soldiers what they ſhall have at laſt from you.

We gueſs the Reaſon of your Sending away the King to the *Iſle of Wight*; the People's Hearts were too much hazarded, when he was near; yourſelves, and your Taxations, could not be long enough lived; you feared Petitions and Impeachments, if he ſhould get Power to call you to his Bar, and that your Accounts ſhould be reviewed: You have carried yourſelves well in your Places the While, Have you not? Or thought you to tutor him, with a Bit and a Bob, into Obſervance of you, as Men do Apes? When you had him there, and mued up in a ſtinking new-built Room, under ſeven Locks, and made him his own Scullion, when his Fire wanted Repair, and *Haman* beſtowed ſome Buffets on him, and all Appearance of Succour kept from him, you thought he would, for his Enlargement, do any Thing; but know you, we take Notice what it was you would have had him done, and of theſe your ſubtle Ways to bring it to paſs;

that, which you ſollicited him for, was the Signing of the [illegible] Bills, which had been, if you could have forc'd it from him, the utter Ruin of us all, and [illegible] our Poſterity after us; you would have brought us into a worſe Condition than *Turkiſh* Slaves; you would have had more Power from the King to abuſe (now you have a raſcal Army in Readineſs to inforce) than himſelf, or any of his Predeceſſors, had to uſe over this free-born Nation. What *Mordecai*'s would not have bowed to you? Or whoever ſhould impeach you of Evil, ſhould have been ſtraightway made more miſerable than *Job*; the *Sabeans*, your Committees, ſhould fall upon his Oxen, his Cows and Sheep; your Sequeſtrators ſhould fall upon his Rents, and the *Chaldeans* ſhould fall upon his Camels; your Troops ſhould fall upon his Horſes, and you yourſelves would ſtarve him in Priſon; you would find ſome publick Uſe for his private Eſtate. We thank you heartily for your good Projects; Are theſe they you have been theſe ſeven Years in hatching? If the King had ſigned you thoſe Bills, how ſhould any Man make his Will, and bar you from being his Executors? But we hope God, in his due Time, will releaſe us, and pay you the Wages of your wicked Ways; our King's Suffering for us ſhall for the Future teach us our Duty better towards him: We know what Offers of gracious Acts he hath from Time to Time propoſed; but, becauſe they were conducing to our Good, not your Ambition and Avarice, therefore you refuſed them, and ſay they were not fit for you to receive. We think yet upon your late Declaration againſt him, when you had before-hand traduced him all over the Countries, by your miſcreant Imps of the Father of Lyes, trooping Independents, as guilty of his late Father's Death, and ſhut him up, not giving him Leave to anſwer it, or ſo much as Notice of it, but bidding *Haman* tell him you would try him for his Life: This was an honeſt Part in you, was it not? Yes, like as honeſt as your other Dealings; you drew low upon the Lees of Malice, when you had nothing left but a Recapitulation of former Lyes and Slanders; you ſhall have Thanks for it, yes marry ſhall ye. Send again your Petitions to *Taunton-Deane*, in *Somerſetſhire*, and *Rumford*, in *Eſſex*, or ſomewhere elſe, happily ſomebody may thank you now; Will you take my Counſel, and thank one another; So ſhall you not go without Thanks. You Rake-ſhames, hot-burning Coals be your Portions, when you deal ſo baſely and treacherouſly with your King; What Juſtice may your fellow Subjects, a little while your Slaves, look for from you? But what may Men expect from Impudence and Wickedneſs in the Abſtracts; from Men (do I ſay Men) from Devils, from Things worſe than Devils, ſo often guilty of Perjury, Murder, Robbery, Oppreſſion, and Treaſon? You curſed Caitiffs, How ſuits this with the Law of God or of the Land, with your Proteſtation and your Covenant? You would ſeem to alledge many Reaſons for that Declaration, but thoſe, that moved you thereto, were much otherwiſe than thoſe you lay down; they were the final Accompliſhment of your firſt intended Treaſons, the Extirpation of Monarchical Government, the Coronation of yourſelves, and our Slavery; which to bring about, now that you had loſt yourſelves in our Opinions, you deviſed this Recapitulation of your priſtine Forgeries, with which you had formerly befooled us all; confiding, it would put out of our Memories the late Seals of your *Leger-de-main* Dealings, and reprint in us thoſe Jealouſies and Diſaffections towards our gracious Sovereign, which in ſeveral they did before: But ſtay, ſince he chuſeth rather to endure your diſconſolate Priſon, than paſs you ſuch Bills as may be ours and our Children's Ruin; you muſt (rake you Hell for Lyes, and ſkum the Devils) never more look again to divide our Hearts from him; you have diſcovered yourſelves too far, to regain any Intereſt in our Affections; we would enjoy our Religion and our Laws, which we muſt not look to do, until we get you to the Block and Gallows. When we looked for a Settlement of our King and Kingdom, lo! you falſe your Words, and break Covenant with our Brethren of *Scotland*; you provide Arms and Snap-ſnacks, and prepare for more Wars. Never were Rakehells, Buffoons, Rebels, Vermin, ſo deſperately ſet to undo their own native Soil, and Church in which they were baptized; but we know the Reaſon, ye live too well, ye fare too full, ye can have your Feaſts, each Day, of all the dainty Cates our City-cookery can deviſe; ye grow too fat in Bag and Body, by fiſhing in troubled Waters, to deſire Peace; neither regard ye the empty Purſes, and hungry Bellies, that

that ye have made in the City, eſpecially ſince your lurching it out of the Preſbyterians Command. Ye may ſee if ye would, but ye will not, Multitudes of Thouſands, who formerly had Trading and Work enough for Subſiſtence, now ſit hunger-ſtarved in Chimney-corners, without Employment to get them Bread. Ye know, that, ſince ye took the *Tower* and Militia from us, and ſent away our King, the City hath had no Trading, and yet ye ſend not for him Home; but ye can ſend for your Taxations, as if our Trade were good: Ye have made this famous City of *London* not only poor, but the very Scorn and Mock of all the World, by your Force done upon it in *Auguſt*; and, as if ye had not then enough wronged our Honour, ye muſt, the other Day, triumph and lord it through our Streets with a Handful of your ſcummy Army; and, in Deriſion, as ye paſſed along, bid us go buy more Swords for our Apprentices. Had ye not meddled in the Buſineſs, but made Uſe of us, we could have ruled them without Slaughter, and would; but, ſo ye may peer it, ye weigh not our Diſhonour, nor their Blood.

I may ſeem a new *Britannicus* for thus Phraſing you, but it was ever held lawful to call a Spade a Spade; it is good to uncaſe ſuch Imps, that they may be known what they be; it is good to diſcover ſuch Panthers, left, when you have allured more with the ſweet Scent, and Party-colouredneſs of Skin (I mean your Calumnies againſt our Friends, and your ſugared Declarations) you, as theſe Beaſts, prey upon them with bloody Tallons, as already you have done upon us. St. *Paul* gave not *Elymas* any gentle Terms, nor did St. *Peter* ſpeak Butter and Honey to *Simon Magus*; our Saviour himſelf, that Man of Meekneſs, called *Herod* a Fox, and *Judas* a Devil, when they deſerved it. Since ye aim not at Peace, but make it your whole Endeavour, your ſpecial Study, Day and Night, by all Kind of Iniquity, to keep Faction and Sedition on Foot, and maintain Oppoſition, even where it needs not, ye are to be curried in your Kind, and rubbed as ye deſerve; not to be ſmoothed or ſlecked over, leſt ye pleaſe yourſelves too well in your Impiety, and our Oppreſſion never have Redreſs. Ye talked much in the Beginning of your Seſſions, that ye would open Obſtructions of Law, not ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice and [illegible]ty; but hear a little your own Falſhood,

and go chew the Cud, as when ye receive Letters from *Scotland*.

[illegible]e us leave to [illegible]ur Neighbours underſtand [illegible]nts late in *Chancery*, betwixt one *Wilkes*, and one *Dutton* of the Neighbourhood of *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire*, and two Knaves, Providers of your Independent Faction there, one *Becket*, and one *Gellicorſe*; the Buſineſs was thus: *Wilkes* and *Dutton*, good honeſt Preſbyterians, had much Cattle and Cheeſe taken from them in the Time of the War, by *Becket* and *Gellicorſe*, without any Order from the Council of War there; and the Goods not converted to the Uſe of the Publick, as was pretended, but embezzled by the two Providers; now, ſince that the Courts were opened *Wilkes* and *Dutton* repair to the *Chancery*, for Relief, the *Exchequer* at *Cheſter* being not as then open, or not daring to meddle with any of yours, for Fear of a Snub; and *Becket*, for himſelf and *Gellicorſe*, haſteth to Sir *William Brereton*, goodly Sir *William Brereton*, who forthwith makes Relation of the Matter unto you, his Brethren, of the two Houſes; and you (all of you apprehenſive enough, of what might betide yourſelves, and your honeſt Committees, as well as the Providers, if ſuch Suits had Audience, preſently diſpatch a privat Ordinance unto all the Courts, then open in the Kingdom, commanding that no Lawyer ſhould plead, nor Judge determine in any ſuch Cauſe; whereupon, the Plaintiffs were ſent Home with double Loſs, caſt thus unjuſtly in Charges, and many Threats for deſiring Juſtice; and their Sollicitor forced to fly the Court, for looking after the Buſineſs. Was this honeſt Dealing? Was this an Opening or Obſtructing of Law? Tell now, and call yourſelves Knaves. Ye are brave Men to ſteer a State. Are ye not? The City and Kingdom both have known enough of ſuch like Seizures; but we ſhall ſtraight find a Way to ſtrip *Æſop*'s Magpy out of her plundered Plumes.

You made out many Ordinances, that your under Officers ſhould not wrong the Publick, by Vertue of any Act, Order or Ordinance of Parliament, or without Warrant; by taxing, levying, collecting, or receiving; by ſeizing, ſelling, diſburſing, or diſpoſing any Monies, Goods, Debts, Rents, or Profits of Friends or others, or by ſetting or letting to Farm Delinquents Lands and Tythes. But you never held them to the Obſervation of ſuch your

Rules, nor punish any Frauds or Misdemeanors in any such Kind, though Justice were required, but would send all the Plaintiffs, as you would have done the *Warwickshire* Men, had they not been so many, and so earnest, as that you feared the Revolt of that Country, with Threats bedaubing them with the Notions of Malignancy, and Desires to divide you amongst themselves: For whereas there was a great Subsidy granted about *November*, 1642, for the then present Affairs of this Kingdom, and of *Ireland*; the one Moiety of the said Subsidy paid, at least in most Places, by the several Counties, to Commissioners, according as the same Act appointed; nevertheless there have since Warrants issued forth, which are kept safe to be produced, if Time once serve, for such Accusations, signed with the proper Hands of some of your Members, amongst the other your Committees, for the Re-collecting of the said Money paid before, and much more by Colour of the said Act: And whereas you made an Ordinance, bearing Date, *October* the Sixteenth, 1644, for the Supply of the *British* Army in *Ireland*, ordering a Weekly Pay, to last for the Space of a Year, and the one Moiety of the Assessment to be in Corn, at least in many Places so, the other in Money; the same Ordinance was not put in Execution, I could tell you where, according to the Tenor thereof: But about *July*, 1645, Warrants were sent out by some of your Members, then in the Countries, and Councils of War, for the Raising of divers great Sums of Money, amounting to more than twice as much, as was limited by the said Ordinance; and immediately, upon the former Collections, new Warrants sent Abroad, for vast Sums to be paid Weekly, without any Orders from you, and yet you neither can find any Law for your Taxations; and in Default of Payment, our Goods and Chattels by Violence, as well to the Person, as Goods of the Party, have been distrained, detained, and sold without speedy Payment, according to the Collectors Demands, with a Command to the High-Sheriff, delegated by him to the Under-Sheriff, not to grant any Replevin for our Goods and Chattels so violently taken away, contrary to the Liberty of the Subject, and the known Laws and Customs of this Kingdom.

You talked of Calling for Accounts, and seemed to do so; but we are certain, that the Revenues of Delinquents Estates would have defrayed all, or the greatest Part of the Charge of the War, without any so great Burthens to the Country, as have been laid upon it, had they been faithfully and really disposed of, to the best Advantage, and Benefit of the Publick; but you have all made up your Accounts honestly, it must needs be so; and indeed where one Thief must account before another, Who thinks any great Discoveries will be made? But let me tell you, and I will tell you truly, how Accounts were made; you nominated Committees for Examination, Men as much in Fault as the Accountants, who put their Hands to all Reckonings, as they were presented, without Looking, if they were just and straight, or no; met thus you tried Accounts; Who may think that those broken fortuned and beggarly Knaves, of which Sort of People, for the most Part, your Officers consisted, would compass such Estates, as they have done in so short a Time, and bring in just and true Accounts? I trow not Man: Nay, your own Accounts, if they were examined, as they should be, would prove no juster than the others; else, How come you by all that Money, you have, from Time to Time, sent beyond Sea? We remember, how vehemently you startled and exclaimed, when some of our City would have had an Account of the Proposition-plate.

You made an Ordinance, that your Sequestrators, and their under Officers, the Collectors and Prizers, should occupy no sequestered Farms; but the most of them did hold very good Demesns of Two or Three-hundred *per Annum*, and paid not a Penny Rent to the Use of the Publick for them, neither wanted they their Pay from other Levies.

You likewise made an Ordinance, that they should sell Malignants Goods, at the best Rate, for the Advantage of the Publick; but they have been suffered to take what they pleased to themselves, and the rest they have sold to their Favourites, many Times, for less than Half so much, as others would have given for them.

You made an Ordinance, that they should take no Bribes, and yet neither they, nor you, would ever do any Courtesy, or Act of distributive Justice, without a Bribe.

There were (in many Cities and Towns taken in) Booties seized, worth better than two-hundred Thousand Pounds, in Money and Plate, and Jewels, and Houshold Furniture, I could tell you where; and yet your Committees,

mittees, your Appraiſers, and Men that ſold them, have not been aſhamed to ſay, they made but thirteen-thouſand Pounds of ſuch vaſt Booties, though it hath been publickly known they have had above nineteen-thouſand Pounds, in Money and Plate, out of one Houſe, and fifteen-thouſand Pounds-worth of one Man's Goods out of another. But, truly, how they ſhould put Things to the beſt, I cannot ſee, running the Way they did; for they would firſt proclaim a Day of Sale, to fetch in the Country Chapmen, and, when they were come, put the Day off again, to weary them out of the Towns with Expence; and then the non-fighting Officers would take the beſt and moſt of the Prey unto themſelves, beſides Selling *Robin Hood*'s Pennyworths for Bribes: This was the Deportment of many of them. Ye ſhould have ſummoned in the Country, and the Cavaliers, to have ſhewed what Money, and Goods, and Proviſion was fetched from them from Time to Time, and by whom, and have compared their Notes with your Accountants; ye ſhould have examined the Muſters of your Men, and ſo ye might have found out Receipts, and gueſſed what Diſburſements might have been; and this would ſoon have been done by many Officers, and many Diviſions of the Counties; And who, but ſuch as are altogether void of Honeſty and Shame, would carry themſelves thus unrighteouſly, or bear with it? Theſe Things ye could not chuſe but know (for thoſe of you, that were Abroad in the Wars, were Eye-witneſſes of the ſame) and yet ye never minded to redreſs them.

After this Manner have you ever looked to the publick Welfare, and no otherwiſe: Beſides, it was uſual for your Independent Faction (though no Fighters) at Taking of Towns, to get Orders from Committees (by ſcraping Legs and Crouching) for Cavaliers Houſes, and then take Goods and all for their own Uſe, without Payment of a Penny for them to the Publick. This is not unknown to many; and, as if you would leave no Tricks unpractiſed, by which you might beguile and abuſe the Country, ye deviſed another Trick to get more of their Monies; your Committees muſt lend you, but What? The Monies they have gathered from the Country by Loans and Mizes, and the Country muſt pay Eight *per Cent.* Intereſt for Loan of the ſame. Thus do ye daily only exult how to delude and abuſe the Country; thus do ye continue your Sitting for no other End, but that ye may ſuck up the Fat of the Kingdom; but ye ſhall ſee, how it hath found you Knavery, it will ſhortly turn you over another Leaf: It hath provided a Trap to catch your Foxes: Ye cried out upon the King for heavy Taxes, which nevertheleſs, by your own Computation, amounted but to ſeven-hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum* in the Whole, throughout the City and Kingdom; which was no great Sum to build and maintain ſo many Ships and Soldiers, as his Majeſty then had for the Defence of his Kingdoms; and ye quarrelled at the Manner of his Levying ſuch Monies, forſooth, becauſe there was no Statute-Law for the ſame; as if the *Pater Patriæ* might not, where the Letter of the Law falls too ſhort, make uſe of his own and his Council's Diſcretion for his People's Preſervation. Oh! but, had he made you the Collectors, that you might have licked your Fingers, as ye have done ſince ye put yourſelves into Offices, all had been well enough; but, for the Maſs of Money levied, if your Propoſition-money, your Fifths and twentieth Parts, your continual Loans and Mizes, and your other innumerable Taxations, your Sequeſtrations of Goods and Lands, your Plunder and Pillage, your Soldiers Free-quarter, and Proviſions for your Stores were, or could be caſt up, they would be found valuable to buy twenty times ſeven-hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* Thus have your good State-phyſicians medicined your Diſeaſes; yet we cannot deny you to be cunning Doctors, ye have kept our Purſes ſo long in Phyſick. And I pray you, Had ye any Precedent in the Law to impriſon Men unconvicted of Vice, and make them ranſom themſelves with great Sums of Money, as ye did (when ye ſent the Propoſitions through the Country) thoſe that refuſed to furniſh you according to your Demand? I trow not. Ye know it is a Breach of the Law, and an Infringement of the *Magna Charta*, both which ye forſworn Wretches ſwore to maintain. Ye accuſe the King of Neglecting *Ireland*, and lo! ſince the War was ended here, What Care have ye taken to relieve it? Ye have ſent ſometimes Handfuls of Men over, to be cut off as ſoon as they came there; ye might as good have hanged them here, before they had gone, as ſent them thither by ſuch inconſiderable Companies. This is the great Care ye take of thoſe Plantations, and of this People of *England*. O, but now you will mend in that Point; ye are beating Drums all over the Countries

Countries for Soldiers for *Ireland*, but the Truth is, it is to recruit your Army here; we mean to ſend them into the Field to fight: You will tell them, when they come there with *Iriſh* Rebels newly landed; ye have not Men enough to ſpare hence; and, 'If we ſhould, 'ſays *Cromwell*) draw our Army off this 'City, it would follow us in the Rear, and, 'being but ſuch a Handful, as we now are, 'they would cut us all off.' We are in a pitiful Caſe now; to ſtay or go we know not; ſtay, and the *Scots* and the Lord *Inchiquin* come in upon us; go, and the City follows us. I ſmell a Rat; the blazing Comets are going out with a filthy Stink; an Ordinance of Parliament to paſs four great Ships without Search, laden with Money, and now at *Graveſend*, or newly put to Sea. Nay, but your Soldiers a raiſing are for *Ireland*; ye have a while ago made an Ordinance for the Levying of twenty-thouſand Pounds *per* Month for their Maintenance; ſo ye made out before, in *Auguſt* 1644, for the Promotion of that Service, but the Cavaliers took ſixty-thouſand Pounds of that Money at *Leiceſter*: *Dublin* ye had not then; I pray you, Was that the Way to *Cork* and *Kinſale*, or *Youghall*? Ye blame the Cavaliers of *Cheſhire* for Stopping ſome Clothes bound for *Ireland*, and yet the Apparel, given by thoſe of the City for thoſe Soldiers Uſe, was all (which was worth any Thing) ſold to the Brokers in *Long-Lane*; only a few Rags, that would not make Money here, were ſent away. A Man might here go far enough to put you out of your own Practice; who, if ye had not ſo much Honeſty, as to forbear Calumniating your Enemies, ſhould have had ſo much Diſcretion, as not to accuſe another of that which, had ye had that good Sign of a bad Cauſe in you, Bluſhing, might aſhame you, being by Recrimination retorted upon yourſelves. We have heard much of your Outcries againſt the Whore of *Babylon*, and your Charging, with much Bitterneſs and Vehemency, of her Vices upon the See of *Rome*, and its Diſciples, whoſe Footſteps ye trace in your ſeditious Courſes; but, if ye would look a little into the Signification of the Word, and into yourſelves and your Proceedings; what Towers of *Babel* ye are erecting; what Imaginations, what Anarchy and Confuſion ye are ſetting up; what Miſſionaries ye ſend Abroad to broach all Sorts of damned Hereſies, thoſe Locuſts of the bottomleſs Pit, your *gifted* Men, as ye call them; your Suppreſſion of godly and learned Divines and their Writings; and your Countenancing and Licenſing any Thing that favours of the *Stygian* Lake, ye would find ſomething reflecting upon yourſelves. The Word *Babel* ſignifies *Confuſion*; and that, which is chiefly obſervable of a Whore, is her Proſtitution of herſelf to all, her Wiles, by which ſhe inticeth her Lovers, and wherewith inticed ſhe retains them to her: Now, whether ye have not proſtituted yourſelves unto all, let *England* judge. In the Beginning ye ſollicited, by five or ſix ſeveral Letters, Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a known Papiſt, before his Majeſty entertained him; and yet you cried out againſt the King for Accepting his Service. Ye ſent five-hundred *Jews* (Enemies unto the Chriſtian Faith) in your Army to *Newberry*; there were an Hundred of them ſlain upon the Ground, known by the Mark of Circumciſion; ye have pleaſed, and run on with the rude Multitude, the frothy Scum of the People, in their worſt and wickedeſt Humours. Ye have ſuffered them to deface the earthly Beauty of God's earthly Houſes; to rend and tear in Pieces our Common-Prayer-Book, and the Prieſt's Surplice, a Badge of Innocency; to pull down Croſſes, the proper Cogniſance, by which the World might know to what Maſter this Kingdom did belong; and now at laſt ye invite Men to deny the Maſter too. Ye countenance Atheiſts and Hereticks, and frown on them that deſire to quell them; nay, ye fight with them, and kill them. Ye have continually, during the whole Time of the War (and ſince too, now ye might better have reſtrained them) ſuffered every Rapſcallion, that bore Arms amongſt you, to abuſe and trample on, as he pleaſed, the Freeholders of the Country; to lord it over them; to beat and command them and their Houſes, where they quartered, or paſſed by. Rogues, that before mended Pots and Kettles, or begged with Butter-milk Canns about the Country, muſt now call for Roſt, and beat all the Houſe, if it be not to be had: Neither, when ſuch Grievances were made known unto you, did ye curb or check the Saucineſs of your Soldiers herein, but rather deride the Plaintiffs. How ſtood, think ye, ſuch Abuſings with the Freedoms of the *Engliſh* Farmers, and with the National Covenant and Proteſtation? And, as a Whore hath ever her Sleights, by which ſhe inveigles her Lovers, ſo have ye had yours: As the *Venetian* Courteſans, at their firſt Coming

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ing to the City to ſerve their Duke, ſend out a Crier through the Streets, to proclaim their Beauties, and the Price thereof; ſo ye, in the Beginning of your Seſſions, ſent Abroad your Declarations in the ſpecious Notions of Liberty, Property, and Privilege; and the Price, ſome Propoſition-money, or ſome Place; and, even as Whores, when they have drawn in ſilly Shallowlings, will ever find ſome Trick to retain them, till they have brought them to a Morſel of Bread, eſpecially if they doubt their Starting; ſo have you ſtill drawn our Apprehenſions off your perfidious Actions, and kept our Brains buſied and deluded with your Diurnals and your Ordinances, which you have ever ſtudied for, and ſet forth to this very End, not that which you expreſs in the Front of them, the Satisfaction and right Information of the Kingdom: When you had diſcovered your cloven Feet in *Auguſt*, and ſaw the People's Grumblings, you thought an Ordinance for making up Accounts would be a Piece of Satisfaction for the Preſent; and you knew the Vulgar's Brains retain not long the Phantaſms of Things: But what Performance was of that, I have before in ſome Part, as I could, ſhewed.

You have moved Rumours likewiſe oftentimes, and tell us again ſo every Day, of ſending for the King, and ſettling the Kingdom, only to keep the People in Suſpence; and, by vain Hopes of you, to retard our Endeavours for our own Relief: By that you may ſtill, by diſarming Towns, get more Power to continue your Tyranny, now growing towards an End: For you never intend it, you are ſuch notorious abominable Traitors, you have ſo much abuſed his Majeſty, his late Royal Mother, and his Royal Spouſe, his Children, and us his People, that you dare not do it: How often, of late, have we heard, that *Hampton-Court* hath been making ready, and that *Cromwell* hath been gone to fetch him this Day, and that, and the other; and it nothing ſo.

Your Diurnals buzzed us in the Ears with much good News of many Victories (leſt we ſhould have ſet from *Dan* to *Bethel* towards the Temple) even the firſt Year of the War, when our Armies went to wreck every where; and we had ſoon found it, had not our Brethren of *Scotland* come in to our Aſſiſtance; yet you ſend them, you ſay, to prevent Miſinformation: But when they began to ſpeak againſt you (as after your Taking away the Militia of this City of *London*, a Thing I never heard nor read before, that any Parliament had to do withal) they muſt be ſilenced till the People [illegible] Thoughts were drawn aſide: We have been often flattered in the Country with Eaſement of our Taxes, and Free-quarter, if we would pay one ſmall weekly Payment, and Quarter but a little longer; and, lo! preſently you have ſent (I am ſure to many Places of the Kingdom) for whole Multitudes of vaſt Sums, one in the Neck of another, that we have almoſt nothing left: Thus have you, in your Conſultations, even from the Beginning of your Seſſions, even unto this very Day, deviſed nothing but how to delude and beggar us all, and how to keep War on foot; elſe why accepted you not thoſe many fair Offers of a gracious King, but ſtill, as you got more Power, incroached both upon him and us? Why ſend you not for him Home, but ſtill delay us? It is not far to him: We will ſtudy a Way henceforth to eaſe ourſelves of ſuch Magiſtrates, ſuch ſheepelad Wolves: It is not your Going back to the Articles preſented at *Hampton-Court* ſhall now make your Attonement with us: You never took a Way yet to make him a glorious King, or to reform, but deform Religion; or to ſettle us under our ancient Laws, or in our native Liberties: Had you Power, we know your Minds; we give you no Thanks for your Pretending to ſettle Presbytery, ſince you wanted Power to hinder it; nor for your late Ordinance againſt Hereticks: Put on your Conſidering-Caps ſomewhat cloſer to your Cocks-combs, and ſee now if you can re-ingratiate yourſelves with our City: See if it will thank you to transfer its Militia and *Tower* (out of theſe in whoſe they now be) into other Independents Hands, and yet you did not that till very now: See if you can engage your Brethren in the City, and us in a new War, and we ſhall obſerve who be ready in the ſame: See if you can or dare force us Preſbyterians, or our Apprentices, to accompany you, and they ſhall carry away your Weapons, and join with our Friends your Enemies: You muſt no more look to force or mugle Men with the Name of a Parliament, being but a prevailing Party, and fill your Coffers by Deceit; We will believe you no further; nor *Fairfax*, though he goes again to hear the Lord Primate preach at the *Temple*, or proclaim for King, or King and Parliament: Carry you the King captived along with you which Way ever you go; as ſtrictly as you have watched him, he

hath

hath given the Prince Power to contract for him; we are got before-hand with you in that: Counterfeit his Seal, and make what Proclamations you will hereafter in his Name, none will believe you. We have been told the Ends of your laying open *Rocheſter*: But, if our Brethren of the Aſſociation cannot get into a Readineſs to ſtop your Paſſage, the Power of three Kingdoms ſhall ſhortly follow you.

We heard of your late Deſigns againſt our City, before we took Notice of them, and we hear your Intentions are to proceed, and to draw up both Horſe and Foot to atchieve the ſame. I ſaw ſome of their Leaders here the other Day, and their Men not far off; it is not denying and ſeeming to over-run your ſaid Deſigns, that ſhall make us negligent of our own Safety: If ye knew not thereof, Why do ye (to obſtruct Diſcoveries) refer the Examination to Men accuſed, *viz. Ireton?* How can you daub over this? Or why (if you ſet not on *Fairfax* in *Auguſt* laſt againſt our City) did ye go from the Houſes to him? And why did ye not ſince vote him a Traitor, as ye did the Lord *Inchiquin?* My Brethren, look over Diurnals, and ye ſhall ſee him ever acting in Relation to the Houſes. Our Brethren of *Eſſex* came but peaceably with a Petition, and this prevailing Party derides them gone, calling them *Eſſex* Calves; but, Thanks to Fate, yet delays, that, if they can quiet them a While, they may after make them the Spoil of the Independent Army they declare againſt. Look to it, Gentlemen, diſperſe not yourſelves till ye ſee it diſbanded, and the King ſettled.

Ye muſt ever have ſome Cloke for your Knavery: When your late Deſign againſt our City grew ripe, your Mayor (a very Horſe and a Traitor to our City, as many others of the Common-Council and Captains are) muſt quarrel with the Boys at their Recreations, that ye might get another Colour to draw your Army again upon the City, and do that which then ye durſt not, get down our Chains, that, when the Time of your Neceſſity came, ye might diſarm us, command our Purſes, and force us and our Servants, againſt our Conſciences, though now again ye are forced to pull in your Horns: And bring ye up your Country Soldiers, as we hear ye have, we ſhall make you aking Hearts e'ere ye obtain your Wills. Ye are loth to leave us, but, ſince we know your Good-will, we ſhall look to you as we can: We truſt our Brethren of the Aſſociation will be ready to aſſiſt us. We have heard now of your private Compliance with *Iriſh* Natives, and your Letters lately taken at Sea, wherein ye promiſe Liberty of Conſcience, and many Immunities, if they will let you alone.

Thus have I given you a little Sight of the *Babylonian Bel*-like Idol, a brazen Parliament, and of the Colluſion and Veracity of the Idol Attendants, this prevailing Party of both Houſes, who have ſo long deluded you with Devices, and, like *Bel*'s Prieſts, waſted upon themſelves and theirs, thoſe vaſt Contributions and Levies which ſhould have been expended on the publick Service; and do deſire, now Time is like to ſerve for it, ye would endeavour your own Freedom from the Yoke of theſe Men.

God ſave the King and Kingdom.

The Character of a Fanatick. By a Perſon of Quality. *London*, printed in the Year 1675. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

HE is a Perſon of a more exerciſed Faith than Underſtanding; one governed by Inſtinct, not Intellect; and who, like thoſe of old, never thinks he has enough of the Deity, till beſide himſelf: You may call him, if you pleaſe, a perpetual Motion, or a reſtleſs Whirligig, ever turning from bad to worſe; or the *Ignis fatuus* of Divinity, carried about with every Wind; leſt, conſidering whence it cometh, or whither it goeth; as even ſuch, likewiſe, is every one that is born of him: It may be thought, the Prophet had ſomething like him in his Eye, when that Wheel (of his) within a Wheel; for of himſelf he never was, but ill ſplit from another; like

like thoſe imperfect, Dough-baked Creatures, produced by the Sun on the Banks of *Nile*; ſo that his Generation is founded in Corruption, and his Extraction of the ſame Parentage with Monſters, not intended, but produced. His Principles are like the Chaos; a confuſed Lump of every Thing and nothing; or a Gallimawfry of Negatives; nor this, nor that, nor the other; but what he is, no Man knows, no, not the Angels in Heaven, nor himſelf to Boot; this only excepted, that he is more party-coloured than *Joſeph*'s Coat, and patched together of more Pieces than a Taylor's Cuſhion: Nor is his Practice much unſuitable to his Principles; he puts on Religion as a Cloke, not a Garment, and varniſhes his impoſtures with Holineſs to the Lord. Thus *Abſalom* pretends a Sacrifice, when his Buſineſs is Rebellion; and *Herod* a Worſhip, when his Deſign is Murder; nor with much Wonder *Machiavel*, the *Florentine*, had taught him, he, that would gain by Deceit, muſt firſt acquire a Credit, by, at leaſt, a Shew of Integrity; and he, that would practiſe upon the People, muſt follow the old Rule of *Finge Deum*—Such Influence have ſolemn Looks, and verily, verily, upon the Multitude, who have little elſe to paſs them for Men, but Speech and Figure: Hence it is, that he puts off his Tinſel for Standard, and the Maggots of his own Brain, for divine Inſpiration: That he obtrudes his Enthuſiaſms for Viſions, and juſtifies *Homer*, that even ſuch Dreams are of God: That he takes a holy Pride to himſelf, and ſays to the reſt of the World, Stand off: That he calls the common Infirmities of Mankind, Crying Sins, National Sins, Bow-dyed Sins; and his own Mormo's, but Slips and Failings: That he can ſee no Sin in *Jacob*, nor Iniquity in his *Iſrael* of God: That he calls them the only holy, only choſen, only godly, only precious, only ſpiritually-diſcerning People: That he puts a diſcriminating *Schibboleth* on others; as Formaliſts, Carnaliſts, dry Moraliſts, withered Fig-trees, Outſide-men, Negative-holineſs-men, *Opus-operatum*-men, Will-worſhipers, *Laodiceans*, and what not: That he talks of nothing but new Light and Prophecy, ſpiritual Incomes, Indwellings, Emanations, Manifeſtations, Sealings, and the like Gibberiſh and Canting; to which, alſo, the zealous Twang of the Noſe adds no ſmall Efficacy: That he runs counter to all Things in Power, and treads the Antipodes to every Thing commanded, and for no other Reaſon, but becauſe commanded: For it may be obſerved, that the Lord's Prayer was not abſolutely thrown out of the Kirk, till recommended by its own Directory: In ſhort, that he calls Subjection, in Matters of Religion, a Tying up the Spirit, and all Injunctions, even in Things indifferent, a manifeſt Invading the *Sanctum Sanctorum*: And now the great Cry is Perſecution for Conſcience; nothing in his Mouth, but *deſtitute*, *afflicted*; and, the common Corollary, *but not forſaken*. Alas! alas! the Habitations of *Jacob* are ſwallowed, and the Places of the Aſſembly taken away: A Bow is bent againſt the Daughter of *Judah*, and the Breach of the Virgin of *Sion* is like a great Sea; whereas, on the other Hand, let him be but as in the Years paſſed, and the Sun once more ſhine on his Tabernacle. This Succeſs new models his Conſcience, and, like *Aaron*'s Rod, he ſwallows up every Thing that lies in his Way: Even Princes muſt lay their Hands on their Mouths, and the Nobles not ſpeak again to his Words: The poor Diſtreſſed is become *Hogan Mogan*, and the *Servus ſervorum*, *Dominus dominantium*: The little Flock claims a Kingdom *in condigno*, and the choſen Generation ſets up for a royal Prieſthood. In ſhort, this little Horn takes a Mouth to himſelf, ſpeaking mighty Things, and his Language is, *Overturn*, *Overturn*, *Overturn*. And now he makes his Doctrine ſuitable to his Text, and owns above-board, that Dominion is founded in Grace, not Nature: That the Goods of this World are properly the Elects: That himſelf and his Hyperdolins are the only *Iſraelites*, and all the reſt *Egyptians*: That the new *Jeruſalem* muſt be propagated, as the ſecond Temple was built, with the Sword in one Hand, and the Trowel in the other: Or, as the Abbot (in *Henry the Third's Time*) gave it in Abſolution to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Gladium ſpiritualem ſine gladio materiali nihil poſſe*. What ſhall I add? He declares that *quis ſuſcitabit eum?* was perſonally meant of his Tribe: And yet this Man has his Followers, and theſe of the honourable Women too, not a few; for, to ſay Truth, his Converſation is much after the Rate of that before the Flood, the Sons of God among the Daughters of Men; Devotion in all Places, whether true or falſe, being moſt natural to that Sex: It was the Devil's Policy to our firſt Parents, for well he

knew that to beguile *Eve* was the ready Way to hook in *Adam*. And thus he proves a Stumbling-block to the Wives, and a Rock of Offence to the Husbands. In brief, like the Dragon in the *Apocalypse*, his Tail draws a third Part of the Stars, and casts them to the Earth; the Reason is obvious, *Fortitudo ejus in lumbis ejus, & virtus umbilico ventris:* But, to proceed, his Profession is like his Allegiance, a mere *Fucus*, yet, so well laid on, one, at first Sight, could not but swear it were natural: His Common-place, *Polyanthea*, and Concordance, and the Height of his School-divinity, the Assemblies Catechism: His Prayer, a Rhapsody of holy Hiccoughs, sanctified Barkings, illuminated Goggles, Sighs, Sobs, Yexes, Gasps, and Groans, not more intelligible than nauseous: However, to give him his Due, he prays most heartily for the King, but with more Distinctions, and mental Reservations, than an honest Man would have taken the Covenant: From hence, as out of the third Heaven, he falls by Head and Shoulders into his Preachment; which what other is it, than a wild Career over Hill and Dale, till the Afternoon Chimes stop him? Ῥήματα ἀῤῥητα, ἄῤῥητα ῥήματα; Thump upon Thump, Yelp upon Yelp, Doctrine upon Doctrine, Rule upon Rule, Reason upon Reason, Text upon Text, Proof upon Proof, Direction upon Direction, Motive upon Motive, Sign upon Sign, Token upon Token, Precept upon Precept, here a little and there a little: Effect upon Effect, and Uses more than innumerable; and here likewise he cries up Obedience to Magistrates, but with such a *Salva gloria Dei*, that he had better let it alone: As also, that they ought to be defended by their Subjects, in Defence, nevertheless, of the true Religion, of which himself must be Judge. And, for his Grace at Meat, what can I better compare it too, than a *Canterbury* Rack, half Pace, half Gallop? So his, an odd hobbling Shuffle, between a Grace and a Prayer, and a Prayer and a Grace: Lastly, as to his Virtues (for it cannot be denied, but he has somewhat of that which *Tully* calls, *Adumbrata virtutum specimina*) I wish it might be said of them, that they were other than masked Hypocrisy; the Poet hit it:

Da justum sanctumque videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem:

And, like an apt Scholar, he has gotten his Lesson by Heart, and can wrap the *Philistine*'s Sword in an holy Ephod; From whence else is it, that he can crave a Blessing to the Design, though never so ungodly, and give Thanks for the Success, be it never so wicked? That he will not swear, but can dispense with the profitable Sin of Lying: That he will not be drunk, to be seen of Men, but yet can take a brotherly Rouse in a Corner: That he walks as though he had made a Covenant with his Eyes, and yet *si uxor non vult aut non si possit, veniat ancilla*, is wholsome Doctrine with him: That he is a zealous Observer of the Sabbath, and yet can make less Conscience of Schism than a Surplice: That he cries, *Væ mihi si non evangelizo vero*, and yet allows no Imposition of Hands, but broken Pates: That he abhors Idols, and yet can commit Sacrilege, which, what is it, but to burn the Idol with a Coal from the Altar? That he exhorts his Beloved to Constancy under Persecution, and yet, come what will, he can lick himself so whole, it will be hard to tell where he had been hurt. In short, that he is a perfect *Samaritan*, for let the *Gentiles* prevail, and he is of the Race of *Ishmael*; and let the *Jews* get the upperhand, he had *Abraham* to his Father: To conclude, he is a Glow-worm, that shines best in the Night of Ignorance, one whose Faith has eaten up his Charity: One that has torn the seamless Coat into Rags, and tacked them together, to cover his Nakedness: One that, having forsaken the Fountain, has hewed to himself but broken Cisterns: One that swallows all Things unchewed, and brings them up again as raw and undigested: One, whose Eyes are at the End of the Earth, and yet would be thought not to mistake his Way. In short, one that has an Excuse for every Thing that he should not do, and a *Salvo* for every Thing he should do: And all this by Scripture: *Adeo nihil est quod S. Scriptura torqueri non possit, modo torqueatur:* In a Word, he is one of whom it may be said, as *Heraclius* of the Bow, Τὸ μὲν ὅπλον βιός, τὸ δὲ τόξον δύναται; and, but that I find him so well cut out by *Horace*, I had not yet taken off my Hand from so everlasting an Argument,

Mala quem scabies, aut morbus Regius urget
Aut Fanaticus error, aut Iracunda Diana,
Vesanum

Veſanum tetigiſſe timent, fugiuntque—
Qui ſapiunt——

And not without Reaſon; for, though his Diſtemper lies not in too much Learning, yet, to my unenlightened Underſtanding, he ſpeaks not the Words, either of Soberneſs or Truth, but darkeneth Counſel by Words without Knowledge.

The Laſt Will of *George Fox*, the Quakers great Apoſtle, as it was all written by his own Hand, and is now lying in the *Prerogative-Office*, by *Doctors-Commons*, *London*; atteſted by three eminent Quakers, whoſe Names are undermentioned: With a Copy of the Adminiſtration in *Latin*, taken out of the ſaid Office, ſigned by *Thomas Wellham*, Deputy-Regiſter, containing two Columns; that on the Left-Hand, being the Original, in his falſe *Engliſh* and Spelling; the other, on the Right-Hand, put into true *Engliſh*, the Original being unintelligible. Publiſhed to convince the World, That he who made this Will, and could not write one Line of true *Engliſh* (and yet pretended high Skill in the Learned Languages, witneſs his *Battledoor*, and *Primer to the two Univerſities*; who ſaid, in his *Battledoor*, *All Languages were no more to me than Duſt, who was, before Languages were)* is not the Author of any one Page in all thoſe Books, which the Quakers have impudently publiſhed under his Name. Printed on a Broad-Side.

E Regiſtro Curiæ Prærogativæ Cant. Extract.

*I. JDoe give to *Thomas Lover* my Sadell, the ar at *Jhon Neljons*, and Bridall, and Sporg and Boote, inward letherethd, and the *Newingland Indan* Bible, and my great Book of the Signifing of Names, and my Book of the New Teſtement of eight Langves; and all my fiſekall Things, that came from beyand the Seay, with the ovt landeſh Cvp, and that Thing that People

A Copy of the Will of George Fox, *in true* Engliſh, *the Original being unintelligible.*

I Do give to *Thomas Lower* my Saddle and Bridle, they are at *John Elſon's*, and Spurs and Boots, Inward leathers, and the *New England Indian* Bible, and my great Book of the Signifying of Names, and my Book of the New Teſtament of eight Languages; and all my Phyſical Things, that came from beyond the Sea, with the Outlandiſh Cup, and that Thing that People do give

* Endorſed on the firſt Paper, Numb. 1, for *Thomas Lower*, this.

ple doe give Glifters with, and my tov Diales, the one is an eknockſa Diall.

And all my over pveſh Bookes to be devided amovng my 4 Sones in Law; and alſo all my other Bookes, and my Hamack, I doe give to *Thomas Lover*, that is, at *Bengamin Antrvbvs* his Cloſet, and *Rachall* may take that which is at *Swarthmor*.

And *Thomas Lever* may have my Walnvt Eqvnockſhall Diall, and if he can, he may geet one cut by it, which will be hard to doe; and hee ſhall have one of my Proſſpect Glaſeſes in my Trovnk at *London*, and a Pare of my Gloveſes, and my Seale *G. F.* And the flaming Sward to *Nat. Mead*, and my other 2 Seales *J. Roſe*, the other *Dan Abraham*.

And *Thomas Lever* ſhall have my *Spaneſh* Lether Hyd, *G. F.* And *S. Mead* ſhall have my magnifing Glas, and the Turkellſhell Com and Cace.

*II. And all that I have written, conſaring what I doe give to my Relaſhons, ether Mony or other Waes, *Jhon Loſt* may put it up in my Tronke at *Jhon Elſones*, and wright all Things downe in a Paper, and make a Paper out of all my Papers, how I have orderd Things for them; and *Jhon Loſt* may ſend all Things dovn by *Powleſworth* Carrer, in the Trovnke, to *Jhon Fox*, at *Powleſworth* in *Warickſher*; and let *John Fox* ſend *John Loſt* a fvll Receat and a Diſcharge, and in this Matter, and non of you may be conſarned, but *John Loſt* only; and my other lettell Tronke, that ſtandeth in *Bengmin Antrvbes* is Cloeſet, with the Ovtlandeſh Things, *Thomas Lover* ſhall have; and if it be ordered in any other Papers to any other, that muſt not ſtand ſoe, but as now orderd, *G. F.* And *Sary*, thou may give *Sary Frickenfeld* Half a Gine, for ſhee hath bene ſarveſable to mee, a honeſt carfvll yovng Womon, *G. F.*

Make noe Noves of thes Things, but doe them in the Liſe, as I have orderd them; and when all is don and cleared, what remenes to the Printing of my Bookes, *Bengmin Antrvbves* and *Mary* hath 100 Pound of mine, take noe Yoves of them for it, when yov doe recve it.

And in my Cheaſt, in *Bengamen Antrvbs* Chamber, ther is a letell gilt Box, with ſom Gould Clyſters with, and my two Dials, the one is an Equinoctial Dial; and all my overplus Books to be divided among my four Sons-in Law: And alſo all my other Books, and my Hammock, I do give to *Thomas Lower*, that is at *Benjamin Antrobus*'s Cloſet; and *Rachel* may take that which is at *Swarthmore*; and *Thomas* may have my Walnut-equinoctial Dial, and if he can, he may get one cut by it, which will be hard to do; and he ſhall have one of my Proſpect Glaſſes, in my Trunk at *London*, and a Pair of my Gloves, and my Seal, *G. F.* And the flaming Sword to *Nath. Mead*, and my other two Seals, *J. Rouſe*, and the other, *Daniel Abraham*; and *Thomas Lower* ſhall have my *Spaniſh* Leather Hood, and *S. Mead* ſhall have my Magnifying Glaſs, and the Tortoiſeſhell Comb and Caſe, *G. F.*

And all that I have written concerning what I do give to my Relations, either Money, or otherways, *John Loſt* may put it up in my Trunk at *John Elſon*'s, and write all Things down in a Paper, and make a Paper out of all my Papers, how I have ordered Things for them; and *John Loſt* may ſend all Things down by *Poulſworth* Carrier, in the Trunk, to *John Fox*, at *Poulſworth*, in *Warwickſhire*; and let *John Fox* ſend *John Loſt* a full Receipt, and a Diſcharge, and in this Matter none of you may be concerned, but *John Loſt* only.

And my other little Trunk that ſtandeth in *Benjamin Antrobus*'s Cloſet, with the Outlandiſh Things, *Thomas Lower* ſhall have; and if it be ordered in any other Papers to any other, that muſt not ſtand ſo, but as now ordered, *G. F.*

And *Sarah*, thou may give *Sarah Freckleton* Half a Guinea, for ſhe hath been ſerviceable to me, an honeſt careful young Woman, *G. F.* Make no Noiſe of theſe Things, but do them in the Life, as I have ordered them:

And when all is done and cleared, what remains to the Printing of my Books, *Benjamin Antrobus* and *Mary* hath One-hundred Pounds of mine, take no Uſe of them for it, when you do receive it.

And in my Cheſt, in *Benjamin Antrobus*'s Chamber, there is a little gilt Box, with ſome Gold in it; *Sarah Mead* to take it, and let it do Service among the reſt, ſo far as it will go; the Box is ſealed up, *G. F.*

And

* On the Second, Numb. 2. This is to be put up among *George Fox*'s ſealed up Papers, that Pacquet that *Sarah Mead* hath.

Gould in it; *Sary Mead* to take it, and let it doe Sarveſes amoung the reſt, ſoe far as it will goe; the Box is ſealed up, *G. F.*

And let *Thomas Docker*, that knoeth many of my Epeſeles, and wrten Books, which hee did wright, com vp to *London*, to aſſiſt Frends in Sorting of my Epeſelas, and other Writings, and give him a Gine, *G. F.*

*III, I doe orde *Wm.* and *Sa. Mead*, and *T. Lover*, to take Care of all my Bookes and Epeſeles, and Papers, that be at *Benjmin Antrubſes*, and at *R. R.* Chamber, and thoes that com from *Swarth mor*, and my Jornall of my Life, and the Paſeges and Travells of Frends, and to take them all into ther Hands; and all the Over pluch of them the may have, and keep together as a Libary, when the have gethered them together, which ar to be printd.

And for them, to take Charge of all my Mony, and defray all as I have ordered in my other Papers.

And any Thing of mine the may take, and God will, and ſhall be ther Reward: The 8 Mo, 1688.

Thomas Lover, and *John Rous*, may aſſiſt yov, *G. F.*

And all the Paſiges and Traveles and Sufferings of Frinds, in the Beging of the Spreading of the Trouth, which I have keept together, will make a fine Hiſtery, and the may be had at *Swarthmor*, with my other Bookes; and if the com to *London*, with my Papers, then the may be had, ether at *Wm.* or *Ben Antrubs* Cloſet, for it is a fine Thing to know the Beging of the Spreading of the Goſpell, after ſoe long Night of Apoſtace, ſince the Apoſeles Dayes, that now Chriſt raines, as he did in the Harts of his People. Glory to the Lord, for ever, *Amen*, *G. F.*

The 8 Mon, 1688.

And let *Thomas Dockra*, that knoweth many of my Epiſtles, and written Books, which he did write, come up to *London*, to aſſiſt Friends in ſorting of my Epiſtles, and other Writings, and give him a Guinea, *G. F.*

I do order *William* and *Sarah Mead*, and *Thomas Lower*, to take Care of all my Books and Epiſtles, and Papers, that be at *Benjamin Antrobus's*, and at *R. R.* Chamber, and thoſe that come from *Swarthmore*, and my Journal of my Life, and the Paſſages and Travels of Friends, and to take them all into their Hands; and all the Overplus of them they may have, and keep together as a Library, when they have gathered them together, which are to be printed; and for them to take Charge of all my Money, and defray all, as I have ordered in my other Papers; and any Thing of mine they may take, and God will, and ſhall be their Reward.

The 8th Month, 1688. *G. F.*

Thomas Lover, and *John Rouſe*, may aſſiſt you: And all the Paſſages, and Travels, and Sufferings of Friends, in the Beginning of the Spreading of the Truth, which I have kept together, will make a fine Hiſtory, and they may be had at *Swarthmore*, with my other Books; and if they come to *London* with my Papers, then they may be had either at *W. M.* or *Benjamin Antrobus's* Cloſet, for it is a fine Thing to know the Beginning of the Spreading of the Goſpel, after ſo long Night of Apoſtaſy, ſince the Apoſtles Days, that now Chriſt reigns, as he did in the Hearts of his People. Glory to the Lord for ever, *Amen*.

G. F.

The 8th Month, 1688.

* On the Third, Numb. 3. For *George Fox*, to be laid in the Trunk, *W. M.* the Eighth Month, 1688.

The Date of the Adminiſtration, the Thirtieth of *December*, 1697.

Tricesimo die menſis Decembris Anno Domini Milleſimo, Sexcenteſimo, Nonageſimo ſeptimo emanavit Commiſſio, Margaretæ Fox, *Relictæ & Legatariæ nominatæ in Teſtamento* Georgii Fox, *nuper de* Swarthmore *in Comitatu* Lancaſtriæ, *ſed in parochia omnium Sanctorum*, Lombard-ſtreet London, *defuncti habentis, &c. Ad Adminiſtrandum bona jura & credita dicti defuncti juxta tenorem & effectum Teſtamenti ipſius defuncti (Ea quod nullum omnino nominaverit Executorem)*

Executorem) *Declaratione in præſentia Dei Omnipotentis, juxta Statutum Parliamenti in hac parte editum & proviſum de bene & fideliter Administrando eadem per dictam* Margaretam Fox *prius factâ.*

Tho. Wellham, *Regiſtrarii Deputatus.*

The Perſons hereafter named, by their ſolemn Declaration, ſubſcribed under their Hands, did affirm the above-written to be wrote with the proper Hand of the ſaid George Fox *deceaſed, they being acquainted with his Hand-writing.*

S. *Mead*, Wife of *W. Mead*, of the Pariſh of St. *Dyonis Back Church*, *London*, Citizen, and Merchant Taylor of *London.*

W. Ingram, of the Pariſh of St. *Margaret*, *New Fiſh-ſtreet*, *London*, aged about fifty-ſeven Years; he knew *George Fox*, about forty Years.

G. Whitehead, of the Pariſh of St. *Botolph*, without *Biſhopſgate*, *London*, Gent. aged about ſixty Years, knew *George Fox* above forty Years.

N. B. In this Will, the Pride and Vanity of the Deceiver is as notorious, as the Credulity of his deluded Followers. For what elſe could make him think, that his naſty Comb and Clyſter-pipe would be ſuch acceptable Relicks among his Friends? But this is he who firſt deluded them, their infallible Pope, and who to his Death continued their admired Idol. This is he who taught them to renounce their Baptiſm, and the Hope of a Reſurrection after Death; and notwithſtanding all their ſly Equivocations, by this his Will is manifeſt, that he neither believed nor expected it. The Reader is not to wonder that here is no Confeſſion of Sin. Pope *George* alas! was all Perfection and ſinleſs, and his Diſciples have ever ſince ſo conceited of the Sufficiency of their own Merit, that no true Quaker was ever known to die, with a Lord have Mercy upon him in his Mouth.

An

An ALPHABETICAL INDEX

To the SEVENTH VOLUME of the HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

A.

ABjuration of Hereſy to be made by the Proteſtants 350
Abſalom's Conſpiracy, or the Tragedy of Treaſon 499
Abſtract of memorable Matters, done by ſundry Parliaments 256
Abuſe of the Privilege of Parliament-Men 497
Account of five Years of King *James* I's Reign 385
Account of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Landing in the North of *Scotland*, in 1685 158
Account of the Receipts and Diſburſements of the Committee of Safety 188
Account of the *Scotch* Invaſion, *February*, 1708 541
Achitophel's Character 500
Act for preſerving Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Perſon and Kingdom 125
Acton (Sir *Roger*) an Account of him 377
Adminiſtration of *George Fox*, the Quakers great Apoſtle 601
Adrian, the *Roman* Emperor, called the Reſtorer of *Britain*, who has this Motto ſtamped on his Coin 37
Advices and Motives to the honourable Aſſembly in Parliament 211
Adventurers (Merchant) Charter ſeized by King *James* I 412
Aim of the beſt Writers, what 1
Alban (St.) the firſt *Britiſh* Martyr, how converted 43
Ambaſſadors ſent into *Ruſſia*, *Sweden*, &c. 397
Amſterdam and the States characteriſed 194
Anabaptiſts, their Behaviour at *Munſter*, &c. 363
Annotations upon King *Charles* I's Letters, *&c.* 534
Arabella (Lady) her Death 415
Argument of Law on the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*, 1641 76
Articles of Agreement, between the Devil, the Pope, *&c.* 206
Articles and Ordinances of War, 1643 448
——— at the Surrendry of *Limerick*, 1691 489
Aſſociation in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Time, a Copy of it 124
——— in King *William*'s Time, ſigned by the high Court of Parliament 127
Atkins (Richard) his cruel Martyrdom at *Rome*, 1581 156

B.

Ball (a Magical one) finds out hidden Treaſure 454
Baniſhing *Engliſhmen* out of *Rome*, and their Recall by the Pope 128
Battle between the *Romans* and *Britons* 33
Battles in Invaſions, to be very cautiouſly undertaken 62
Beacons, how to be ordered in Time of Invaſions 65

Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Letter to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Eccleſiaſtical Court 427
Biſhops, how confirmed in *Scotland*, by Act of Parliament, 1584 54
Bloody Book of *Lyons*, in *France* 326
Boetius, his Oration to the Emperor *Theodoricus* 576
Bolron (Robert) his Account of the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* 277
Bonoſus, the *Britiſh* General, hangs himſelf 41
Britain ruined by ill Living, and ſubdued in 446 48
Britain, the *Romans* Grainary 39
Britannicus (the Sirname) given to *Lollius Urbicus* 37
Britons, by whom firſt civilized 15
——— ſend Ambaſſadors to *Julius Cæſar*, and offer to ſubmit 7
———, their Original and Manners 6
Britiſh Bellman 585
Brute, his Coming into *England*, different Opinions about it 2
Burleigh, Lord Treaſurer, his Advice to Queen *Eliſabeth*, about Religion 56
———————, his Account of *France* and *Spain* 59, 60
Bull-baiting at *Madrid*, deſcribed 226

C.

Cabinet of King *Charles* I. opened 511
Caius Voluſenſis, ſent by *Julius Cæſar*, to reconnoitre *Britain* 7
Caius Caligula, his vaunting Letters and Behaviour about the *Britons* 15
Candles ſanctified by the Pope, to preſent the Scholars at *Rome* 134
Caractacus, the *Britiſh* Prince, beaten by and betrayed to the *Romans* 18
———, his noble Character, and brave Speech 19
Carne Vale at *Rome*, deſcribed 155
Carr (Earl of *Somerſet*) his Life and Character 388
Cartiſmandua falls in Love with her Servant 21
Cauſes and Manner of Depoſing a Popiſh King in *Sweden* 500
Cecil (Lord Treaſurer) his Death 390
Chancellor (Lord) refuſes to ſeal the King's Pardon 413
Changes and Revolutions in ſundry States 197
Character of Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Hiſtory of *Richard* III. 1
Character of the Court of *France* 335
Charles IX, King of *France*, his great Diſſimulation 326
———————, owns the Murder of the Admiral 333
Chaſtillion, Admiral of *France*, ſhot at Noon-day, in the City of *Paris*, but not killed 327
Chaſtillion, Admiral of *France*, murdered with all his Family, *&c.* 330
Cheeſman's *(Chriſtopher)* Epiſtle to King *Charles* II 430
Chriſt, only the true Head of the Church 50
Chriſtian Reaſons for *Scotland*'s Happineſs *ib.*
Chriſtianity how, and when received in *Britain* 37
Chryſanthus the *Briton*, made Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople* 47
Claudius conquers and uſes the *Britons* well, for which they adore him as a God, and build him a Temple 17
Claudius, and his Family, ſirnamed *Britannicus* by the *Romans*, why *ib.*
Clergy, not exempt from Civil Juriſdiction, and why 50
Cloth-workers, their Suit 397
Colonel *Cockran*'s Inſtructions from King *Charles* I. 532
Commiſſioners choſen to ſettle the Kingdom in 1386 245
Commonwealth defined 495
Commotion in the Body natural 198
Conde (Prince of) ſaves the *Hugonots* 164
Confeſſion of Faith for Proteſtants turning Catholicks 350
Conſcience, a Caſe relating to the Admiſſion of the *Jews* into a Chriſtian State 240
Conſpiracy in *Scotland*, in 1585 49
Conſpiracy againſt Queen *Eliſabeth* 133
Conſtantine new models the Civil and Military Government in *Britain* 44
Conſtantinus lands in *Britain*, and burns his Ships 42
Conſtantius, his noble Speech at his Death 43
———, his Character 44
Coppinger (Edmund) calls himſelf Chriſt and King 382
Counteſs of *Eſſex*, her Behaviour towards her Husband 391
———————, and Mrs. *Turner*'s Conſpiracy *ib.*
——————— marries the Earl of *Somerſet* 407
Cromwell's Complaint of Injuſtice 355
——— *(Thomas* Lord) his Life 383
——— *(Oliver)* his Life *ib.*
Cruelties of the Papiſts 574

D.

Declaration of the *Scotiſh* King, in 1585 49
——————— *French* King, in 1572 343
Diary of the Siege and Surrender of *Limerick* 479
Dictator at *Rome*, his Power 335
Dioclefian, the *Roman* Emperor, perſecutes the Chriſtians 43
Diſpute between *Cromwell* and the Pope, for Precedency 355
Divorce ſued out by the Counteſs of *Eſſex* 397

Diſcloſure

Diſcloſure of the great Bull 503
Dream, a Winter one 193
Dream of *Oſman* the great *Turk*, 1623, juſt before he was murdered by his Janizaries 201
Dreams, a Diſcourſe upon them 200
Druids who, what, and where 21
Drunkenneſs, its bad Character 315

E.

Eagles (George) his Life 380
Earl of *Eſſex* and his Counteſs, their Diſagreement 389
Earthquake, a terrible one, in *Sicily* 556
Emms (Dr.) an Invitation to ſee him riſe in *Bunhill-fields*, *May* 25, 1708 185
England viewed in a Dream 197
———, its Hiſtory, under the *Roman* Emperors 1
Engliſh Romayne Life 128
Engliſhman cruelly martyred at *Rome* in 1581 130
Engliſh College at *Rome*, how managed 137

F.

Faculties granted at *Rome*, to *John Locet*, &c. in 1678 161
Fanatick, his Character 596
Favourites of *Richard* II. 245
Feaſt ſent from the Devil to the Pope, deſcribed 208
Feaſt at *Guild-hall*, *London*, for King *Charles* I, the Queen, Prince, &c. 475
Flower (William) his extravagant Zeal 379
Fox's Acts and Monuments accuſed 383
France, a View of it 197
Frederick II's Reaſon for employing the *Saracens* againſt the Pope 58
Friar *Wenceſlaus*, his various Cheats 465

G.

Geeſe, ſomething remarkable of them 588
Germany, a View of it 195
Graham, an Account of that Family 286
Great Men poiſoned 418
Guiſe (Duke of) murders two-hundred People, in cold Blood 319

H.

Hacket (William) proclaimed, by *Coppinger*, King and Chriſt 382
Hay (Sir *William*) his pompous Funeral 286
———————, his noble Character, &c. 289
Helena finds out the Croſs and Manger of Chriſt at *Jeruſalem* 44
——— Influences her Husband *Conſtantius* to favour the Chriſtians *ib.*
Helvius Pertinax, the *Roman* Governor in *Britain*, begs to be diſcharged 39
Henry III. of *France*, his Character by Pope *Sixtus Quintus* 122
Hereticks, Father *La Chaiſe*'s Project to extirpate them 163
Hiſtory of *Scotch* Presbytery, in a *Scotch* Act of Parliament 52
——— *England*, in Verſe 72
——— King Livers in Verſe 73

I.

Jacobites, why they cannot expect Favour from the Pretender 294
James I. (King) five Years of his Reign 385
———————— is incenſed againſt Sir *Tho. Overbury* 402
Jeruſalem attempted to be rebuilt by *Julian* 45
Jews in *Rome*, an Account of them 141
——— *England*, ill treated 581
Independants Victory over the Presbyterians 369
Inquiſition (the *Spaniſh*) an Account of it 100
Inſtructions to K. *C.* I's Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* 525
Invaſion, a *French* one, what to be expected from it 293
Joan, Queen of *Navarre*, ſuppoſed to be poiſoned at *Paris* 326
Iriſh, are diſcontented, and why 388
Iveſon (Thomas) his Opinion of Baptiſm, &c. 379
Julia, the Empreſs, carries the Aſhes of *Severus* to *Rome*, where he is deified 41
Julius Cæſar's firſt Invaſion of *Britain*, deſcribed 8
——— *Agricola*'s noble Method of Governing in *Britain* 28

K.

Kings and Queens of *England*, known by old *Parr* 69
King *James* I, his univerſal Pardon to the Earl of *Somerſet* 413
—— *Charles* I, how uſed in the Iſle of *Wight* 589
Knipperdoling, his Enthuſiaſm, &c. 365

L.

Lacy, Eſq; his Reaſons for not Raiſing Dr. *Emms* 187
Lady at *Madrid*, her extraordinary Courage 231
Lambert (John) his Examination before King *Henry* VIII. 378
Latimer (Biſhop) his Life 380
Law different in different Places for the ſame Fact 77
League in the *Low-Countries*, the Rumour of it 397
Legate of the Pope, why he never appears at the *Spaniſh* Bull-baiting 228
Letter of *E. B.* a Quaker, to the Pope at *Rome*, 1679 159
Letter of *Eleutherius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, to the *Britiſh* King *Lucius* 37
Letter wrote from the Devil to the Pope 205
Lewis (Doctor) his Account of *Rome*, and its Religion 134
———————— his Character of the Pope 135

Letter to a Friend, concerning a *French* Invaſion 293
Letters of *Charles* IX. King of *France*, relating to the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants 339
Letter from Sir *William Boſwell*, to Archbiſhop *Laud* 508
—— from Biſhop *Bramhall*, to Biſhop *Uſher* 509
Leyden (*John* of) an Account of him 363
Library of the Soldiers, in 1659 316
Lieutenants and Deputies in *Britain*, under the *Roman* Emperors 5
Lives of *Engliſhmen* at *Rome* 128
Life of *Socinus*, and a Catalogue of his Works 213
Lollards, who, and what they were 377
London's triumphant Reception of King *Charles* I. in 1641 467
Louden (Earl of) his Speech in 1645 165
Lucius, King of *Britain*, introduces Chriſtianity 37
Luther's Opinion of the Anabaptiſts in *Munſter* 367

M.

Machiavel vindicated 424
Magnalia Naturæ, or the Philoſopher's Stone found out, &c. 452
Marriage of the Princeſs *Eliſabeth*, &c. 396
Maſſacre at *Paris* 331
Maximus, his Riſe and Fall 46
Mean Men advanced to be Kings and Emperors, a Catalogue of them 69
Melvile (*Andrew*) condemned for Preaching againſt King *James* 50
Methods to prevent the Growth of Popery 58
Method of Proceeding in the Inquiſition 100
Michael de la Pole, Lord Chancellor, depoſed and impriſoned 245
Mob in *Guildhall*, poetically deſcribed 168
Montroſe (Marquis of) his Funeral deſcribed 283
——— his noble Character 286
Multitude (or Mob) their Character 38
Muncer (*Thomas*) his Life 361
Munday (*Anthony*) an Account of his Travels 129
Murder of the Proteſtants in *France*, reſolved on 329
Murdering Kings, &c. juſtified and commended by the Pope 115

N.

Naples, a View of it 195
Narrative of Popiſh Cruelties upon Proteſtants 99
——— concerning admitting the *Jews* into *England* 578
Narrative of the Wonder-working Parliament in 1386 244
Naylor (*James*) his Tongue bored through with a hot Iron 384
News from Hell, *Rome*, and the Inns of Court 202
New-England, Proceedings there among the *Indians* 584
Nobility take Arms againſt King *Richard* II. 248
Notorious Corruption of Manners in *England* 386
Northampton (Earl of) his Character 387
——— againſt *Overbury* 398
——— his Funeral and Will, &c. 401

O.

Oath, what Sort to put to Papiſts 57
Offices of Juſtice, ſold in *France* 333
Oldcaſtle (Sir *John*) an Account of him 377
Oppreſſions, very grievous ones 592
Orders to be obſerved by the *Engliſh* Sea Coaſts in an Invaſion 61
——— of the *Engliſh* Seminary at *Rome* 128
——— of the King of *France*, againſt the Proteſtants, 1572 348
Ovatio Carolina, 1641 467
Overbury's (Sir *Thomas*) Viſion, Character, and Life 167, 390, &c.
Outrages of *France*, in the Murder of vaſt Numbers of the Nobility, &c. 317
Overbury (Sir *Thomas*) the Manner of his Death 408
——— is againſt Lord *Rocheſter*'s Marrying 397
——— out of Lord *Rocheſter*'s Favour *ib.*
——— his great Favour 402
——— is ſent to the *Tower* 403

P.

Papiſts, how to keep them from hurting the State of *England* 59
Parr (*Old John*) his Life by *Taylor* the Poet 66
Parliaments, their Proceedings by Bill, in Caſes of Treaſon, why 77
——— may they arm the People againſt the Enemies of the King 444
Papiſts bloody Oath of Secrecy 272
——— Litany of Interceſſion 276
——— Ceremonies at the Taking the bloody Oath of Secrecy 275
Paſſive Obedience and *Jure Divino* falſe Doctrines 280
Parliaments (long ones) their Inconvenience 495
——— firſt called out of the Commons, 16 *Hen.* I. *Anno* 1116 496
——— no Security of the Proteſtant Religion 498
Peace and Trade deſcribed by King *William* III. 123
Perennis, the *Roman* Governor in *Britain*, his hard Fate 39
Perſons condemned of High Treaſon by the Parliament 256
Peters (*Hugh*) his Life 384
Petition of the Ladies of *London*, to the Houſe of Commons 567
Petition preſented to the King at *York*, *September* the Twelfth, 1640, by the Lords 205

Phifer,

Phifer, an Account of his Rebellion, &c. 361
Picts, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* invade *Britain* 46, 47
Pilgrimages, &c. at *Rome*, an Account of them 148
Pitcairn's (Dr.) Method of curing the Small Pox 162
Placidus's Hiſtory 233
Plaza, or Market-Place of *Madrid* 226
Poiſoners, a Catalogue of them 404
Poole (Cardinal) his ſecret Powers 258
——— his Letter to the Pope 267
Poole (Cardinal) his Letter to *Philip* II, King of *Spain* 269
Pope's general Curſe on *Maundaie Thurſdaie* at *Rome* 156
Pope *Julius* III, his Powers to Cardinal *Poole* 263
Popery, Cautions about it 573
Powder that turned Pewter into Gold 455
Prague, the bloody Execution there, in 1621 303
Praſutagus, a *Britiſh* Prince, makes the *Romans* his joint Heir, and what Evils followed 22
Premunire, a Diſcourſe about it 414
Preſbyter (Sir *John*) his Coat of Arms 420
Presbytery, an Act againſt it, and why 51
Prince *Henry*'s Death, ſuſpected of Poiſon 396
Probus, the Emperor, indulges the *Britons* with ſeveral Privileges 43
Proclamation againſt *Spaniſh* Money 411
Projection Powder, what, &c. 452
Prophecy of Biſhop *Uſher* 507
Proteſtants cruelly murdered at *Lyons* 338

Q.

Quakers Remonſtrance to the Parliament about the Popiſh Plot, &c. 570
——— Account of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Murder 571

R.

Rabbi *Manaſſes Ben Iſrael*'s Propoſal to O. C. in Behalf of the *Jews* 584
Reaſons (ludicrous) ones againſt the Common-Prayer, delivered from a hollow Tree 181
——— againſt aſſembling Forces in Sight of the Sea againſt an Invader 62
Rebels Catechiſm 434
Rebellion, three Sorts of it 435
——— of the Tongue 435
——— of the Heart 436
——— of the Hand *ib.*
Receipt, an extraordinary one 212
Recital of ſtrange Events 197
Recorder of *London*'s Speech to the King, Queen, &c. 20 *Nov.* 1641, and the King's Anſwer 471
Relation of a great Feaſt, 1641 208
Relicks at *Rome*, an Account of them 140
Remarkable Events that happened in *England*, during the Life of old *Parr* 74
Revocation of all Edicts in Favour of the Proteſtants 351
Richard III ſwears Revenge againſt the Duke of *Glouceſter*, &c. 218
Rochellers Anſwer to the King's Letters 354
Rocheſter (Lord) ſtands for the Cloth workers 397
Roman Soldiery long refuſe to go into *Britain* 10
———, their Succeſs afterwards when there *ib.*
Roman State much weakened by Revolts 43
Rome's Threatenings againſt *England* 135
Rules of Behaviour, by Sir *Henry Sidney* 565

S.

Scots, their Behaviour in King *James* I's Time 387
Scots derived from the *Sythians* 45
——— their Character 199
Scotland characteriſed 357
Scottiſh politick Presbyter, ſlain by an *Engliſh* Independant 369
Scotland, its defenceleſs Condition 544
Severus, the *Roman* Emperor, goes into *Britain* 49
——— Conquers the *Caledonians*, with the Loſs of 50000 *Romans* *ib.*
——— puts the *Caledonians* indiſcriminately to Death *ib.*
——— is ſaluted as a God in his Paſſage to *York* *ib.*
Semper iidem, or a Parallel between the ancient and modern Fanaticks 376
Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, what (by Pope *Sixtus Quintus*) 122
Sixtus Quintus (Pope) his Explanation of the Trinity *ib.*
Socinus Senenſis (*Fauſtus*) his Life and Doctrines 213
Sollicitor General's Proof of Treaſon againſt the Earl of *Strafford* 80
Somerſet (Earl of) and his Counteſs, attached for *Overbury*'s Death 415
——— his Courſes to conceal *Overbury*'s Death 414
——— ſtirs up the *Welch*, *Iriſh*, and *Scotch* to Rebellion 411
——— marries the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, &c. 410
Song of Mr. *Moneyleſs* 372
Spain, a View of it 196
Speech of the Prince of *Orange*, *November* 15, 1688, at *Exeter* 123
Speech of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, on the Aſſaſſination of King *Henry* III. of *France* 115
Speech of the *Britons* to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke 22
——— of *Voadica*, a noble Lady, to her Countrymen the *Britons*, and its Conſequences 23
——— of *Galgacus*, the *Britiſh* General, againſt the *Romans* 31
——— of *Agricola* the *Roman* General 32

Speech

Speech of the Emperor *Severus*, at *York*, where he died 40
Speech of the Earl of *Louden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, 1645 165
——— Lord *Bacon*, at the Arraignment of *Somerset*, &c. 418
Stamping of Coin in *Britain*, by whom firſt uſed 15
Strange Appearances in the Air, Sea, &c. in *Britain* 23
Suetonius, the *Roman* General's Speech to his Army, and its Conſequences 25
Summary of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition 114

T.

Tankerfield (John) his courageous Death 379
Tewkſbury (John) his odd Opinions 381
Tin turned into Gold by Friar *Wenceſlaus* 461
Traitors made Saints among the Papiſts 139
Treaſon and Riot, the Difference between them 79
Treaſon by the Common Law, what 78
Treſilian, Chief Juſtice, ſeized by the Guards, and executed 252
Tribute and Cuſtom, when firſt introduced among the *Britons* 14
Turner (Mrs.) her Life 390

U.

Vaults under Ground at *Rome*, an extraordinary Account of them 128, 144
Veſpaſian's Road to Grandeur 17
Venice, a Deſcription of it 196
Verſes on the Marquis of *Montroſe* 290
Villars (Sir *George*) his Riſe, &c. 414
Vindication of ſtrong Beer and Ale 31[illegible]
Viſion of Sir *Thomas Overbury* 16[illegible]
Ulpius Marcellus, his noble Character [illegible]
Voice from the Dead, or the Speech of an old Peer 576
Vox Populi 427
Uſher (Biſhop) his Prophecy 507

W.

War againſt the King, what 79
Warning for *England* 361
Weſton pitched on to poiſon *Overbury* 401
Weſton preferred to wait on Sir *Thomas Overbury* in the *Tower* 402
——— confeſſes *Overbury*'s Death 415
Whipping uſed as a Penance chearfully at *Rome* 138
Will (the laſt) of *George Fox*, the Quakers great Apoſtle 599
Wine, its Excellence 312
Wickliffe (John) an Account of him 377
Woodward (Father) his Treatment of *Ant. Munday* and Comp. 130
Wonder of Wonders at *Windmill-hill* 185

Y.

Yelvis (Sir *Jervaſe*) conſents to kill Sir *Thomas Overbury* 405

The End of the Seventh Volume.

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Observer Research Foundation
on 17 May, 2019